

INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN PACIFIC LEADERSHIP AND
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

BY

SEAN ALVIN FERNANDEZ

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Abstract

As part of the Millennium Development Goals, the United Nations has a long-held commitment to universal primary education for all children. Aid donors in wealthy nations have taken up this call and international development programmes have subsequently been set up in recipient countries where education is not available to everyone. Despite this, an estimated 1.6 million school-aged children in the Pacific region do not currently have access to formal primary schooling. As the timeframe for achieving the Millennium Development Goals draws to a close it is now clear that this aspiration will not be realised in many parts of the Pacific and a generation of children will grow up without a primary education. This raises questions about the design, delivery and management of international aid programmes in the education sector that are often led by people who are not members of the Pacific communities that they seek to assist.

This research explores the frustrations felt by recipients of education development programmes in two nations in the Pacific, Tonga and Fiji focusing on the relationship between international development in the Pacific and leadership styles and cultures in the education sector. A key problem that was articulated by aid recipients is that international aid relationships in the Pacific continue to be dominated by the discourses and priorities of donor nations and important opportunities to develop grassroots and local forms of leadership that respond directly and knowledgeably to the rapidly changing needs of Pacific communities have yet to be fully realised. At the same time, new forms of Pacific leadership are emerging as global economies increasingly affect the lives of people living in remote communities and there is a need to respond to these changes because they have a direct impact on schooling for children who live in those areas. Donor nations have not contributed significantly to local leadership development in the education domain and this is an ongoing source of tension for many people because there are so few formally trained indigenous leaders in the education field. The lack of local leaders in this area has an impact on the level of buy-in that

Pacific communities give to educational aid projects. This thesis argues that if donor nations are serious about providing universal primary education, leadership development needs to be supported more comprehensively.

Keywords: Pacific leadership, leadership development, international development, development programmes, donor partners, Millennium Development Goals, recipient nations, Re-thinking Pacific Education Initiative for and by Pacific Peoples, indigenous leadership, wantok.

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Tukua te wairua kia rere ki ngā taumata	<i>Allow one's spirit to exercise its potential</i>
Hai ārahi i ā tātou mahi	<i>To guide us in our work as well as</i>
Me tā tātou whai i ngā tikanga a rātou mā	<i>in our pursuit of our ancestral traditions</i>
Kia mau kia ita	<i>Take hold and preserve it</i>
Kia kore ai e ngaro	<i>Ensure it is never lost</i>
Kia pupuri	<i>Hold fast.</i>
Kia whakamaua	<i>Secure it.</i>
Kia tina! TINA! Hui e! TĀIKI E!	<i>Draw together! Unite!</i>

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List of abbreviations

AQEP	Access to Quality Education
AusAid	Australian Aid
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NZAID	New Zealand Aid
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co- Operation and Development
PLP	Pacific Leadership Programme
RPEIPP	Re-thinking Pacific Education Initiative for and by Pacific Peoples
TSSLP	Tongan Secondary School Leadership Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the relationship between international development in the Pacific and leadership styles and cultures in the education sector. The education sector is the focus of this study because it is a zone of encounter that neatly illustrates a series of critical tensions between the donor nations that seek to establish universal primary education in line with United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the cultural priorities and contexts of recipient communities in the Pacific.

At the time of writing this thesis, universal primary education is an aspiration that is yet to be realised in a region where the outcomes of the development programmes have been erratic at best. This raises questions about the design, delivery and management of international aid programmes in the education sector that are often led by people who are not members of the Pacific communities that they seek to assist. There is a substantial and growing literature in the domain of indigenous education that supports the need for indigenous peoples to exercise self-determination in the education of their children. In particular, the call to move beyond assimilative schooling policies and practices towards a more culturally responsive approach to the education of indigenous children has gathered momentum throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Brayboy & Castagno, 2009). In line with this, indigenous thinking about schooling in the contexts of colonised or post-settler nations tends to centre on questions about who is leading educational initiatives and whether local and indigenous forms of governance and leadership have been incorporated into those initiatives. International aid relationships in the Pacific, however, continue to be dominated by the assimilative discourses of donor nations (Jack, Zhu, Barney, Brannen, Prichard, Singh & Whetten, 2012) and important opportunities to develop grassroots and local forms of leadership that respond directly and knowledgeably to the needs of Pacific communities have yet to be fully

realised. This thesis looks at these issues and the tensions that have emerged as a result.

Donor nations often use agencies that are funded and staffed by their own people who provide the structure, expertise, resources and funding of development programmes. For example, the Australian government's overseas aid programme, AusAID, is one such donor agency. Its development programmes differ in terms of focus, size and longevity but as a donor agency it receives its strategic direction from the Australian government. This is common in most government-funded donor agencies around the world where agreements are negotiated with recipient nations but the overall strategic direction of aid programmes more often reflect the strategic and economic priorities of the donor nation. Consequently, development programmes often provide what the donor nation considers to be important but this does not always align with what the recipient nation wants. Both donor nations and recipient nations come to the international relationship with their own agendas and ideas about the needs of the region and its future. This thesis shall explore perceptions of the donor-recipient relationship from the point of view of recipients.

This research is premised on the argument that to achieve universal primary education in recipient nations, donor nations need to support local leadership firstly in the education sector but also in other domains. My study will show that there is a clear need to increase the number of Pacific educational leaders working in the sector as well as support initiatives that build the leadership skills and knowledge that will ultimately enable Pacific communities to solve their own educational problems. At present it seems unlikely that the current levels of infrastructure and resources will be sufficient to bring about universal primary education in the foreseeable future and with that in mind, this research shows that in order to meet that target the education aid landscape needs to change.

I have gathered data in this study that show that contemporary Pacific leadership approaches in educational contexts have been significantly shaped by external forces. In line with this, I shall argue that formal educational leadership initiatives and programmes that are delivered to senior Pacific officials in the sector favour contemporary and western forms of leadership over more traditional perspectives. Over time, this has influenced the perceptions of leaders who are based in the Pacific as they begin to replace more traditional forms of leadership with those that more closely resemble the leadership approaches and values that are commonly found in donor nations. Traditional forms of leadership continue to exist alongside contemporary modes of authority but these tend to be maintained within social and cultural domains that have not yet been altered by the presence of international aid in Pacific communities. With this in mind, an examination of the relationship between international development and leadership development allows us to uncover the ways in which international development is both enhancing and negatively impacting leadership development in the Pacific region.

Summary of the problem

For some Pacific nation states the international development model has become a mainstay of economic development opportunities that would otherwise be unavailable to recipient nations (Campbell, 1992; Luteru & Teasdale, 1993). When United Nations member states agreed to provide universal primary education (as part of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015 there was an expectation that this would also occur in the Pacific region. However at the time of writing this thesis, this has not happened (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009).

One of the issues for educational leaders in the Pacific, therefore, is to decide how to most effectively address the lack of access to primary schooling in many areas. At present, 1.6 million school-aged Pacific children are enrolled in formal education systems throughout the region but a further

one million children do not have access to primary schooling (NZAID, 2012). Of the children that attend primary school, early grade reading assessments have shown that up to 40 percent are at risk of not developing basic reading skills (NZAID, 2012).

One of the most important organisations in the Pacific where discussions and debates about these matters takes place between representatives of different governments is the Pacific Islands Forum. At the 2011 gathering of leaders of the Pacific Islands Forum, representatives of the Australian government reaffirmed its commitment to support recipient nations in improving education systems across the Pacific region. In addition to existing funding, Australia made a commitment to providing AUD\$124.5 million over the following four years to support international development programmes (NZAID, 2011).

The Australian commitment to educational aid is important here because a common feature of international development in the Pacific is that education is seen as a necessary pre-requisite for economic development to take place. This relates to a strongly held conviction that a high-performing education system creates a high-performing economy. A high-performing economy in turn creates the conditions where development programmes can be effective. However, despite significant investment in the sector, Luteru and Teasdale (1993) argue that, “the expected economic outcomes have been disappointing in terms of improving labour productivity and increasing the rate of economic growth” (p. 297).

Furthermore, it appears that of those students who attend primary school in the Pacific region only three percent will go on to tertiary education (Australian Agency for International Development, 2012c) with the majority completing their education at the end of primary school (Luteru & Teasdale, 1993). This is be a response to the educational policies of Pacific nations

that are shaped by, “two main considerations: economic development and preparation of local people for a useful and productive life. Yet these two considerations are not always compatible, and most countries have considerable difficulty accommodating both” (Luteru & Teasdale, 1993, p. 298). In other words, ideas about economic growth that originate in donor nations do not always match what Pacific people see as important and necessary for the wellbeing and health of the community.

The reality for many recipient nations is that international development programmes are a necessity until they are able to create and maintain a self-sustaining economy themselves. The international development model is used to encourage recipient nation states to mitigate poverty whilst strengthening economic policies. The United Nations (2000) is focused on the eradication of poverty and its subsidiaries which includes providing universal primary education as a priority for all nations and although many state leaders have agreed to this, it has not translated into practice on the anticipated scale or within the timeframe (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009). Consequently, subsidiaries of poverty still exist within recipient nations in the Pacific.

Many commentators have argued that the process currently used by donor nations is in need of drastic change (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009; Taufe'ulungaki, 2002; Thaman, 2002). In pragmatic terms, the small size of most Pacific nations has a limiting effect on the ability of educators to attend to administrative and management duties. This is because in some cases educators have multiple roles and may not be sufficiently experienced in all areas (Coyne and Bray, 1999). Higher salaries (Carroll & Foster, 2009; Lashway, 2003), increased professionalization opportunities, additional educators, reduced staff turnover (Carroll & Foster, 2009), raising achievement rates, improving resources and developing teachers and evaluation programmes (Singh, 2002) have also been identified as key concerns for educational leaders. In this thesis, however, educational

leadership development programmes may mitigate these issues to a certain extent by improving access to resources, professional development and infrastructure.

In summary, development programmes are generally underpinned by western values rather than by an appropriate indigenous system of values (Sanga, 2005b; Taufe'ulungaki, 2002; Thaman, 2002; Van Peer, 2005). This creates a bifurcated and fragmented reality for Pacific students as the "in school" world appears to be cognitively dissonant from their "out of school" world where the school curriculum consistently fails to value the culture of the learner (Kelep-Malpo, 2005; Roughan, 2002; Sanga, 2002; Thaman 2009a). These issues contribute to the research problem that is addressed in this study as outlined in the section below.

Statement of the problem

Educational leaders in the Pacific often do not have sufficient resources to increase student achievement to the desired levels (Carroll & Foster, 2009; Singh, 2002). Development programmes have not, in the main, been effective in generating enough appropriately trained and qualified students to create and maintain successful business opportunities that allow recipient nations to become independent of development programmes (Luteru & Teasdale, 1993). This means that it is difficult for Pacific governments to achieve universal primary education without first addressing leadership development issues.

One of the main problems for Pacific leaders in the education sector is that despite there being some funded support (United Nations, 2000), there is not sufficient infrastructure or resources to achieve key development outcomes. Recipient nations have been unable to meet key performance indicators and this has seriously hampered the ability of recipient nations to reduce the subsidiaries of poverty by using the MDGs. As a result the likelihood of

reducing poverty and its subsidiaries seems to be unlikely within the current timeframe using the current model (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009).

This research will uncover an alternative dialogue about international aid and leadership that is not represented in the literature. An explanation will be provided later in this thesis that describes why international development has been unable to meet its target of providing universal primary education in the Pacific. This explanation will draw on the perspectives of recipients. Consequently achieving anticipated outcomes as defined by the MDGs will always be difficult until international development takes leadership development in the Pacific seriously.

Focus of the research

International development is based on the notion that communities in recipient nations need to be acculturated or assimilated if they are to achieve the desired economic outcomes (United Nations, 1951; cited in Escobar 1995). When international development becomes involved in leadership development the kinds of leadership that are prioritised often reflect Western perspectives rather than those of indigenous communities. Understanding the ways that international development impacts on leadership development will help to explain why the anticipated outcomes of development programmes are often not met. Creating an understanding of leadership development in the Pacific context will go some way to describing why leaders have not been able to use development programmes to attain anticipated outcomes.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this research is to examine and better understand the concepts that shape the relationship between international development

programmes and leadership development in recipient nations. This research will identify how international development programmes interact with ideas about educational leadership in the Pacific context.

Research questions

1. What are recipient's perceptions about Pacific leadership and leadership development programmes in the Pacific context?
2. What are recipient's perceptions of international development in the Pacific context?
3. In what ways are international development programmes enhancing educational leadership development?

Delimitations

The areas of focus in this study are restricted to Fiji and Tonga. Fiji and Tonga were selected for two reasons. Firstly they are good exemplars that highlight the multi-national nature of international development in the Pacific. In the case of this research, strategic direction for educational leadership development programmes (that are operated by AusAID) comes from Fiji, while the programme is operationalised in the recipient nation state. Consequently a programme operating in Tonga receives strategic support from Fiji. This means that a case study considering the role of international development in Tonga should include both Fiji and Tonga, even if Tonga was the original area of inquiry.

Secondly, at the time of data collection, there were only two educational leadership programmes operating in the Pacific region. Both were funded by AusAID. One programme was located in Tonga, while the second was located in Fiji. The Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme focused on educational leaders at the secondary school level. The Access to Quality Education Programme was located in Fiji and focused on primary schools, but included leadership development of the Ministry of Education as well.

Because the Tonga Secondary School programme is operationalised in Tonga but receives strategic direction from Fiji, and the Access to Quality Education programme is located in Fiji it seemed natural to include both Fiji and Tonga in the case study. Due to the fact that at the time of this research there were only two educational leadership development programmes operating in the Pacific, this study also included discussions with development consultants that have worked on other leadership development programmes, many of whom were involved in educational leadership development programmes that have since ended.

In the Pacific, considerable value is placed on knowing the participants before you interview them. In this case I did not have a pre-existing relationship with the participants and met them all for the first time just days before the interview. Thus, in this research there was no underpinning relationship between myself and the participants that could have allowed this to occur although I had introductions to some prospective participants and organisations from my primary supervisor, Dr Kabini Sanga.

Significance of the research

This research explores the donor-recipient relationship from the point of view of the recipient. There has been a considerable amount of financial investment in development programmes but it has not been sufficient to resolve the issues of poverty and its subsidiaries in recipient nations. In the Pacific, between 2.7 and 3.2 million people do not have enough income to meet their basic human needs and between 4,000,000 and 480,000 children are not enrolled in primary education (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009).

After seven decades of using the international development model, researchers are no closer to understanding why it has not achieved the anticipated outcomes as forecast. In this study, I consider the idea that leadership in the Pacific is changing, however the basis of the international development is largely the same. Accordingly, there is a need to construct development programmes that reflect the current context that meets the needs of recipients.

The frustrations experienced by recipient nations are generated, in the main, by the ways in which the development programme model interacts with local contexts. Understanding the root cause of the problem will cast light on how these issues can be remedied. This study differs from other research in the same area because it focuses on the perspective of recipients in a landscape where Pacific leadership is changing. Understanding the frustrations of recipients will go some way towards finding solutions that meet the needs of the recipients and enhancing aid relationships and partnerships.

Selection of literature

The literature review in Chapter Three of this thesis examines the relationship that education has with international development and leadership styles and approaches. I also discuss issues relating to poverty reduction in recipient nations as well as ideas about leadership and followership.

The literature about the effectiveness of development programmes can be drawn into two camps. Namely, those who believe that international development can work but only if the domestic policies of recipient nations change to accommodate donors' requirements; and those who don't (McGillivray, Feeny, Hermes & Lensink, 2006). The literature discussed in Chapter Three that refers to international development was selected with an understanding that international development is effective when the domestic policy of the recipient nation is reflective of the needs of development programmes.

What this research does not argue is that international development is always ineffective. This is because, in line with McGillivray et al., (2006), I contend that, “aid works to the extent that in its absence, growth would be lower” (McGillivray, Feeny, Hermes & Lensink, 2006, p. 1031). There is an understanding here that international development can work in some contexts even if the improvements are small.

In addition, the leadership literature in Chapter Three explores multiple leadership typologies and discusses the variety of ways that leadership can be improved. However what is included in this research is the leadership typologies that can be easily observed in the Pacific context. In this case the leadership typologies that are included are chieftainship, transactional/transformational leadership and servant leadership. Care was taken to limit the number of leadership typologies described in this research because I became aware that the more leadership typologies that I examined, the more diluted the emphasis of the leadership typologies that are present in the Pacific became. I felt that by including every conceivable leadership typology would weaken rather than strengthen the arguments presented in this research. However I would like the reader to know that the majority of mainstream leadership typologies described by the wider leadership literature was examined by not included.

Limitations

Convenience sampling was used in this research and occurs when participant selection is based on their willingness and availability to participate in the research (Creswell, 2012). It does not allow me to state with confidence that the sample population is representative of the whole (Creswell, 2012; Johnson & Christensen, 2008). This research captures a larger proportion of the total participant pool, because there are not that

many people that could have participated in this research. Consequently sampling in this manner is less of an issue.

Because people see the world in different ways and qualitative research does not generally separate the researcher from the data interpretation process, another researcher may reach different conclusions as interpretations draw on personal experiences, previous studies or both (Creswell, 2012).

Researcher positioning

In my own life, I have personally experienced many different forms of leadership both as a leader and a follower. This includes military, business, sporting and cultural contexts in leadership and followership roles. I have been elected to a number of boards that manage and oversee Māori and western oriented organisations and in this way I have come to understand that leadership styles vary greatly and are context dependent. I have purposefully and successfully been a leader and a follower in each context and have undertaken academic study as a means of formulating an understanding of the how and why of leadership.

In designing this research I have attempted to bridge the knowledge gained from completing a Bachelor's of Science in Geography where I studied international development and a Masters of Education where I studied the issues faced by indigenous peoples with regard to receiving a quality education experience as well as my own interest and experience in leadership structures. This research draws on extends my earlier educational interests and includes a focus on the ways in which educational leaders interact with international development programmes in the Pacific.

It is important to note that when considering the research design, I did not know in advance which data collection methodologies were appropriate. The choices made in the research design process were the result of a problem-oriented situation. Therefore the research design reflects challenges faced by problems encountered. An example of this was choosing to interview participants rather than use a *talanoa* methodological approach.

According to Vaioleti (2006), *talanoa* methods are, “a derivative of oral traditions. Under the control of appropriate researchers, it allows contextual interaction with Pacific participants to occur that creates more authentic knowledge, which may lead to solutions for Pacific issues” (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 23). I felt more comfortable with using the interview process to collect data because I am more experienced in this form of data collection methodology. My experience with *talanoa* was wholly academic and I had never participated in a *talanoa* session prior to conducting this research. Because of this I would have been experiencing the *talanoa* process for the first time during data collection. This meant that I did not feel that I was knowledgeable enough to collect data using the *talanoa* data collection method. Doing so would have been insensitive to the cultural needs of the people that have gifted me their knowledge through the data collection process.

Being of Māori and Malaysian descent and holding a largely Māori worldview, I understood that meetings had to take place face to face. As a result I decided to use interviews as a way of collecting data for this research. This meant that I had to travel to both Fiji and Tonga to collect data. It was the first time that I had been to either country.

The literature tells a convincing story. As I read more about the subject matter it seemed that the people involved and their stated objectives did not marry up to the reported outcomes. This prompted further investigation. The

literature showed that after almost seven decades, and budgeting billions of dollars, international development had not significantly improved the standard of living in many Pacific Nations. As a result, poverty has not been eradicated despite best efforts on the part of donor and recipient nations.

Reason for selecting Tonga and Fiji

Originally I wanted to investigate the impact of flagship development programmes on the education sector in a Pacific nation state. I soon realised that there were only two educational leadership development programmes currently operating in the Pacific context. They were both AusAID programmes that received strategic direction from Fiji and were operationalised in the recipient nation state.

I also understood that international development programmes tend to favour programmes that support the provision of primary education for students. However I came across a programme running out of Tonga that focused on providing leadership training to secondary schools (Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme (TSSLP)). Knowing that this was unique in terms of development programmes in the education sector, I chose Tonga as one country for inclusion in this study, so that I was able to capture the secondary school experience. There was no educational leadership development programme in Tonga, however, that focused on primary schools.

Because programmes are operationalised in recipient nations in the Pacific but receive strategic direction from Fiji, I knew that development consultants in Fiji would also have to be interviewed. However in Fiji there was a primary school leadership programme operating that supported leadership development in the education sector (Access to Quality Education Programme (AQEP)). To bring balance to the research I decided to include programmes in both Fiji and Tonga as countries of interest, and include both

the Access to Quality Education Programme and Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme as the focus of interest.

By including both Fiji and Tonga as research sites I was able to consider leadership programmes at both a primary and secondary levels and show that currently educational leadership development programmes are strategically motivated from Fiji but operationalised within the recipient nation. I was also able to observe that both Fiji and Tonga have a strong sense of reciprocity in the way that educational leaders conduct themselves. For me, this had a strong correlation with the servant leadership typology that I discuss later in this thesis which holds that a person should be a servant first and leader second. I contrasted this with my understanding of the operationalisation of international development programmes which seemed to be transactional in nature.

International development consultants in both nations who do not participate in either of these programmes were also interviewed. This was so that this research would have greater depth. Some care was taken in contacting development consultants. It was important that participants were knowledgeable about, had some experience or had been involved in at least one leadership development programme. In this way the combined voice of the participants would be reflective of the larger international development community rather than two AusAID run programmes. If I had not of included development consultants in this research I would have only been able to draw on the knowledge of consultants that were participating in the Access to Quality Education Programme or Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme. Although this would have represented the entire population that was available at the time, it would have resulted in data that was less rich.

Summary of chapter one

In this chapter I have commented on the relationship that exists between international development and leadership development in the Pacific region. This study includes an exploration of two programmes, the Access to Quality Education Programme and that Tongan Secondary School Leadership Programme. These are based in Fiji (AQEP) and Tonga (TSSLP) respectively.

I have suggested that an understanding of recipients' perceptions of international development is key to moving forward into the future. Inspecting leadership development in the Pacific will uncover the ways in which Pacific leaders receive their professional development. This research places leadership development led by international development organisations in its correct location.

Understanding Pacific leadership is important for international development partners because it describes the way that Pacific leaders are likely to behave to attain a pre-defined goal. In this way understanding Pacific leadership from the recipient's point of view is fundamental to creating successful international development programmes.

By focusing on educational leaders in the Pacific context, this research is able to describe some of the issues faced by educational leaders in the Pacific context. It will provide a context as to why the resources and infrastructure provided by development partners have not been sufficient to achieve universal primary education in recipient nations. It will also investigate some of the issues faced in the delivery of leadership development to educational leaders in the contemporary Pacific context.

In chapter two, I will introduce the context of international development and how the Millennium Development Goals underpin poverty reduction in recipient nation states. Later, in chapter three, a review of the literature is undertaken. A lens is placed on the way that international development is constructed, how international development intends to reduce aspects of poverty in recipient nation states, how leadership in schools impacts on learning outcomes, the ways in which leaders develop leadership skills, the difference between leader development and leadership development, leadership capacity, the role of the follower, and a summary of different leadership typologies.

This research is a case study that is analysed qualitatively, focusing on Fiji and Tonga as areas of interest. To complete this research, data needed to be collected, an outline of the processes used can be found in chapter four. Following on in chapter five is a discussion of the philosophical framework that underpins this research. Providing a philosophical framework is important because the thesis is positioned from the perspective of the recipient and questions the relationship between international development and leadership development in the Pacific context. As such, understanding how participants interpret the world provides the reader with a window into the participant's worldview.

Chapter six discusses how the participants interpreted the research questions, and this is analysed later in chapter seven. In chapter eight, I offer some recommendations for moving forward.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH CONTEXT

In the previous chapter I provided an overview of the aims of this study. It summarised the issues that face educators in the Pacific context and explained the focus of the investigation, the delimitations and limitations of the research as well as identifying the research questions. In this chapter, I introduce the contexts of international development that frame this study. In particular, I discuss the Millennium Development Goals that underpin the aims of international development for poverty reduction. I explore these ideas in relation to recipient nations in the Pacific and show how international development is constructed around western values and is geared towards protecting Western economic and geopolitical interests in ways that are at odds with the values and ontologies that drive Pacific communities.

What is missing from the literature?

The experiences of Pacific aid recipients are not widely represented in the literature on international development nor are their perspectives well represented. In this regard, the international development literature is dominated by the views of scholars and experts within donor nations. This is, perhaps, unsurprising. Escobar (1992) argues that international development serves the political interests of donor nations and is often little more than an instrument of economic and social control over recipient nations and this includes those in the Pacific region. This is because the way in which donor nations conceive of international development today has its origins in the way that the global political landscape and the world economy were restructured in the wake of the Second World War as will be discussed later in this chapter.

In the main, the literature represents issues regarding international development from the perspective of the donor. This is an important point because donor agencies produce and publish reports that focus on the successes of the programmes they run and often do not include grassroots perspectives that offer different points of view. Donor agencies often reference previous development programmes repeating the same rationale throughout the years and any changes that are made across donor reporting tend to be relatively minor. One reason for this is that recipients tend to not publish documents presenting their own perspectives about development programmes in their communities. In the Pacific this kind of literature is scant. They tend to not have the mechanisms or resources to publish reports discussing their views about development programmes, successful or otherwise. Indeed, recipients need to be mindful about keeping donor nations happy given that they are a source of income. This means that there are few formal avenues available for recipients to express criticism or alternative perspectives from those of donors. As I shall show in a later chapter, this research uncovered some of the frustrations felt by recipients about international aid programmes. As a researcher I felt that by maintaining their confidentiality participants were able to voice an alternative dialogue that is not widely discussed in much of the development literature.

Pacific-based leadership typologies are also largely absent from the academic literature on international development. What is available tends to focus on traditional forms of Pacific leadership that are based on a cultural context that is largely based on pre-colonial times. Local leadership strategies for a modern Pacific is decidedly absent in the literature aside from biographic stories about Pacific leaders. “We know very little ‘research knowledge’ about Pacific leadership” (Sanga, 2005c, p. 1). This is because “research on the link between culture and leadership processes is yet to be studied comprehensively” (Paea, 2009, p. 21). The way that Pacific peoples conceptualise and enact their own styles of leadership are radically different

from much of the existing leadership literature (see for example key academic writers about leadership such as Bass, 1991; Northouse, 2013).

In the Pacific, the church plays a significant role in relieving the pressure from the local government-funded schools by providing assistance to local communities often in the form of church sponsored schools. With regard to leadership development, the church organisations play a significant role in developing a range of leadership skills that are often not represented in the workplace. In this way the relationship between schools, local leadership practices and the church is closely intertwined in such a way that it cannot be ignored. This research does not investigate or examine the ways in which the church is engaged in either educational leadership or the provision of schooling. However, it is recognised here that in the Pacific, the church plays a role in the leadership development of community members.

A major aspect of this study is the role of international development and aid in the Pacific. To understand this, it is important to understand the historical, economic and political context of international aid, particularly as it relates to the education sector. In the following sections, I provide an overview of international aid relationships since the close of the Second World War.

History of international development

The devastating aftermath of World War Two not only required the rebuilding of shattered urban landscapes across Europe but as the War drew to a close, the political and economic landscapes of Western Europe and its allies were also in need of significant reconstruction and this ultimately had a far-reaching impact on the economies and political structures of nations in the Pacific. The restructuring of the global economic order began at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire, when representatives from forty-four allied nations agreed to the establishment of an interlocking set of

institutions and procedures that would regulate the international monetary system in ways that were mutually beneficial to the member states. It was as a result of decisions made at Bretton Woods, that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (now part of the World Bank) were formed. The IBRD focused primarily on the reconstruction of European monetary systems and as such, the economic needs of Pacific nations were largely ignored. This was due to the fact that nation states outside of America and Europe were referred to as colonies and concepts of international development, underdevelopment and poorer nations as we understand them today did not exist at that time (Peet, 2009).

At the Bretton Woods Conference, the allied nations formed and ratified a new method for fixing the exchange of foreign currency. Initially established to allow economic reconstruction after the war, the IMF and IBRD created the institutions, rules and procedures that nation states around the world used to regulate the international currency exchange in the post-World War Two era. These institutions and procedures brought a structure to the global economy that provided a platform from which international development could be established (Peet, 2009).

Since their formation the IMF and now the World Bank have become pivotal in the poverty reduction programmes in recipient nations and the World Bank is a key player in the funding of international development programmes much of which is in the form of loans to poor nations. At the beginning of the post-war economic reconstruction era, the leaders of nations in Europe and America were largely unaware of the issues faced by other nations. This was to change in 1949, however, when the newly elected American President, Harry Truman, in his inaugural address spoke of the need for wealthy nations to assist the poor. He said,

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people. (Truman, 1949)

His solution to this situation was novel. He argued that by working towards improving the lot of people living in poverty in nations around the world, the economic powerhouse of America would be able to establish new markets and places of trade. Speaking from the position that world peace would be dependent on reducing the barriers to free trade, President Truman suggested that scientific advances and industrial progress could be used to help grow and improve under developed areas. He said, “[a]ll countries, including our own, will greatly benefit from a constructive programme for the better use of the world's human and natural resources. Experience shows that our commerce with other countries expands as they progress industrially and economically.” (Truman, 1949).

Truman’s words echoed the views of many western leaders of the era. Gone were the days of territorial colonisation with its large, cumbersome and expensive bureaucracies in distant countries far from metropolitan centers in the West. Truman was launching what would become a new era of economic colonisation and global imperialism but first, America and its allies had to create those markets and nations abroad and this is where poor nations, including nations in the Pacific, began to appear on the economic and political radar of world leaders in the West.

Truman (1949) differentiated nation states based on their level of development and used this to justify extending the “American Dream” to the rest of the world. To achieve this Truman (1949) intended to reproduce features that characterised a developed nation in what they considered less developed nations. A United Nations report of the period (*Measures for the*

Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries. (1951) cited in Escobar, 1995) argued that for modernisation to occur, the social and cultural history, bonds and values of nations that accepted international aid had to be exchanged for the characteristics of more developed nations. Additionally those nations that were unable to keep up with their progress, the report stated, could not expect to have a comfortable life. Escobar (1995) argues that this view soon received wide acceptance in the West. Since Truman gave his inaugural speech, enduring ideas about the role of wealthy nations in providing aid to less wealthy nations have centred on a series of goals that are advocated by the United Nations. Called the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), they are; (i) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, (ii) achieve universal primary education, (iii) promote gender equality and empower women, (iv) reduce child mortality, (v) improve maternal health, (vi) combat HIV/Aids, malaria and other diseases, (vii) ensure environmental sustainability, and (viii) global partnership for development (United Nations, 2000). This research focusses on the second Millennium Development Goal, achieving universal primary education in recipient nations in the Pacific.

Officially then, the main objective of international aid is the promotion of economic development and the welfare of recipient nations (Fuhrer, 1996). Accordingly, in the Pacific, many nations are increasingly dependent on international aid and the external expertise that often accompanies it (Coxon & Munce, 2008). However rather than helping recipient nations to develop in their own ways, “development policies became mechanisms of control that were just as pervasive and effective as their colonial counterparts” (Escobar, 1997, p. 85).

To this end, Berg (2000) argues that sustainable international development programmes that promote economic growth while reducing poverty have been difficult to conceive and implement. Indeed, despite best intentions, international development programmes have not been as successful as

anticipated (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009; Taufe'ulungaki, 2002; Thaman, 2002). In the Pacific, many are aware that development and aid programmes have had little effect on their quality of life and per capita income rates (World Bank, 1998).

In many recipient Pacific communities, the individual accumulation of wealth is less of a priority than the wellbeing of the collective (Coxon & Tolley, 2005; Sanga, 2005b). The underlying values and negotiations that surround aid programmes, however, usually reflect the economic ideologies of donor nations and in educational aid contexts these tenets are often used to promote a move away from indigenous cultural worldviews that favour the collective towards those that endorse the individual accumulation of wealth (Coxon & Tolley, 2005; Sanga, 2005b). Furthermore, Sanga (2005b) argues that increasing the institutional infrastructure capacity in recipient nation aid programmes increases the number of people who utilise the institutions. In this way an increased number of people will attain the characteristics of a “modern person” by acculturating capitalist values into the traditional frame (Sanga, 2005b).

Many Pacific nations have become reliant on financial support from donor nations to run their schooling systems. Campbell (1992) argues that because most Pacific nations are heavily dependent on this foreign development assistance for a range of economic and social activities and they are not able to sustain their present levels of activities “without the continuation of loans, grants, favourable marketing treatment, or some other gratuitous circumstances (Campbell, 1992, p. 59). Moreover, after the Second World War, development assistance was originally conceptualised as a combination of capital, technology and education coupled with policy and planning mechanisms (heavily influenced by the economic interests of donor nations) to aid in the economic development of recipient nations (Escobar, 1992). In line with this, international aid and the development of education programmes are today seen as being closely linked because a

strong education system is perceived as a pre-cursor to a strong economy (Gylfason, 2001).

Thus, there is widespread agreement in the West that poverty reduction is a priority and that in order to achieve this all children need to have to access primary education regardless of their socio-economic status or geographical location (United Nations, 2000). Focusing on education is important for international development programmes because there is belief that the resulting labour market will support the economic growth of the recipient nation. In turn, economic growth in recipient nations is seen as being dependent on creating an education sector that supports and maintains these goals.

A potential factor in the failure of educational aid is attributed to donors using an international development framework (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009) based on western values that are incongruent with the value systems of recipient nations (Taufe'ulungaki, 2002; Thaman 2002). For many people in Pacific communities there is a concern that this has the potential to create a dichotomy between what is taught in the home and what is taught in the schooling system (Rougan, 2002; Sanga, 2002). For this reason, McDonald (2005) argues, that in aid contexts learning needs to be constructed within, and respond directly to the socio-cultural contexts that are unique to local communities rather than promote western educational frameworks that may have less cultural relevance and meaning.

International development organisations

Since Truman's inaugural address, a range of international aid agencies have sprung up in donor nations. International development agencies can be categorised as either a non-government organisation (NGO) or as a government organisation. The essential difference between them is the legal status of the organisation. An NGO is an organisation whose management

structure is politically independent of any national government while a government organisation is dependent on a nation state for guidance.

From a funding position, NGOs and government organisations often agree to meet specific criteria when they disburse funding for an international development programme. These criteria include budgets, stakeholders and timeframes and in this way educational aid programmes can be seen as a temporary construction that are able to operate in conjunction with national schooling systems (Sanga, 2002; Sanga 2005b).

AusAID is a major player in the provision of international aid in the Pacific region. Formerly an NGO, AusAID is now a government organisation that derives its policy direction and funding directly from the Australian government. Guided by the MDGs, AusAID provides international development policy advice and implementation plans to the Australian government for ratification (Australian Agency for International Development, 2011a). Its primary focus is on poverty reduction and its officers vigorously advocate the view that this approach will promote stability and prosperity (Australian Agency for International Development, 2012a). The organisation works with twenty-one nations in different parts of the world to address regional and global challenges. To this end, it utilises other Australian government departments as required (Australian Agency for International Development, 2011a).

In addition, AusAID is an international development leader in education initiatives in the Asia Pacific region. It provides fee relief programmes for students at some primary schools in Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Samoa and Solomon Islands. In Indonesia, AusAID's development programmes have helped 330,000 children attend primary school through building educational infrastructure and establishing teacher training initiatives (Australian Agency for International Development, 2011a). By the end of the

2015-2016 financial year AusAID will have committed approximately \$1.6 billion dollars to its international development programmes. Of this sum, almost 25 percent will be dispersed within the Pacific region (including Papua New Guinea), a figure that represents half of the total global assistance to the region (Australian Agency for International Development, 2012b).

The view taken by Australian officials is that these kinds of investments are likely to reduce poverty by increasing positive outcomes in health and higher education at the same time as strengthening economic management and delivery services (Australian Agency for International Development, 2012b). AusAID explains that approximately three percent of all primary students in the Pacific will attend a tertiary institution and that the tertiary institutions themselves are struggling to provide the basic infrastructure to support their staff and students (Australian Agency for International Development, 2012c). As such, AusAID has committed \$35 million dollars to connect thirty tertiary institutions to the internet in several across nations (Australian Agency for International Development, 2012c); another \$18 million for 2000 students in pre-tertiary bridging courses; and, a further \$32 million to 2300 tertiary students enrolled in internationally recognised degree programmes (Australian Agency for International Development, 2012c). AusAID is the international development agency that established and maintained the two educational aid programmes that are examined in this research.

Donors have genuine concerns regarding the allocation, disbursement and management of their aid (Svensson, 2003) and this raises the potential for tensions to develop between promoting autonomy and good practice and ensuring that the aid is used for its intended purpose (OECD, 2003). Many international development agencies keep a strict separation between the allocation and disbursement of funds for this reason. Svensson (1995, 2003) argues that conditional and tied aid is considered by donors to be a means of increasing the efficiency of the aid delivery process. Thus, some international development agencies make international development either conditional or

tied to a set of specific outcomes in order to increase the likelihood that international development programmes are successful.

Nations with unstable domestic policies often create weak macroeconomic conditions. Svensson (1995) argues that this has the potential to increase the likelihood that a recipient nation will become economically reliant on international development. Improving the economic conditions within recipient nations is therefore considered to be an important component of the development process. This is because if the same amount of international development were re-directed to nations with sound economic policy, Svensson (2003) contends that twice as many people could be lifted from poverty.

To increase the efficiency of conditional and tied aid, contractual agreements are made as a way of controlling recipient nation state activities in relation to aid initiatives. In this sense, conditional aid requires the recipient to meet specific criteria. The criteria is often determined by the donor and may require the recipient to meet certain obligations before the development programme begins (ex-ante) or after the programme has been completed (ex-post). To help ensure that recipient nations are able reach the goals set by the development programme, disbursement of resources are often ex-ante regardless of the strength of the nation's policies (Svensson, 2003).

Tied aid usually requires that a percentage of the funds be spent in the donor nation state. Tied aid has the advantage for the donor of controlling how funds are spent by requiring the recipient nation state enter into contracts that are legally enforceable in the donor nation state. Svensson (1995) notes that privately-run corporations, enterprises and organisations are introduced as a third party since they are likely to enforce the contract if only to maximise their own profitability.

The irony of tied and conditional aid is that it often does little to support the local economy in the recipient nations. If we consider that one of the primary functions of international development is to increase and support the local economy, it would seem rational to spend the development funds in the recipient nation state. However that is not what we see occurring. Instead the funds are often spent in the donor nation state where a portion of the funds are returned to the donor in the form of taxes. While this reduces the expense of the development programme to the donor, it significantly reduces the overall effectiveness of the programme because the financial benefits flow outwards to the donor rather than back into local economies.

Historically, development programmes within the education sector have involved the use of bilateral and multilateral initiatives whereby donor parties make major decisions about the terms of the agreement (Sanga, 2003). Additionally, some nations have preferred to align their domestic policies and research with multilateral and international development policies (Mathisen, 2008) while others focus on specific parts of the education sector to the detriment of other sectorial areas (Sanga, 2002).

This has had a limiting effect on the autonomy of educational leaders in recipient nations. From a donor perspective, the advantages of aligning recipient domestic policy with development partner needs can be understood. However it means that recipient nations are less likely to be able to create, manage and maintain development programmes from within their own context. This is because of the tendency of development partners to use tied and conditional aid that are require changes to domestic policies ex-ante. This means that there is a flawed argument that suggests that donor nations know the recipient context better than the recipients underlying many international development programmes.

Sanga (2005a) explains that one of the issues regarding the relationship between international development agencies and recipient nations is that donor nations seldom listen to the needs of the recipient nations. This is of concern as,

the context, deemed 'a problem' is always a Pacific context and never the donors. It is seldom the business of aid relationships to foster an understanding of and between the partners. These are reflective of deep seated attitudes that have become obstacles for the relationship building. (Sanga, 2005a, p. 21).

This is a particular problem in the education sector and this is discussed further in the following section.

Western values and Pacific schooling systems

For the purposes of this thesis, western values and knowledge refers to the mainstream values and knowledge structures that are prevalent in the global community. Values and knowledge of indigenous peoples have a different underlying philosophy and history. However, it is also accepted that what constitutes western values and knowledge is the summation of different cultures whose histories sit easily alongside each other. As such, in the Pacific context, western knowledge and values are represented by the other. That is what is not indigenous. In the Pacific context, it is the other that is out of place, not local culture, values and knowledge.

Huffer and Qalo (2004) argue that while much has been written that references Pacific perspectives of international development, “ignorance or dismissal of Pacific thought prevails in academia, which in turn has impacted on policymaking in Pacific countries” (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 88). According to Taufe’ulungaki (2002), in recent years Pacific nations are increasingly adopting educational practices that are based on Western values, beliefs and knowledge structures. In some cases the “Pacific Islanders who authored or assisted in the preparation of such plans are responsible for their

implementation, monitoring and supervision were western educated and have partially or wholly internalised western values, beliefs and knowledge systems” (Taufe’ulungaki, 2002, p. 9). Thaman (2003) adds that that “much of what we label Pacific studies is the fruit of western scholarship and research” (Thaman, 2003, p. 3).

In addition, the family, cultural and social values held by the indigenous peoples of Pacific nations are often very different from those of the West. These cultural differences have the potential to be cognitively dissonant for pupils because what is taught at school may be very different from what is learned at home (Roughan, 2002). Coxon and Munce (2008) contend that the influence of the Western world on Pacific education is considerable (Coxon & Munce, 2008). In line with this, Thaman (2003) argues that the globalising nature of education in the Pacific disempowers Pacific peoples, “especially those that are most removed from western knowledge and values” (Thaman, 2003, p. 7). This has had the effect of destroying some aspects of Pacific cultures including; language, and social, political and economic structures (Thaman, 2003). As Konai Thaman (1995) notes,

The introduction of formal education to Oceania last century meant the promotion, through the manifest as well as the hidden curriculum, of the dominant values and ideologies of European cultures (the United Kingdom and France in particular) and, more recently, of Australia, New Zealand and the United States (Thaman, 1995, p. 724).

In the Pacific region, teachers are “expected to bridge the cultural gaps that exist between the expectations of the school curriculum and those of the home cultures of their students” (Thaman, 2009b, p. 2). Today, education in the Pacific is not concerned with cultural development. Instead it tends to educate students for a career within the urban industrial sector and the cash economy (Thaman, 1995).

Although they were not writing about cross-cultural contexts in the Pacific, the multi-cultural education writers, Banks and McGee Banks (2001) suggests that a number of school practices reinforce negative ethnic stereotypes. This can be harmful to students and this is contrary to the assumption that ethnic diversity has a positive impact on the larger societal structure. Each ethnic group places value on what is considered to be “normal” or “typical” and this gives each group its own identity that is distinct from other groups. A similar situation exists in Pacific education aid programmes where the values and worldviews of the donor nation are seen as normal and desirable whilst the cultural practices and beliefs of Pacific communities are marginalised. As Eckermann (1994) argues, however, differing ethnic groups cannot be compared or measured against another and “one culture cannot be any better than another, one culture cannot be superior to another” (Eckermann, 1994, p. 3). This is because a cultural group is validated from within the culture that creates and maintains it. As such there is a need for recipient nations to value and promote cultural differences in a way that allows multiple perceptions of what is normal to co-exist (Escobar, 1992).

Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative for Pacific Peoples

The Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative for Pacific Peoples (RPEIPP) began as an NZAid assisted programme undertaken by Pacific educators who have embedded indigenous knowledge and collaborative networks in emerging Pacific graduates. By responding to the need to strengthen ownership of the formal education systems across the Pacific region, and create a clear vision for formal education in Pacific nation states (Nabobobaba, 2012, Sanga, 2016), RPEIPP has constructed pathways to bridge traditional and globalising contexts. RPEIPP has begun to gain traction within the schooling systems of the Pacific region. RPEIPP members have been instrumental in encouraging Pacific students to excel within the schooling system, and translate that knowledge into career outcomes. As such the RPEIPP network has grown significantly as members naturally

progress in their careers while maintaining their RPEIPP networks and relationships.

Although the impact of the RPEIPP is not well documented (Sanga, 2016), the outcomes that has been achieved is undeniable. The RPEIPP has acted as a catalyst for change in Pacific education and has held education systems to account from a Pacific perspective (Thaman, 2004 cited in Sanga 2016) with the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2009, cited in Sanga 2016) explaining that the RPEIPP has been the primary promoter of Pacific languages and culture in Education. With this in mind, the RPEIPP has encouraged development of Pacific people in three ways.

Firstly RPEIPP provides a place and space for Pacific students to be mentored. Pacific students tend to find navigating the University experience challenging. By providing mentoring and a space to share stories and experiences, RPEIPP has been able to decode the University context for many Pacific students. By supporting Pacific students in this way, completion rates have improved creating a remodelling effect for students that enter the schooling system at a later date. This is one way that Pacific peoples have strengthened the local community.

Secondly RPEIPP has developed Pacific leaders. RPEIPP has created leadership development pathways to enable Pacific peoples to experience leadership from a Pacific frame. By creating networks and spaces where Pacific students are able to share experiences, notions of Pacific leadership are able to be transferred. The flow on effects are that when the students become industry professionals, they are more easily able to bridge traditional and global contexts using a Pacific lens.

Thirdly RPEIPP has impacted on the number of graduates who have chosen to work within the international development sector. Pacific graduates are well aware of the ways that donor partners construct development programmes. Many have experienced this while growing up, or in schools, or when they apply for scholarships. Graduates who have been involved in RPEIPP and gone on to work within the international development sector are well attuned to the needs of recipient nations from the grassroots level. The RPEIPP has been instrumental in developing domestic development consultants, who are now well positioned to replace international development consultants, should donors become willing to make the change.

The RPEIPP and their networks have become influential in the protection of Pacific knowledge by purposefully and intently interrogating contemporary schooling structures. Furthermore, by supporting Pacific students, RPEIPP has created mentoring and leadership pathways that are largely unknown to contemporary leadership literature. This has resulted in an increase in the number of Pacific graduates, who are able to position themselves easily within the traditional and global contexts.

Education and its relationship to poverty

In the Pacific, resources for schools are increasingly scarce as the expectations of what is needed for a universal education is expanded (Coxon & Munce, 2008). This is despite the fact that many Pacific nations have invested heavily in education and donors have also contributed to the provision of resources and expertise. For this reason, local communities are expected to fill the shortfall. In communities where there are high levels of poverty, however, this creates many hardships.

Economic growth in recipient nations has long been recognised as not being sufficient to mitigate poverty on its own. Accordingly, as Tarabini (2010) argues, “education has acquired an increasing international legitimacy as a

preferential strategy in the fight against poverty” (Tarabini, 2010, p 205). Education is therefore seen as an important instrument of poverty reduction because education leads to the formation of human capital and this is an important factor of economic growth (Awan, Malik, Sarwar, & Waqas, 2011; Tilak, 2002). Tilak (2002) supports this view, arguing that “[e]ducation together with training imparts skills and productive knowledge, and transforms human beings into more valuable human capital.” (Tilak, 2002, p. 192). Focusing on educational initiatives is important to poverty reduction in recipient nations as it is most prevalent in illiterate households and declines consistently as the level of education rises (Tilak, 2002). Over time, poverty and its subsidiaries are likely to reduce as the quality and quantity of educational success increases.

Approximately 20 percent of the Pacific population are between the ages of 15 and 24, with a large proportion of them either being unemployed or underemployed. This is a contributing factor to poverty because there is a lack of appropriate training and education that is able to link students to employment of self-employment opportunities. Consequently young people are overrepresented in high risk activities that increase the crime rate and contributes to social instability generally (Coxon & Munce, 2008). Awan, Malik, Sarwar and Waqas (2011) explain that education is able to increase the skills and productivity of households and in doing so is likely to increase the overall standard of living, however, poverty is an impediment to achieving this. In this way economic growth, education and poverty have a cyclic relationship.

The cyclic relationship between education and poverty

Educational outcomes have a cyclic relationship with local economic growth and poverty. The literature suggests that as educational outcomes increase local economic growth will improve. This occurs because the resulting labour force from a well-educated population is likely to reflect the economic needs of local communities. It is believed that this will reduce poverty locally

by increasing cash flows in local communities and in doing so is likely to improve educational outcomes for students. When poverty is reduced, the argument goes, educational outcomes for students are likely to improve in ways that further support the local economies. However the opposite may also be true. If educational outcomes are diminished then local economic growth is likely to decline leading to an increase in local poverty and placing additional demands on schools which in turn negatively affects educational outcomes.

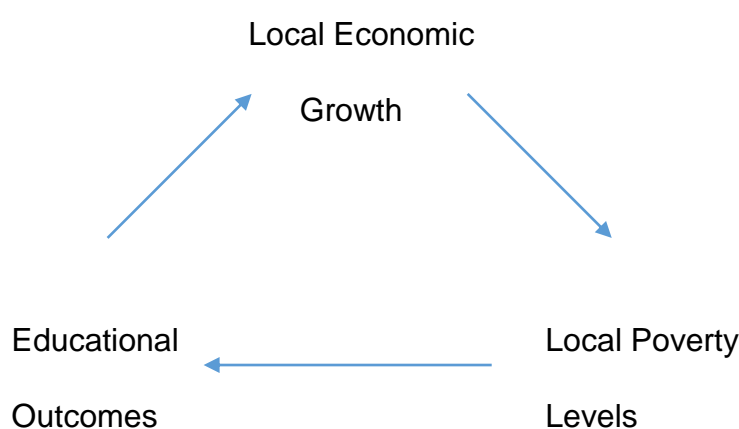


Figure 2.1: *Cycle of poverty, education and economic growth*

International development programmes aim to improve economic growth in recipient nations at both local and national levels. However poverty levels also affect educational outcomes insofar as students who live in poverty have poorer educational outcomes than those who do not live in impoverished conditions.

This becomes a cyclical process because of the impact that educational outcomes have on the growth of local economies. When student educational outcomes are poor the resulting labour market is affected. Because this is a cyclical relationship, it can be influenced either positively or negatively by making changes in any one or more of the constituents. Tarabini (2010) acknowledges that education has become the preferred strategy to

decreasing poverty and that making changes to the economic growth of a nation is not sufficient in itself to decrease poverty levels.

Poverty is one outcome of poor economic growth that influences educational outcomes. Other than changing the subjective positioning of what constitutes poverty, real change can only be met by influencing the educational outcomes of students or improving the local economic growth, or a combination of both. It is this cyclic relationship that links educational leadership and international development to decreasing poverty in recipient nations. As such the ways in which educational leaders engage with international development is of interest.

Summary of chapter two

In this chapter I have given an overview of the aid context that this study took place within. In particular, I have focussed on the MDGs and the United Nations attempts to reduce poverty and its subsidiaries in recipient nations through the MDGs. To this end, eight subsidiaries of poverty have been identified. The MDGS are, (i) to eradicate of extreme poverty and hunger, (ii) to achieve universal primary education, (iii) to promote gender equality and empower women, (iv) to reduce child mortality, (v) to improve maternal health, (vi) to combat HIV/Aids, malaria and other diseases, (vii) to ensure environmental sustainability, and (viii) establish global partnership for development (United Nations, 2000).

According to Coxon and Munce (2008), Pacific nations are increasingly dependent on international development where the main objective is the economic development of recipient nations (Fuhrer, 1996). International development policies used by donor nations became mechanisms of control over recipient nations akin to colonisation (Escobar, 1997). Pacific nations are dependent on international development because they cannot continue current levels of service without development assistance (Campbell, 1992).

However because the development assistance needed is a conceptualised combination of technology, capital, education and policy (Escobar, 1992), Educational leadership and international development have a natural relationship.

International development has not been as successful as anticipated (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009; Taufe'ulungaki, 2002; Thaman 2002) and increased expenditure has had few gains in terms of per capita income levels or standard of living (World Bank, 1998). Berg (2000) explains it has been difficult to design and implement international development programmes that increase economic growth and reduce poverty. According to Truman (1949), poverty was a barrier to economic growth and that this was the case in both developed and developing nations.

International development agencies are able to influence recipient nations because some recipient nations are willing to align their domestic policies with the policies of international development agencies (Mathisen, 2008). In the Pacific, donor nations have been able to influence the educational outcomes of students using international development programmes. Taufe'ulungaki (2002) explains that in some cases the Pacific people who authored, implemented, monitored and supervised these programmes had partially or wholly internalised western beliefs, values and knowledge structures. In some cases, the family, ethnic and social values in Pacific nations are different to those of the West, and that what is taught in the school may also be different to what is taught in the home (Roughan, 2002). Though the local traditions and practices may be well entrenched, the effect of the western world in the Pacific cannot be denied (Coxon & Munce, 2008). Providing an educational experience that is globalising in nature tends to have a devastating effect on Pacific cultures including their language and social, political and economic structures (Thaman, 2003).

Education in the Pacific tends to prepare students for careers rather than develop them culturally. This is because since the introduction of the formal

schooling system to the Pacific, western ideals and values have been promoted (Thaman, 1995) that focus on preparing students for the workforce.

According to Tarabini (2010), increasing economic growth in recipient nations is not sufficient to mitigate the subsidiaries of poverty by itself, and that education has become the preferred strategy. This is because education is an important factor in the economic growth of the local economy (Awan, Malik, Sarwar, Waga, 2011). It seems that there is a lack of appropriate training and education that is able to link students to employment opportunities. Without these opportunities issues of poverty cannot be mitigated. It is well understood that poverty negatively influences educational outcomes. Consequently poverty, education and economic growth have a cyclic relationship. In the next chapter I discuss these ideas in the context of the development and leadership literature that has guided this study.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the previous chapter I examined the context of international aid in the Pacific and argued that current international development practices have not been as successful as anticipated (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009; Taufe'ulungaki, 2002; Thaman 2002). I suggested that this may be due to the colonizing nature of approaches to aid. Moreover, I contended that the use of conditional and tied aid has the potential to stifle the efficacy of development programmes even though they are intended to increase efficiency. Further, the use of tied and conditional aid tends to favour recipient nations that agree to changes in their domestic policy to align with the policy direction of development agencies and this leaves other sovereign nations that wish to retain their political autonomy in a difficult situation.

Another issue discussed in the previous chapter was the contention that international development programmes contribute to the erosion of traditional knowledge and indigenous cultures in recipient communities. I argued that the use of tied and conditional aid ex-ante by donor nations creates a situation where these cultural losses are likely to occur in the future. Indeed, much international development is based on the idea that some aspects of life in recipient nations need to be replaced by those of donor nations and this has had a detrimental effect in many communities.

International development was also shown to be in a cyclical relationship with education and poverty because under-resourced education systems are likely to produce a weak labour market in the local economy. This, in turn, is likely to increase poverty levels within local communities and this can have a negative impact on the educational outcomes for students. However this relationship also flows in the opposite direction. A strong education system,

on the other hand, is likely to produce strong educational outcomes for students which donors believe will produce a vibrant labour market and increase cash flow in local economies. Their assertion is that increased cash flows reduce poverty and as a result, educational outcomes are likely to improve. Tarabini (2010) notes that educational programmes are the preferred mechanism that donor nations use to mitigate poverty and this supports the idea that international development, education and poverty are constituents of a cyclical relationship.

In this chapter, I review the literature regarding international development and leadership. In particular, I focus on the construction of development programmes involving the education sector. To that end, I examine two seemingly distinct literature strands, one being international development and the other being the philosophies and practice of leadership and show why they need to be consciously linked together when considering aid programmes in the Pacific.

A Pacific view of poverty

Poverty is a measure of material and financial wealth whose base of comparison is reflective of those that have material and financial wealth. However, one of the challenges that Pacific communities have with measurements of poverty is that the criteria by which poverty is measured, cannot give value to the subsistence economy (Abbot and Pollard, 2004, Bryant-Tokalau, 1995). Measurements of poverty are often cast from the lens of the outsider, rather than from the grassroots perspective. This means that communities that do not focus on the accumulation of wealth as a priority, and rely on a subsistence economy may not perceive themselves as being impoverished, while those from other contexts may observe aspects of poverty.

In the Pacific context, there is an emphasis placed on communal ways of interacting with others. This has resulted in a belief that poverty should not be a part of life, and the impacts of poverty can be mitigated. With this in mind, “the suggestion that there might be poverty in some form is not, therefore, something that many governments or people in the region are prepared to accept (Abbot and Pollard, 2004). Despite this, Pacific nations are experiencing increased levels of poverty in urban areas. This can be seen in declining health literacy, overcrowded housing, and high school drop-out rates (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995). In urban areas of the Pacific, the effect of globalisation is more apparent. The changing urban landscape has manifested examples of poverty that are identified by donor nations to validate their work in the region.

Globalisation and Neoliberalist ideals within an international development framework

Globalisation can be described in two ways. From Kotz’s (2002) perspective, globalisation is “an increase in the volume of cross-border economic interactions and resources flows, producing a qualitative shift in the relations between national economies and between nation states” (p. 70). However Robertson (2012) explains that globalisation is “a process involving the increasing domination of one societal or regional culture over all others” (p. 191). Even though Kotz (2002) and Robertson (2012) hold differing perspectives about what constitutes globalisation, there is some agreement that globalisation involves a change in relationships between geographical spaces.

It cannot be denied that globalisation is occurring in the Pacific context. Economic and social globalisation is omnipresent. In urban spaces, global goods and services are readily available. Also present in urban areas is a greater degree of cultural homogenisation between the indigenous culture and cultures from other nation states. Interestingly, globalisation has had less impact on rural areas of the Pacific. As such, rural areas tend to be

more traditional in terms of embedded knowledge structures, economic transactions do not always involve money and cultural competencies.

Globalisation and neoliberalism are different, in that globalisation refers to changing relationships. On the other hand, neoliberalism is positioned from a financial perspective and focuses on creating ideal economic market conditions by reducing state intervention. Neoliberalism is underpinned by the belief that optimal economic growth can be achieved when markets are not influenced by the state. By removing state interference, markets will be unregulated, but they will also be open and competitive (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, Kotz, 2002). State intervention within the free market model (especially to correct market failures) is viewed with suspicion as it is likely to create more challenges than it solves (Kotz, 2002). Consequently, neoliberalism advocates for minimal state involvement in the financial markets domestically and internationally.

Within the domestic economy, neoliberalism intends to disassemble what remains of the welfare state by; privatising public assets, reduce social welfare programmes, deregulating business, and reducing tax for business and those that appear to be investing in the economy. However within the international economy, neoliberalism advocates for the free movement of money, goods, services and capital between nation states. Although this does not include free cross-border movement of people (Kotz, 2002)

While neoliberalism aims to create self-regulating markets, service deliveries of development programmes are unable to be free from the influence of the state. The methodological process that guides international development cannot be free from state intervention for two reasons. Firstly, international development is largely funded by donor nations, and funding directions are determined by policy directives. Non-Government organisations (NGOs) also fund development programmes. However, NGOs tend to work alongside state funded programmes if only to ensure that service delivery is not duplicated. In a practical world, donor nations are influencing the areas of focus of NGO's because both are filling the gaps while eliminating duplication of service. Examples of this can be observed in the Pacific

region. The church and donor nations work alongside each other to provide resources, infrastructure and funding to schools, independently but complimentary to each other.

Secondly, recipient nation governments tend to negotiate with donors who provide development programmes services. As such, recipient nation states always play a role in the way that development programmes are conceived and implemented. While there are some concerns that recipient nation states are not able to influence programme construction significantly, development partners often need recipient nation state approval to deliver development programmes.

While the ideals of neoliberalism intend to free markets from the influence of the state, this is not a lived reality for recipients of funded development programmes. State intervention is the driving catalyst that provides the framework for development programmes to take place. Conditional and tied methodologies used in the construction of international development programmes mitigate the advantages of neoliberalism when transferring goods and services between nation states. Consequently neoliberalism sits uneasily alongside international development, co-existing within the same frame, but not working together.

International aid and the education sector

Much of the literature on educational aid focuses on the tensions between global development approaches and the impact of these on local contexts (McDonald, 2005). Pacific nations have given considerable attention to establishing formal schooling systems especially at primary school level but this has sometimes been to the detriment of establishing locally administered vocational and training education (Sanga, 2005b). Education systems that do not provide access to further and higher education can contribute to urban drift as young people move away from rural communities to urban centers for employment. These kinds of education systems can also disenfranchise young people who are denied the opportunities and advantages of advanced education (Dorovolomo, 2005; Kiddle, 2005).

The reality for many students in the Pacific is that when they complete their education they remain under-qualified and lack experience in an increasingly competitive global job market. Most find employment in low-paid jobs but others do not and either “hang around” in the cities or return to their villages without the skills to enhance life in their home communities (Dorovolomo, 2005). In this way, the replacement of traditional ways of life with the values of the global economy has a detrimental effect on the lives of many Pacific youth.

Several commentators have noted that educational aid is conceived within a western economic and philosophical framework and have commented on the tensions that this produces in local Pacific contexts (Taufe'ulungaki , 2002; Thaman, 2002; Van Peer, 2005). Others have highlighted the temporary nature of international development programmes and their focus on educating students for a global labour market for which they lack experience and qualifications (Sanga, 2005b).

Coxon and Tolley (2005) argue that international development is underpinned by several assumptions. Firstly, they argue that donors in the West assume that Western development approaches can be applied anywhere. Secondly, there is an assumption that psychological development is an important pre-condition for economic development. Thirdly, there is a belief that traditional and indigenous customs and values are counter-productive to the accumulation of wealth and that the replacement of indigenous customs and values will lead to modernisation. Finally, there is a supposition that international development will accelerate the modernisation process. From a donor's perspective, the way that education aid is positioned then is considered to be, “important in capacity-building as a development strategy, so that the ‘right’ development decisions are made.” (Coxon & Tolley, 2005, p. 42).

These kinds of ideas about educational provision are now very deeply embedded in ideologies and philosophies about domestic and international trading markets and economic forces. Capitalistic methodologies with short-term goals shape the relationship between donors and recipients. The extensive use of fixed-term contracts and external consultants militates against people forming long-term and meaningful relationships in international aid environments and this in turn limits the effectiveness of many development initiatives (McGrath, 2001).

External consultants also tend to not stay in recipient nations in the long-term and when they leave they take their expertise and knowledge with them. In addition, because international development programmes are generally considered to be temporary constructions, when programmes end and external contractors return home they leave their development partners within the recipient nation state to continue on without the support structures that were available while the programme was operating. The temporary nature of international development programmes can therefore be seen as a contributing factor to the failure of development programmes to successfully attain the MDGs.

Alongside the problems that arise from the ephemeral nature of aid programmes, other factors such as the local political environment, division of labour and internal incentive structures make it difficult for international development organisations to learn from their mistakes (Berg, 2000). For this reason, donor-recipient relationships continue to be founded on unequal power relationships where the donor is able to influence and dictate the terms of the relationship (Coxon & Tolley, 2005). Having said that, not all donors operate in the same way and some do understand the need for good governance, accountability, contractility and participation (Sanga, 2005a).

On the ground, many aid consultants have been slow to realise that internal issues such as high staff turnover, poor information flow and a tendency to reproduce methodologies that have been successful in the past but which may not be relevant to other programmes have been shown to reduce the efficacy of international development programmes (Berg, 2000)

Poverty reduction and the Millennium Development Goals

As noted previously, the United Nations Millennium Development Goals are a set of eight goals aimed at reducing poverty by 2015 (United Nations, 2000). They are premised on the belief that by making economic, environmental and social advances, poverty and its underlying causes will be mitigated allowing significant gains to be made in recipient nations' economies (Winter, 2009). Members of the United Nations have agreed that the MDGs are achievable and that each goal should have its own target deadline. Monitoring by the United Nations and NGOs has provided a comprehensive breakdown of associated development initiatives, including an analysis of expected outcomes. Now that the 2015 timeframe for achieving the MDGs is drawing close, however, it is clear that donor nations have not been able to realise the MDGs on schedule.

Interestingly, the United Nations has recently expressed its commitment to increasing indigenous input into the development and design of future international development programmes. This is an important consideration and in line with contemporary thinking. Hartley (2008), for example, argues that a key factor in reducing poverty is the sustainable development of indigenous people within their own contexts. In this regard, drawing on indigenous perspectives to meet the educational challenges that are faced by indigenous communities may provide spaces to develop lasting global partnerships that are appropriate for the region. Certainly, this creates room for contextualised knowledge about indigenous communities to be included in the design of schooling systems and programmes. However, as I will show later in this thesis, the acknowledgement of indigenous Pacific

perspectives is not currently a widespread practice in the development sector. As a general rule, donor nations set their own agendas for recipient nations and devise the strategic direction of development programmes which are almost always more closely with the needs and value systems of the donor nation.

Resolving issues in the donor recipient relationship

Several nations in the Pacific have not yet achieved key performance indicators with regard to the MDGs. This is because in some cases, development plans and strategies have not been effective while in other cases, resources have not been used efficiently (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009). Furthermore, there is sometimes very little co-ordination between donor nations and recipient nations and this is compounded by a lack of moderation with regard to how different donors report against individual MDGs (Australian Agency for International Development, 2011a).

Accordingly, members of recipient nations have expressed concerns about the nature and intent of international development programmes and some commentators question the motives that drive international development in small nations (McDonald, 2005). Also, some donors are aware that recipient communities have expressed concerns that donor practices, priorities and systems do not always fit well with national development priorities and systems but have done little in response (OECD, 2003).

The shortage of specialised personnel is often used to justify the use of external consultants within the international development framework (World Bank, 1998; Coyne and Bray, 1999). This in itself is not a solution as senior administrators may not be able to fully digest the recommendations made by the consultants, and the recommendations themselves are commonly biased

towards use of larger systems rather than the lived reality of small nations (Coyne & Bray, 1999).

Overly complex bureaucracies and a lack of awareness about economies of scale also create barriers to providing quality education in small nations (Coyne and Bray, 1999). In the Pacific context, international development has done little to improve the overall quality of life or income per capita (World Bank, 1998). This is not an uncommon experience as there is no universal agreement that external funding of education through international development is either desirable or effective (Coyne & Bray, 1999).

Small nation states

There is no consensus about what constitutes a small nation in the international development literature. Some researchers define a small nation in terms of the size of the population while others refer to geospatial landmass. It is generally accepted that small nations have a population less than 1.5 million people and this number is used by the Commonwealth Secretariat to describe small nations in its programme on small states (Atchoarena, Dias da Graca & Marquez, 2008; Coyne and Bray, 1999). There is widespread agreement, however, that small nations in the Pacific share several common features and development challenges (Thaman, 2009a). For example, nations with very small populations tend to be remote and isolated. In the Pacific, they are often susceptible to natural disasters and have limited economic diversification. Given these factors, it is often the case that remittances play an important part in the financial sustainability of these communities and in this regard, uncertainty about regular income levels are linked to higher rates of poverty (Atchoarena, Dias da Graca & Marquez, 2008).

Many recipient nations in the Pacific region have other distinctive features that are unique to their small size (Coyne & Bray, 1999; Thaman, 2009a).

For example, geographical isolation makes it difficult to recruit staff with suitable professional qualifications (Coyne and Bray, 1999; World Bank, 1998; Sanga, 2005b). This in turn leads to high staff turnover (Maha, 2009), declining revenues, unplanned infrastructure expansions (Sanga, 2005b) and budget and regulatory institutions and processes that are inadequate for the particular circumstances of local communities (World Bank, 1998).

A further problem for many development agencies in small nations is that specialist jobs often have limited human capital resources to draw from. Consequently, these jobs are often done by people who do not have the necessary skills or knowledge (Singh, 2002; Coyne & Bray, 1999). Donors and recipients in small countries often attempt to compensate for skill shortages by overstaffing with unqualified personnel and this can have a negative effect on outcomes as well. (World Bank, 1998).

International support for the Millennium Development Goals

Since the MDGs were ratified, a number of symposia have taken place that have led to a refining and refocusing of the Goals. The 2002 International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico, for example, focused on the financial aspects of development. At the end of this gathering, an agreement known as the Monterrey Consensus was drawn up and signatories agreed to increase funding for development although they acknowledged at the time that the solution did not lie in funding *per se* but rather in ensuring that it was used efficiently and effectively (Human Development Network Key Correspondent Team, 2011).

To achieve this, a clear set of classifications was established making it possible to identify nations that needed development assistance and had sufficient infrastructure and human capital to support development initiatives. Since economic growth is seen as a key component in the improvement of living standards, the Monterrey Consensus emphasised the need for

recipient nations to improve their access to the global market. This priority was put in place because the signatories believed that trade alone would be unable to solve issues of poverty and increased levels of aid development funding needed to be made available so that the MDGs could be realistically attained (Human Development Network Key Correspondent Team, 2011).

The Monterrey Consensus provides a financial base that has since been used to address the MDGs by expecting recipient nations to be responsible for their own social and economic development (United Nations, 2003). Under the Consensus, there is a belief that self-sufficiency requires a move away from reliance on international development programmes towards establishing market economy-based initiatives (United Nation, 2003; World Trade Organisation, 2011). However, it also needs to be taken into account that reduced levels of infrastructure, offshore flows of profit and limited resource capacity limit economic growth in recipient nations. This problem is often compounded by supply constraints that affect their ability to participate and benefit from international development agreements (World Trade Organisation, 2011).

Another policy document that is in line with the Monterrey Consensus is the Rome Declaration on Harmonization. In 2003, leaders from NGOs and representatives of donor and recipient nations gathered to discuss ways of streamlining international development initiatives while giving a clear re-commitment to mitigating poverty, supporting sustainable development and achieving economic growth within democratic social and political frameworks. (Rome Declaration on Harmonization, 2003).

The Rome Declaration on Harmonization provides a mechanism to increase cost efficacy through greater co-operation and good practice. This includes ensuring that international development is in line with partner country priorities. It also supports research into international development efficiency

and reviewed the policies, practices and procedures of donor and recipient agencies and institutions (Rome Declaration on Harmonization, 2003). The Monterrey Consensus was further buttressed by the Joint Marrakech Memorandum which supports developing nations to strengthen their capacity to manage international development programmes (Joint Marrakech Memorandum, 2004).

During negotiations about the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, state leaders agreed to make measurable changes to the traditional international aid delivery methodology (OECD, 2008). Focusing on international development efficiency, the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness supports a shift in how development aid is delivered. It also seeks to increase accountability, eliminating duplication while increasing consistency between donors and recipients.

Further support for these ideas were put in place in the Accura Agenda for Action. This policy statement highlighted several major challenges for international development relationships including maintaining country ownership, effective and inclusive partnership, and accountability. The Accura Agenda for Action states that donor nations should utilise the recipients countries own infrastructure in the first instance and provide tools in which programmes can be monitored for quality assurance. In addition the Accura Agenda for Action called on donors to help recipient nations at a national level to reform society in an effort to achieve the MDGs (World Bank, 2008).

In addition, to help Pacific Nations reach the MDG deadline of 2015, the Cairns Compact was ratified. The Compact was intended to increase the internal motivation of member nation states to follow MDGs guidelines, while simultaneously increasing economic development within the Pacific. To allow this to occur it was expected that the Pacific Island Forum Secretariat

community would co-ordinate the available developmental resources efficiently and effectively. However it is anticipated that any pooling and redeployment of resources would benefit Pacific Island Forum Secretariat nation states in achieving MDGs by 2015. The Compact recognises the importance of the private sector in achieving MDGs and strives to improve governance and service delivery, improve infrastructure, improve relationships between key players, use best practice protocols, and ensure that Pacific Island Forum Secretariat members remain committed to the MDGs.

The MDGs provide an explanation of the current schema that international development agencies and donor nations are working under but they have been modified in the ways that they are supported and implemented so that they remain achievable within the desired timeframe. However, in reality, in the Pacific, this has not been the case as one AusAID report states, “[a]chieving all of the MDGs across the Pacific region by the deadline is unlikely” (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009).

Thus far, this section has explored some of the agreements that have been put in place as a means of achieving the MDGs. These agreements have significantly shaped the development models that are currently in place in different parts of the world. However, we also need to understand why development models do not always work well in practice. One of the theoretical tools that can provide an understanding of this lies in post-development theory. Post-development theory critiques the development model and offers some explanations as to why aid does not always achieve the anticipated and predicted outcomes. By viewing the current international development model with a post-development lens an alternative narrative is uncovered that provides some useful explanations about the status quo. The next section explores some of these theoretical ideas further.

A post-development lens

Escobar (2007) argues that post-development theory allows for the possibility of creating alternative discourses that are not bound by the constructions of existing development models. He further contends that the existing development regime is defined by the need to change the practice of knowing and doing and the economy of the truth. He suggests that indigenous knowledge needs to be built in to the design of projects and the decision-making process so that indigenous groups have autonomy within the aid relationship. He also notes that highlighting alternative strategies produced by social movements, and by focusing on adaptations, subversions and resistance of local people to development interventions are particularly useful.

According to Coxon and Tolley (2005) donor nations share a series of assumptions about international aid. For example, there is a strong belief that the development model can be applied in any context, that individual and community values need to change and that indigenous customs and ways of life inhibit the accumulation of wealth and replacing them would help economic growth. Leaders of donor programmes are often pre-occupied with the notion that traditional indigenous lifestyles are in need of change and it is common for them to look to the education system to hasten this kind of social change. Development programmes usually align well with donor nation's strategic direction for the region. Development programmes tend to emphasise the movement of recipient nations towards a lifestyle that prioritises the accumulation of wealth (Coxon & Tolley, 2005; Sanga, 2005b).

Post-development theory critiques existing development models and their underlying development theories as "being culturally insensitive and operationally ineffective" (Krause, 2013, p. 224). From this perspective, the current development model can be seen as a problem-driven, policy-orientated mechanism designed to provide development assistance to the recipient nation state. It is problem-driven because it seeks to solve the

problem of poverty. It is policy-orientated because development programmes are driven by policies that are generally determined by donor nations.

Financial conditions within the development model provide justification for the use of conditional and tied methodologies. Tied and conditional methodologies are used to establish transparency in the financial systems of international development while reducing the flows of financial assistance into non-allocated spaces. This is largely related to Western ideologies, most notably from those that originated at the Bretton Woods conference, which underpin current international development methodologies.

Evidence is mounting that suggests donor requirements and processes involved in the contemporary international development model is creating unproductive transaction costs that can limit the development capacity of recipient nations (Ward, Sichuan & Banks, 2005). Inefficiencies in the international development structure may include the leakage of resources into non-allocated or non-productive expenditure that would otherwise have been spent on productive uses (Mosley, 1987).

Formulated as the macro-micro paradox, research has found it difficult to establish a correlation between the gross national product (the total market value of goods and services produced by a nation in a given year), and the value of aid delivered to that country (Mosley, 1987). Simply put, the total financial impact of aid is often less than the international development received by the recipient (Howes, Otor & Rogers, 2001, Ward, Sichuan & Banks, 2005). This means that there is not a linear relationship between the inputs of the development aid and the anticipated or expected outputs. It also means that there are financial losses when international development is given to a recipient nations. At some point the financial inputs of the development dollar are either; transformed into social gains that are not

measured in financial terms, or lost in non-recoverable and non-assignable expenditure.

Many leaders of donor agencies who support the development model do not seem to have a clear understanding of the acculturating effect that international development has on the Pacific context. It appears that leaders of donor nations (and organisations) are more concerned about *efficient* aid delivery rather than *appropriate* aid delivery. As Huffer and Qalo (2004) argue,

Economists, for the most part, have been so busy promoting “development” and looking for ways to successfully integrate Pacific societies into the world of western rationalism that they have come to see Pacific attitudes as a constraint or barrier to their mission rather than as an area to be taken seriously. (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 89).

From a post-development point of view, not achieving the MDGs allows for an alternative discourse to the development of recipient nations to take place. The current development model places Western knowledge at the center of practice while a post-development perspective allows for a practice that is based on local knowledge and customs to occupy the same space.

Not achieving the MDGs as anticipated, even after fine-tuning the methodology, allows us to question whether the current international development model is fit for purpose. It seems that it is not able to meet the anticipated outcomes and as such there may be other issues at play that have yet to be uncovered.

The current international development methodology is transactional in nature and there is a growing expectation that the financial inputs are able to create the desired outcomes. However seven decades of international

development programmes have shown that this does not seem to be occurring. There is a pattern here in that the total financial outputs are less than the financial inputs. Consequently there are some financial losses that tied and conditional aid is not able to resolve.

Furthermore, the current international development model is insensitive to the needs of the local community in terms of respecting their traditional culture. Instead there is a push from international development programmes to acculturate and integrate Western values and ideals into the local culture so that the accumulation of wealth is a priority. This has not always been the case in many traditional based communities. Because of this, traditional cultures seem to be divergent from the western values that international development programmes are promoting.

The way that people in local communities perceive the world and the way that those in international development agencies view the world are often very different. Because they come from different cultural systems the leadership values and practices that the two groups enact are also very different. This is because leadership typologies are constructed from within the cultural contexts that create them.

The difference in leadership typologies may mean that there will be some disagreement about to how international development programmes should be contextualised on the ground. This is important with regard to international development as there is a point in the process where aid agencies need to engage with local experts to contextualise the programme in the local area. If these two groups see the world in fundamentally different ways there may be friction and frustration on the part of the party that gives in to the needs of the other.

Summary of international development

The relationship between international development partners and recipient nations in terms of leadership development is weak. It is weak because development programmes only occur when they align well with the strategic direction of the donor nation. When this is used as the basis of what development programmes occur in recipient nations, we realise that recipients needs will only be met when they align well with the donor strategic plan. When the recipients needs that fall outside of this scope will not be met by donor partners.

Current development methodologies use education as a strategy to mitigate poverty (Tarabini, 2010) and as an important development strategy so that the right decisions are made (Coxon & Tolley, 2005). Education is one of the tools that is used in international development programmes that is intended to make social changes that can be applied to any national or regional context. It is used as a means of replacing traditional and cultural customs with alternatives that value the accumulation of wealth and that the very nature of international development will accelerate the process of modernisation in recipient nations (Coxon & Tolley, 2005).

The MDGs have been fine-tuned since their inception in an attempt to make them more achievable nonetheless it is unlikely that the Pacific Region will achieve the Goals by the deadline (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009). The failure to achieve the MDGs is related to the issues that have been identified earlier. These include the geographical isolation of many communities that require aid, a lack of staff with appropriate professional skills, high staff turnover, falling service levels, declining revenues, under-planned expansion, high population rates, and inadequate budget and regulatory institutions and processes. However, in this research I argue that international development has failed to achieve the MDGs partly because the relationship that international development has with leadership development in the Pacific context is weak. By this I mean

that there is insufficient support for local leaders to work towards the MDGs. This is not to say that there are other factors that have influenced the failure to attain development goals. What I mean is that there is an underlying cause as to why these issues influence programme failure and that reason is that support to local leaders is less than ideal. This argument shall be supported and elaborated later in this thesis when I present my study findings.

Current development methods and practices are critiqued by post-development theorists who argue that existing development strategy is to replace the traditional knowledge of the indigenous people with Western-based knowledge systems. It is thought that this will help accelerate the process of modernisation. Post-development theory embraces the resistance that indigenous people feel towards this structure and it gives value to the knowledge, customs and practices of the local people and supports the use of local knowledge in development programmes. Post-development theory explains that there is a need for an alternative discourse from the perspective of the indigenous peoples and highlights that alternative strategies can be useful.

To provide some insight into the relationship between international development and leadership development, the leadership literature will be reviewed in the sections below. It will examine leadership in schools, leadership development from an Action Logic perspective, the contemporary leadership arguments, the different ways that leadership manifests itself, and a range of leadership typologies relevant to this study.

Leadership in schools

School leaders that support the ongoing capacity building of the professional learning community often enable a continuous positive improvement towards school improvement. This in turn will raise the quality of the schools

educational outcomes (Lingam 2012). By supporting sustainable leadership practices, school leaders are able to; create and preserve sustainable learning outcomes, secure long-term success for the school, support the leadership of other leaders, address issues of social justice, develop human resources, develop environmental diversity and capacity, and actively engage with the local context (Lingam, 2012).

Negotiating the complexities of the post-modern society from a school frame can be especially challenging for educational leaders. However “the reason that strong leadership by itself doesn’t work is that educational reform in post-modern society is inherently complex” (Fullan 1993 cited in Fullan 1995, p20). Although leadership has always been seen as an agent of change, the leadership typology that drives change and innovation is reflective of the context at the time. As such, the relationship that leadership has with the schooling system is dynamic and responsive of a social climate that is not static (Fullan, 1995).

In this thesis, educational leadership refers to the practice of leadership within the school or some other learning institution. However, I take on board Spillane, Halverson and Diamond’s comment (2001) that, “to study school leadership practice we must attend to leadership practice rather than chiefly or exclusively to school structures, programmes, and designs” (Spillane, Halverson & Diamond, 2001, p. 23). Partly this is because the school defines the context that leadership operates in. But also that studying school leaders is likely to present how school leadership works (Spillane, Halverson & Diamond, 2001). Even though we may understand what a leader does, without a rich comprehension of why they do it, our understanding of the leadership practice is limited (Spillane, Halverson & Diamond, 2001).

In line with this view, Leithwood, Harris and Hopkins (2008) explain that there are seven main claims about school leadership in the literature. These are firstly that school leadership is second only to classroom teaching as an influence on pupil learning. Secondly, that almost all successful leaders draw on the same repertoire of basic leadership practices. Thirdly, that the ways in which leaders apply these basic leadership practices– not the practices themselves– demonstrate responsiveness to, rather than dictation by, the contexts in which they work. Fourthly, that school leaders improve teaching and learning indirectly and most powerfully through their influence on staff motivation, commitment and working conditions. Fifthly, that school leadership has a greater influence on schools and students when it is widely distributed. Sixthly, that some patterns of distribution are more effective than others, and lastly, that a small handful of personal traits explains a high proportion of the variation in leadership effectiveness (Leithwood, et al., 2008). These ideas are discussed in more detail below.

Claim 1: School leadership is second only to classroom teaching as an influence on pupil learning. Understanding good leadership is crucial to improving our knowledge of leadership within the school setting. In line with this, Leithwood, et al., (2008) believe that school leadership impacts on student learning and achievement, often reporting large leadership effects. However these often lack external validity or generalisability (Leithwood, et al., 2008). When quantitative studies are conducted, Leithwood, et al., (2008) found that the effect of school leadership on student outcomes is small but still educationally significant. Furthermore when schools were compared with each other, there was a difference of 12-20 percent, of which only five to seven percent could be attributed to leadership with the remainder representing other factors (Leithwood, et al., 2008). Leithwood, et al., (2008) examined the effects of specific leadership practices and found a 10 percent increase in student test scores that can be attributed to an average Head teacher who develops his or her leadership practices. However there were twenty-one different leadership responsibilities and the

correlation showed that the Head teacher needed to demonstrate an improvement in all 21 areas (Leithwood, et al., 2008).

Lastly, one of the most common sources of failure for a school is when Head teachers leave schools and there are no succession plans in place. This can have a significant impact on student achievement (Leithwood, et al., 2008). The ongoing success of aid programmes in schools therefore requires that head teachers are retained and if that is not possible, then effective succession plans are in place.

Claim 2: Almost all successful leaders draw on the same repertoire of basic leadership practices. An underlying assumption of this claim is that leadership can contribute towards improving the performance of teachers and administrators involved with education aid projects. Successful school leadership will usually address these issues if only because student outcomes are closely related to teacher performance (Leithwood, et al., 2008).

With this in mind, Leithwood, et al., (2008) argue that leaders often adopt very similar leadership practices regardless of context. This argument undermines the idea that there are specific leadership practices that are applicable to the education sector. Although the term 'educational leadership' is used throughout the literature concerning schools, in reality it describes typical leadership practices within schooling contexts.

Claim 3: The ways in which leaders apply basic leadership practices, rather than the practices themselves, demonstrate responsiveness to, rather than dictation by, the contexts in which they work. Based on their review of the literature, Leithwood et al., (2008) believe that many educational leaders are highly sensitive to their context but

they suggest that, “this reflects a superficial view of what successful leaders do” (p. 31). This is largely due to the fact that even though they are sensitive to context they do not use, “qualitatively different practices in every different context” (Leithwood, et al., 2008, p. 31). Instead, successful educational leaders operate a series of contextually appropriate and sensitive combinations of leadership practices including building vision and setting organisational directions, understanding and developing people and managing teaching and learning programmes (Leithwood, et al., 2008).

Claim 4: School leaders improve teaching and learning indirectly and most powerfully through their influence on staff motivation, commitment and working conditions. Leithwood, et al., (2008), explain that there is little evidence to support the idea that educational leaders directly and by themselves are responsible for building staff capacity in curriculum content knowledge areas. However educational leaders can make positive and strong contributions when influencing the motivation commitments and beliefs of staff especially with regard to supporting their working conditions. This in turn has a significant influence on teachers’ classroom practice (Leithwood, et al., 2008).

Claim 5: School leadership has a greater influence on schools and students when it is widely distributed. According to Leithwood, et al., (2008), there is a significant relationship between leadership capacity, motivation and working conditions but leadership is most strongly correlated with working conditions while motivation has the weakest influence on leadership style. This means that teachers tend to display strong leadership practices when they are happy with their working conditions. Motivation and commitment are considered to have an impact on creating positive relationships but these factors were seen as being less strong than as the relationship between working conditions and leadership.

Claim 6: Some patterns of distribution are more effective than others. The leadership literature shows that there is a relationship between educational leaders who enact particular styles of leadership in ways that increase levels of student achievement (Leithwood, et al., 2008). As Leithwood, et al., (2008) argue that, “[t]his claim grows directly from evidence about the superiority in most but not all contexts, of distributed rather than focused (single person) leadership” (Leithwood, et al., 2008, p. 35).

This happens in several ways. For example, strong leadership has a positive impact on student achievement. Correspondingly, leaders who lack influence with their teaching colleagues have a negative effect on student achievement. In this regard, the leadership practices of Head teachers can be seen to have a bearing on schools but their influence can be either positive or negative.

Claim 7: A small handful of personal traits explains a high proportion of the variation in leadership effectiveness. There is a wide body of literature that focuses on successful leaders, however, the corpus usually refers to leaders in the corporate and business sector. Interestingly, some school leaders in formerly low-performing schools have begun to replicate the leadership lessons from the private sector. This shows that when challenged many school leaders are ready to learn from others who work in different contexts (Leithwood, et al., 2008). Having noted this, however, socio-economic factors are important here as well. Schools in low socio-economic communities face very different kinds of challenges to high-performing schools in wealthy communities. Educational leaders sometimes ignore these contextual considerations and attempt to apply lessons learnt from successful leadership examples across the board and this is not always effective (Leithwood, et al., 2008).

Leadership development from an Action Logic perspective

The way that leaders respond when their authority is being challenged also plays a role in differentiating leaders from each other (Rooke & Torbet, 2005). Rooke and Torbet (2005) describe this as “Action Logic”. This thesis is particularly interested in the kinds of leadership styles that could be encouraged inter-culturally in a range of development environments.

Understanding Action Logic is considered to be important in this thesis for that reason. Action Logic is a term used in the business world which refers to the ways that leaders understand their own behaviour and that of others and explains how they maintain authority and status in the face of threat, confrontation or provocation.

As Rooke and Torbet (2005) argue, “most developmental psychologists agree that what differentiates leaders is not so much their philosophy of leadership, their personality or their style of management” (p. 45). They contend that as people in leadership roles deal with a range of difficult situations they develop new understandings and knowledge about how to cope with challenges. As time goes by, good leaders learn the nuances of the contexts they work within and respond accordingly even when their authority is challenged.

Rooke and Torbet (2005) observed leaders who were dealing with very testing conditions and subsequently identified seven categories of leadership that are of relevance to this thesis which they named as follows: the opportunist, the diplomat, the expert, the achiever, the individualist, the strategist and the alchemist. In particular, Rooke and Torbet found that strong leaders are able to move from one Action Logic to another although this can take time to happen and it would be rare for a person to make two transformations within a four year period. It is often the case that external events trigger a transformation from one Action Logic to another but at other times internal threats can create the conditions for leaders to shift their own Action Logic practice.

Another way to move from one Action Logic to another is through professional development programmes. During the transformation, a leader may enact aspects of multiple Action Logics. The leadership traits that a leader displays in these situations often serve as an indication of how far along the leadership development journey they are. These understandings can then be used with some certainty to predict the areas in which they need to further develop as a leader. In this way, the leadership journey can be seen as a process whereby leadership traits are developed as knowledge over a period of time. It is worth exploring the different categories of leadership that Rooke and Torbet established, as follows:

The opportunist. In their research, Rooke and Torbet (2005) found that five percent of their respondents saw the world and other people in terms of exploitable opportunities. Opportunists, they argue, tend to be guided by egocentrism, manipulation and mistrust and have a strong tendency to focus on personal gain. These kinds of leaders often justify their behaviour with arguments about the need to take an “eye for an eye” approach. In this regard they might externalise blame and reject negative feedback. Rooke and Torbet suggest that few leaders maintain these characteristics for long because generally speaking their frequent risk-taking, rule-breaking and self-aggrandisement are the antithesis of the kind of leader that people wish to follow.

The diplomat. Rooke and Torbet (2005) explain that these kind of leaders avoid conflict by serving the group while attempting to please higher-status colleagues. ‘Diplomats’ tend to focus on controlling their own actions rather than looking at what motivates other people or the impact of contextual events. They often relate well to group norms and are frequently accepted by group members and this contributes to their ability to perform their role well. This approach to leadership can provide others with a sense of social cohesion that leaves them feeling that their needs are being

protected. Interestingly, Rooke and Torbet found that although only 12 percent of all their respondents showed 'diplomat' characteristics, 80 percent of diplomats held junior management positions. Their tendency to avoid conflict makes it less likely for diplomats to hold more senior positions while their friendliness can make them hesitant about giving challenging feedback.

The expert. Making up 38 percent of the respondents in Rooke and Torbet's research (2005), leaders who demonstrate the characteristics of the 'expert' often attempt to lead by perfecting their knowledge base in their professional fields. 'Experts' often present their knowledge in an empirical fashion combining data and logic to obtain buy-in from their peers for their proposals. Due to their knowledge and skill, the 'expert' is generally seen as contributing well to the organisation. However at times they can be problematic as they are often convinced that their view of the world is the right one. This can sometimes manifest itself in the belief that collaborative work is not beneficial to problem-solving situations especially if they see others as being less expert than they are.

The achiever. Thirty percent of the respondents were characterised as being 'achievers.' Rooke and Torbet's study shows that people with these leadership styles often focus on what they are able to deliver whilst creating a positive, challenging workplace. But they also focus less on "outside the box" thinking and this is because their priority is to excel within existing frameworks and where possible, to improve the status quo. Thus, while they may well have a complex and integrated understanding of the professional context, they are also open to feedback and understand that many of life's difficulties are a manifestation of interpretation and relatedness; they know that being creative in conflict resolution requires a gentle touch and the ability to be sensitive to the needs of others. This allows them to attend to immediate and long-term projects with clarity and confidence. This often results in lower staff turnover, a higher degree of delegated responsibility and larger profit margins.

The individualist. Making up 10 percent of the research cohort, 'individualists' are able to work around different personalities and relationships in ways that have practical value for the organisation. They are aware that their actions may at times conflict with those of their managers, the values of the organisation or the implementation of the organisations goals. In some cases 'individualists' may rationalise that it is all right to ignore some rules or others that are not in their team because their practical rigor produces results.

The strategist. 'Strategists' recognise that organisational perceptions and constraints are negotiable and potentially transformable and can be utilised in ways that supports them to lead teams. They see organisational and social change is a development process that can be achieved with a heightened awareness from the leader. They are highly capable in initiating change and are often focused on interpersonal relationships, organisational relations and national and international developments. 'Strategists' made up four percent of the respondents in Rooke and Torbet's research.

The alchemist. Though they comprise only one percent of the respondents, 'alchemists' are described as being able to differentiate themselves from the strategist in that they are can renew or reinvent themselves or the organisation in significant ways. They have the capacity to multi-task and also to work on multiple levels in different organisations resolving issues in each sector. In addition, 'alchemists' tend to maintain high ethical standards and have the capacity to speak to the hearts and minds of people in their organisation by finding historically significant moments and using them as a metaphor to symbolise their message.

The diagram below shows the distribution of leaders across the categories identified by Rooke and Torbet.

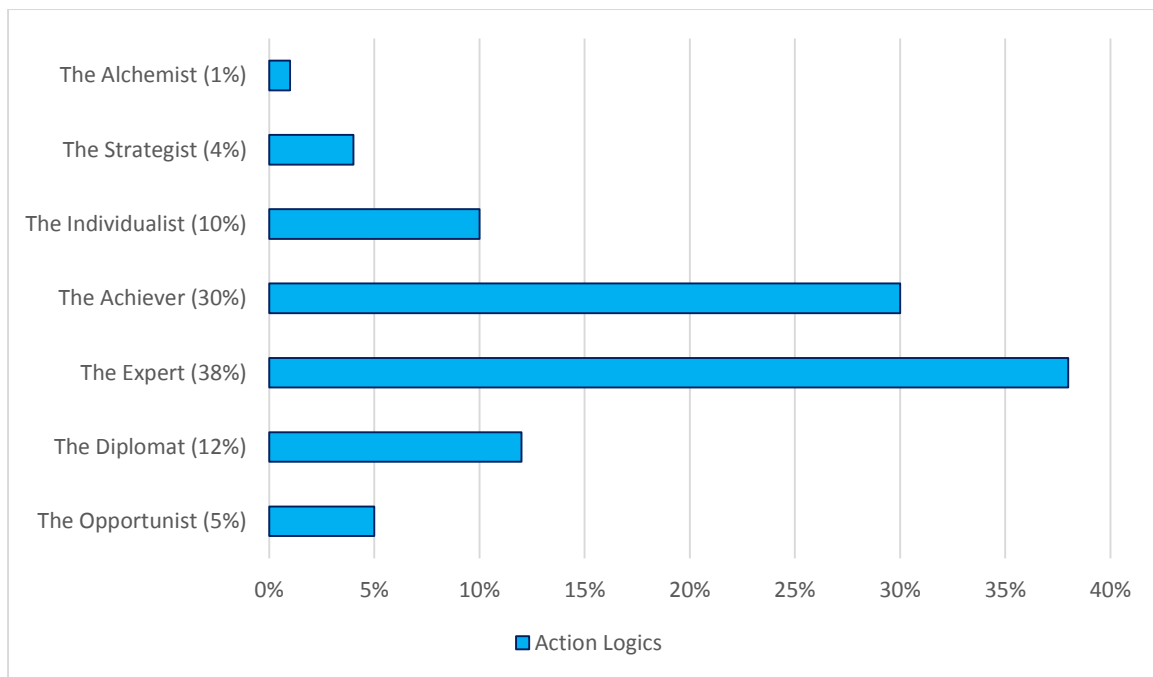


Figure 3.1: *Distribution of leaders across Action Logics*

Figure 3.1 was developed by taking the percentage results from Rooke and Torbets (2005) article and representing them on a graph for easy reference. It does not appear in Rooke and Torbets article and was created for this research.

The distribution of leaders based on Action Logic categories suggests that the majority of leaders are skewed to approximately half way along the Action Logic transformation pathway. As can be seen in Figure 3.1, the distribution of leaders follows a bell curve with the majority following the 'expert' Action Logic, while the 'achiever' follows closely behind. Of note here is that there are more leaders using 'expert' and 'achiever' Action Logic than the other Action Logics combined.

According to Rooke and Torbet, 38 percent of leaders try to perfect the knowledge they use both in their personal and their professional lives. However because of this, they often believe that they are always right. The

'expert' Action Logic is able to transform into the achiever who focuses on creating a positive but challenging workplace. The 'achiever' Action Logic explains that the leader is open to feedback and has a clear understanding of the context.

The 'alchemist' is the most developed Action Logic leader and it is not surprising that it is represented by the smallest group. However the small percentages of the 'diplomat' and the 'opportunist' seem to suggest that early development of leadership skills are taken on board more easily until the leader attains the 'expert' Action Logic. Since the leader passes through the Action Logic stages sequentially it would seem that leaders pass through the opportunist and diplomat stages more quickly than 'achiever' to 'individualist', 'individualist' to 'strategist' and 'strategist' to 'alchemist'. Furthermore, it may be the case the professional development increases leadership knowledge up to the point of 'achiever' Action Logic and does little after this. This may be related to the idea that professional development is work-related, and there is less need for leaders with skills that are more developed than the 'achiever'.

Contemporary perspectives on leadership

According to Northouse (2013) there are five key questions that can be posed about the nature of leadership, as follows:

- i. Is leadership something that is created from a series of traits or is it a process?
- ii. Is leadership something that be assigned or does it emerge from the group?
- iii. Is leadership about power?
- iv. How can we ensure that leadership is not induced by coercion?
- v. How is leadership different from management?

The practices of leadership differ from context to context and consequently there can be no universal definition that fully articulates what leadership is. However, contemporary debates about leadership are explored in the sections below to highlight the elements of the literature that have influenced the thinking in this thesis. I will then consider a number of prominent leadership typologies that are relevant to this research.

Trait verses process leadership. Northouse (2013) contends that understanding leadership as a trait is quite different from describing it as a process. The former perspective considers that a specific trait or set of traits that people are born with that make them more capable within leadership roles (Bass & Bass, 2009). Northouse (2013) explains that these characteristics may be based on physical attributes such as height, weight and ethnicity or personality features such as being an extrovert, narcissist or controlling, or other characteristics, such as intelligence or literacy. The traits that a leader embodies are seen in terms of defining characteristics.

If we consider the question from a process perspective, however, we see that leadership is about the interactions that take place between leaders and followers, and we can also see that the relationship flows in both directions. That means that not only are leaders able to influence followers but followers can also influence leaders. Thus, leadership can be perceived as being bidirectional and although a leader may hold some particular characteristics or traits that are consistent with trait leadership it is the interaction between leaders and followers that creates a shared vision or goal that the group gravitates towards (Northouse, 2013). Historically, leadership trait perspectives have dominated the literature but Northouse argues that more contemporary points of view favour notions of leadership as a process.

Assigned versus emergent leadership. Leadership scholars also debate whether leadership is something that can be assigned by others or if they emerge from within the group (Northouse, 2013). In business and commercial enterprises, leaders tend to be assigned to management roles and their followers are members of their teams who help them to achieve organisational goals. On the other hand, in less formal situations, leaders are often emerge from within the group. An example of this would be within the sports teams. In many cases involving sports teams, the leader emerges from within the group as being a leader.

Conflicts may arise when someone who has been assigned a leadership role and someone who has emerged from the collective have to work together. In these cases it is sometimes the emergent leader that the group follows rather than the person who holds a formal position of authority. This can lead to tensions when followers see the more organic leader as being more influential than the 'official' leader/manager or when the leader of the collective has a better fit with the identity of the group (Northouse, 2013).

Leadership and power. Northouse (2013) argues that, "[p]ower is related to leadership because it is part of the influence process" (p. 9). This statement stems from the idea that people have power when they have the ability to influence others. Northouse (2013) explains that there are two types of power a leader may use within organisations; position power or personal power.

Position power is related to the position a person holds within an organisation. Typically the leader holds a position of authority over the followers and the followers understand that the leader can ask them to do things because of the legitimacy that the leader's position gives them. Personal power involves the leader "being seen by the followers as likeable, knowledgeable, considerate or competent" (Northouse, 2013, p. 10). When

leaders behave in a way that is recognised by followers as being important, leaders are given power or authority to lead by the followers.

Leadership and coercion. Coercion is related to influence in that it can be used to motivate people to follow a shared goal or direction (Northouse, 2013). However being able to influence others does not necessarily mean that leaders exercise some kind of coercive power over their followers. Within the leadership literature, influence has come to reflect a relational construct in a positive (from the view of the group) or a form of interaction that does not involve coercion. The use of coercion would tend to indicate that the group actions are not occurring freely and openly and consequently a leader of this type would not be considered to be enacting fundamental leadership principles (Northouse, 2013).

Leadership and management. 'Leadership' and 'management' are terms that share similarities in that they both involve people who work in groups towards shared goals but they have very different philosophical roots. Often the leader/manager is given authority based on the position they hold within the organisation (Northouse, 2013). Whilst the primary functions of leadership are to develop shared goals and to motivate the group to attain those goals, management primarily concerns itself with planning, organizing, staffing and controlling (Northouse, 2013).

Northouse (2013) cites Zaleznik's (1977) argument that managers are often reactive and solve problems with limited emotional interaction with the group. He contrasts this approach with leaders who engage openly with the group on many levels and seek to shape ideas in ways that allow people to change the way they think about what is possible. Thus, it can be seen that Managers are more likely to be reactive to issues as they arise while leaders tend to be pro-active (Northouse, 2013) and this sets leaders apart from

managers. It is also the case, however, that depending on the context, leaders sometimes oscillate between being a manager and a leader.

The ways that leadership manifests itself

Leadership success often depends on the ability of the leader to identify the underlying causes of the problems they encounter and respond in a way that is contextually productive and appropriate. In this section, six leadership styles are discussed that are important for this research. They are as follows: instructional leadership, educational leadership, school leadership, transformational leadership, transactional leadership and servant leadership. Although there are many more kinds of leadership than this, these have been selected because of their relevance to this research. In this respect, I follow Skipton, Leonard, Lewis, Freedman and Passmore (2013) who explain that leadership is a continuous process that must be viewed contextually. I also agree with their contention that understanding leadership typologies can provide insights into why people behave as they do when they interact with others.

Leader development and leadership development

This research differentiates between leader development and leadership development, the two being different elements of the same contemporary leadership paradigm. The difference between leader development and leadership development is that leader development is focused on the development of an individual's human capital whilst leadership development focuses on the social capital development process.

Leadership development focuses on the ability of leaders to use their human capital (i.e. skills and knowledge that are of value to an employer or a nation) to develop relationships that enhance their social capital (i.e. the interconnected relationships of people within a social system that allow it to operate properly). It provides a theoretical framework for leaders to work

from that involves, “networked relationships among individuals that enhance cooperation and resource exchange in creating organisational value” (Day, 2001, p. 585). From this perspective, it can be seen that leader development and leadership development are fundamentally different.

Leader development. Leader development often involves behavioural interventions aimed at creating changes in the perceptions, motivation and competencies that inform patterns of behaviour (Harms, Spain & Hannah, 2011). In this respect, leader development focuses on the development of human capital as it is embodied by individuals and includes a process of becoming aware of one’s personal identity (Hall, 2005).

Popper & Mayseless (2007) explain that a leader needs to have the psychological motivation for leadership which they suggest is developed during childhood. Murphy and Johnson (2011) agree arguing that development of this nature is likely to occur more readily when a person’s “behaviour, personality and skills are more malleable at a younger age than in adulthood” (p. 460). In this regard, there is a perception that the motivation to be a leader underpins the characteristics that shape identity. However, people are not necessarily conscious of these characteristics from the outset. Part of the purpose of leader development programmes are to expose and develop the characteristics that people have in order for them to become better leaders. While it is believed that a person’s personality influences that kind of leadership that an individual practices, there is little literature about how personality influences leader effectiveness (Popper & Mayseless 2007, Harms, Spain & Hannah, 2011). However, the literature that does exist in this domain agrees that a leader’s performance in the short-term does not always predict long-term outcomes (Harms, Spain & Hannah, 2011).

Leadership development. Leadership can be seen as an emergent phenomenon that is created when the follower constructs their experiences in terms of leadership concepts (Meindl, 1995) in either a formal or informal grouping (Crossman & Crossman, 2011). As a function of their position within the group leaders are responsible for maintaining the leader/follower relationship.

Leadership is the social process that involves a leader, followers and a context. Consequently, leadership development involves providing the leader with the skills to motivate other people towards a known goal in a given situation. Ibarra, Snook and Guillén Ramo (2008) argue that leadership skills are often best learned through practice and observation, and for that reason, the development of leadership skills generally occurs in the workplace. Although many leadership development programmes are available in corporate environments, programmes that aim to develop leadership skills at all levels are generally difficult to design and implement and it is often easier simply to develop the skills and competencies of individual leaders (Dalakoura, 2010).

Tichy (cited in Dalakoura, 2010) explains that if a leader is to be successful they must arrange succession plans and mentor others who shall pick up leadership roles in the future. This means that successful leadership development is reliant on the leaders supervisors, managers etc., to be supportive of the leadership development process within the wider organisation. This is the empowering aspect of leadership development that is focused on bringing new people with new ideas and different motivations into play.

Leadership capacity

Leadership capacity can be framed within a range of personal, organisational, national or regional perspectives. Personal leadership capacity (also known as leader development) allows leaders to inform their actions by developing experience, skills, traits and knowledge as a leader. Organisational leadership in a regional or national capacity often refers to the ability of the group to lead others in a particular project.

Building leadership capacity within an organisation requires continual re-invention of the organisation itself (and consequently the members of the organisation) (Day, 2001). Research tools are available to measure leadership capacity of a person or an organisation, for example, the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (Bass & Avolio, 2011). It should be noted here that leadership capacity has traditionally concerned itself with personal leadership development (Bass, 1991; Bass & Bass, 2009; Northouse, 2013) or leadership development within organisations (Hopkins & Jackson, 2003; King & Newman, 2001) rather than increasing the number of leaders within a given population.

The role of the follower

While a body of literature exists around understandings of leadership, very little has been written about followership. Meindl (1995) suggests that this is an important and often overlooked aspect of leadership since leaders cannot function without followers. In line with this, Bennis (1999) has argued that regardless of the size or ideology of the group, followers require four things from their relationship with the leader; mutual trust, a clear understanding of the direction that the leader is taking them, a sense of hope or optimism, and naturally, results. The perceptions that followers have of their leaders can greatly influence the leader's practice in ways that can be directly translated

into influence within the group (Gardner et al., 2005). Within organisations, followers often consider honesty and competence as key attributes for leaders while cooperation, loyalty and dependability are often seen as traits that are desirable for followers (Hersey & Blanchard, 2007). Furthermore, according to Crossman and Crossman (2011), followers can be categorised into three groups, passive followers, active followers or proactive followers. An understanding followership is important because it gives leaders a clearer understanding of group dynamics (Hurwitz & Hurwitz, 2009).

The way that followers engage with leaders and with each other not only influences leaders' perceptions but also how outsiders view the leader/follower relationship. In some organisations and also in some cultural communities it is customary for the follower to formally acknowledge the leader, for example, with a salute, by standing when they enter the room or by some other means that shows respect for the person's authority (Chaleff, 2011).

Chaleff (2011) further argues that followers who work closely with leaders have a responsibility to keep the leader authentic and honest but also need to stand up to leaders if the situation warrants it. This increases the accountability of the group. Leaders should be aware that when authoritarian relationships are the norm followers tend to agree with the status quo rather than address the leader's actions towards meritocracy and this ultimately reduces the effectiveness of both followers and leaders (Chaleff, 2011).

Pacific leadership

Pacific leadership is a homogenous statement that describes a leadership style that is commonly practiced across the Pacific region. However, leadership is practiced differently in nation states across the region. Differences occur nationally and locally with observant differences between urban and rural areas. What this means is that Pacific leadership can be similar and different depending on the way that it is being observed.

Pacific leaders on the ground tend to focus on common aspects of leadership that exist across the region. In this way Pacific leaders are able to work together to leverage better leadership experiences. This is commonly achieved by sharing stories of leadership experiences. Pacific leaders tend to adapt their leadership practice to be consistent with the prevailing leadership typology of the nation state they are in at the time. Despite the changing context that Pacific leaders work in, the underlying philosophy that guides the leader remains intact. Because the leadership is enacted in similar ways across the Pacific, Pacific leaders are able to cross cultural boundaries with some degree of success.

This research contrasts notions of leadership in Fiji against leadership that is found in Tonga. While observantly there are some similarities in the day to day leadership practices, historically, socially and culturally there are fundamental differences. Tonga is a monarchy, as such leadership in Tonga reflects this form of governance. Leadership in Fiji is significantly different as there have been a number of coups d'état. Consequently leadership at a nation state level in Fiji and Tonga differs.

Socially, Fiji has created a relationship with the Indian community that came to work in various industries. After a number of generations, the Fijian and Indian communities have formed a social structure that largely sit alongside each other with some degree of overlap. Tonga has experienced globalisation differently. Although Tonga has welcomed other nationalities into its communities, Tongan residents are largely of Tongan descent.

Furthermore, culturally Tonga and Fiji are different. They have different languages, and different customs. Despite these differences, values such as love, respect, generosity, reciprocity and valuing the environment are features that can be found not only in Fiji and Tonga, but also across the region.

Leadership typologies

Multiple leadership typologies and styles have been identified in the literature on leadership practice (Northouse, 2013). Given that cultural, organisational and professional contexts are central to the kinds of leadership methods that are enacted, no single leadership typology can be applied in all situations. Furthermore, leadership practices are frequently adapted to suit the context in which leadership is practiced. Thus, a leader may use one style leadership in one context and another style in different context.

The different leadership typologies that exist within the literature include but are not limited to situational approaches (Graeff, 1997; Northouse, 2013); trait theory (Bass & Bass, 2009; Douglas, 1979; Kruger & Scheerens, 2012; Northouse, 2013); skills-based approaches (Northouse, 2013; Peters, Hartke & Pohlmann, 1985); transformational leadership (Bass, 1991; Lowe, Kroeck & Sivasubramaniam, 1996; Northouse, 2013); servant leadership (Northouse, 2013; Spears, 2010; Greenleaf, 2002); instructional leadership (Leonard, 2010; Horng & Loeb, 2010; Volante, 2012); and, educational or school leadership (Bush, Bell & Middlewood, 2010; Begley, 2010; Dimmock & Walker, 2005r; Day, Sammons, Leithwood, Hopkins, Gu, Brown & Ahtaridou, 2011; Duignan, 2006; Kruger & Scheerens, 2012; Leithwood, Anderson, Mascall & Struss, 2010). Only those leadership typologies that are relevant to this study are reviewed here.

Three of the leadership typologies discussed below can be applied to the education sector. These are instructional leadership, educational leadership and school leadership. The other leadership typologies that are explored below are included because of their direct relevance to the Pacific leadership contexts. These were styles of leadership that I directly observed in my fieldwork in Tonga and Fiji. I do not suggest these represent all leadership styles practiced in these research sites, only that I did not observe them at that time.

Instructional leadership. Instructional leadership is a leadership typology that is often found within schools and classrooms. As such, much of the instructional leadership literature is written from this perspective though it could, in fact, be applied in any context where learning outcomes are prioritised. Indeed, instructional leadership is often thought of in terms of the direct and indirect leadership behaviours that affect pedagogical practice and student learning. Instructional leadership refers directly to pedagogy that is aimed at improving student outcomes. However instructional leadership is often used to describe the actions that a Principal (or delegated staff member) takes to improve student learning with a specific focus on the behaviours of teachers as they participate in activities that affect student growth (Volante, 2012).

Effective instructional leadership is not the sole domain of the Principal, rather it comes from a distributed leadership model that allows the instructional vision to be realised and efficiently advanced (Leonard, 2010). It places value on collaborative work that takes place in an environment of trust and respect. In particular, instructional leadership concerns itself with the teaching and learning aspects of educational leadership (Horng & Loeb, 2010).

Instructional leadership is likely to be used in conjunction with other leadership styles and approaches depending on the context of the school and the local community. Enacting instructional leadership in conjunction with other leadership approaches within schooling contexts is likely to occur because instructional leadership refers to the teaching strategies that a teacher uses to enable students engage with the subject matter and this can shift according to changing needs in the classroom or in the community surrounding the school.

Educational leadership. Educational leadership differs from instructional leadership in that instructional leadership takes a micro-level view of how leadership affects the learning process whilst educational leadership regards the relationship between leadership and the learning process from a macro-level perspective. The relationship between educational leadership and instructional leadership can be best understood if we think of instructional leadership as a subset of educational leadership. In this way, it can be seen that educational leadership shares several of the same characteristics of instructional leadership.

Dimmock and Walker (2005) explain that educational leadership is a socially grounded process that is subject to the values and traditions of the context that surrounds it. However culture and its relationship to educational leadership has received little recognition within the academic literature until fairly recently (Dimmock & Walker, 2005). This is partly because much of the literature about educational leadership draws from an American or British base that has not always taken into account how leadership and followership styles are constructed in nations outside the West.

As a typology, educational leadership differs from other leadership styles in two key respects. Firstly, it is specific to the education sector so whilst some leadership typologies are transferable across sectors, educational leadership

is not. Secondly, leadership typologies often provide explanations and descriptions about the ways in which leaders and followers interact but the literature on educational leadership does not in the main provide these explanations. It focuses instead on the ways in which teachers engage with the learning process including the systems, policies and practices that influence or inform the learning process (Dimmock & Walker, 2005).

Leithwood, Anderson, Mascall and Strauss (2010) suggest that educational leadership centers on two central tenets. The first is that educational leadership concerns itself with influence and the second is that the influence a teacher has on students directly affects their learning. The literature on educational leadership does, however, do more than simply consider the relationship between the teacher and the student, for example, it also includes discussions about how educational leaders can improve the conditions and policies that schools have in place that affect teacher effectiveness.

In recent years, the terminology around these notions has changed, for example, the terms 'educational administration' and 'educational management' are more often referred to nowadays as 'educational leadership' (Gunter, 2004 cited in Bush, Bell & Middlewood, 2010). As a component of the leadership literature, educational leadership can be distinguished from 'educational management' insofar as the term educational leadership reflects a shift in educational policy over the last five decades. Partly in response to these changing perspectives, the roles of Head teachers and Principals have undergone a corresponding shift with respect to their autonomy, accountability and responsibility (Bell 2007, cited in Bush, Bell & Middlewood, 2010). When experts in the field talk about educational leadership they may draw on elements of instructional leadership, school management and school administration as well as individual leadership typologies. The term 'school administration' usually covers matters such as

the development and implementation of a school vision, planning and policy (Kruger & Scheerens, 2012).

A defining characteristic of educational leadership is the leader's ability to initiate curriculum and policy reform (Begley, 2010). In addition, the capacity of educational leaders to inspire others and to provide a vision for the future is also important (Duignan, 2006). Educational leaders are often faced with a steep learning curve early in their careers (Day et al., 2011). Although Principals may come into the role hoping to make changes to the status quo they often become mired in school administration tasks and consequently may end up doing little to develop and implement an educational vision (Kruger & Scheerens, 2012). Teachers sometimes feel that if their Principal spent more time leading them, student achievement would improve (Kruger & Scheerens, 2012). Principals, on the other hand, often find that they do not have the time to reflect on or communicate a shared vision in the face of busy schedules (Duignan, 2006).

Day et al., (2011) explain why some educational leaders are more successful than others. School size, school level, subject matter and academic emphasis, for example, are all factors that have an impact on student learning outcomes. Research suggests that smaller school sizes may present particular challenges for school leaders but they are generally more productive with regard to student learning (Day et al., 2011). Day et al., (2011) explain that educational leaders often look for resources in many different places depending on the subject matter being taught. For example, to improve literacy, educational leaders may rely on the expertise of teachers but in subjects like mathematics they are more likely to use external resources. Also, the degree to which a school emphasises academic achievement has an impact on student outcomes (Day et al., 2011)

School leadership. Educational leadership approaches are widely debated in the Pacific region. The Tongan Ministry of Education, for example, describes the “key dimensions of school leadership [that] provides a guide for improving school leadership practices” (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012). The Ministry of Education considers that the main focus for educational leaders needs to be to clarify the role, purpose and nature of leadership in schools; to guide the practices of future leaders; and, to set the direction for professional development so that a clear understanding of school leadership can be formulated.

A series of workshops for educational leaders in Tonga was run in 2011 and the conclusions reached were that although each of these key focal areas are important in their own right they need be seen as part of a larger and more cohesive body of work that describes Tongan school leadership as it is practiced today. In the diagram below, the key dimensions of school leadership in Tongan schools are laid out. Each key dimension has a number of sub-dimensions attached to it. The sub-dimensions refer to the concepts and activities that have been identified as contributing to the achievement of key dimensions. In Tonga, school leadership is thought about in terms of ethical leadership, visionary leadership, organisational leadership, instructional leadership and community connectedness. The ideas outlined in the diagram below are taken from the Tongan Ministry of Education *Improving Tongan School Leadership* guide (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2010).

<i>5 key Dimensions</i>	<i>Ethical leadership</i>	<i>Visionary Leadership</i>	<i>Organisational Leadership</i>	<i>Instructional Leadership</i>	<i>Community Connectedness</i>
Tongan School Leadership	Professional ethics	Managing change	Policy, regulation, laws	Student learning and development	Parents (PTA)
	Decision making processes	Setting directions	Financing education	School Plan	Cultural competency
	Problem Solving	Vision development	Organisational planning	School Finance	Church, education committees, advisory boards, ex-students and other stakeholders
	Relationship building		Organisational communication and information	Professional development for Teachers	
				Cultural competency	

Table 3.1: *Table of school leadership. (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012)*

In the section below, I discuss the perspectives of leadership that have informed the Tongan Ministry of Education policy statement.

Ethical Leadership (Fakafeangai tonunga a e taki). *Fakafeangai tonunga a e taki* is a key concept in educational leadership in the Tongan context. It refers to ethical leadership which in turn, “refers to the values, principles and moral behaviours that guide leadership practices” (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012, p. 11). The guide to *Improving Tongan School Leadership* (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012) explains that Tongan community members form their opinions about school leaders based on their behaviour. Leaders are judged approvingly when they focus on four core values, namely, *faka’apa’apa* (respect), *mamahi’i me’a* (loyalty), *feveitokai’aki* (reciprocity), and *lototo* (humility) and Tongan school Principals are expected to actively demonstrate their commitment to these four values.

They can do this by enacting the sub-dimensions, noted in the diagram above, of observing professional ethics, establishing transparent decision-making processes, and being effective problem-solvers and relationship-builders (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012).

Visionary Leadership (Sio Atu). In the Tongan context, a leader who is able to design and implement future directions for the organisation is considered to be a visionary. Their vision will have a clear strategic focus that is aspirational, forward-looking and responsive to the organisation. Direction-setting is also seen as essential to becoming a visionary leader. In this educational context, visionary leadership is demonstrated by managing change effectively, setting directions using collaborative and participatory approaches (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012).

Organisational Leadership (Taki iha Potungaue). *Taki iha Potungaue* is considered to be another important element of Tongan educational leadership. It centers on an understanding of organisational leadership in schools that includes demonstrating sound knowledge of school policies, government regulations and laws, educational finances, organisational planning, and organisational communication and information dissemination. It is considered that strong organisational leadership is enacted when leaders make meaningful connections with other educational groups and key people at both national and regional levels. These connections are facilitated when Principals participate in policy development at the same time as demonstrating that they are part of vibrant, healthy organisations that are responsive to the needs of the stakeholders (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012).

Instructional leadership (Papa Fakahinohino). In the Tongan school system, *Papa Fakahinohino* or instructional leadership refers to, “the school Principal and/or the school leadership team playing more than an administrative role as leaders of an organisation ” (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012, p. 20). In line with this, instructional leaders are expected to ensure that effective learning takes place in a context of high-quality teaching. Instructional leadership is displayed when meaningful and responsive school lesson plans are developed that meet the needs of students. This form of leadership also includes the expectation that school leaders will manage finances and direct resources to where they are most needed at the same time as providing for the professional development of staff. In this way, instructional leaders are required to foster and maintain a school culture that promotes a learning environment that is inclusive of students, teachers and the surrounding community (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific).

Community Connectedness (Fengaue aki). Another element of educational leadership in Tonga concerns the concept of *Fengaue aki* or community connectedness. In this regard, school leaders are expected to ensure that their schools are closely connected to local communities and that the broad values of Tongan society are represented and reflected in the school. The thinking here is that when these connections are maintained with parents, students, the Church and other stakeholders, the school is seen as being meaningful, relevant and worthwhile . Community connectedness is thus, “best demonstrated through the cultural competency of the school leader in being skilled, adaptive and responsive to the expectations of the community” (Ministry of Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012, p. 23). In line with this, being able to speak with confidence at cultural gatherings and being well versed with the Tongan culture and Christian faith is also seen as being important qualities of a strong leader (Ministry of

Education of Education and Training and the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, 2012).

Hereditary leadership (chieftainship)

Hereditary leadership (chieftainship) is enacted when a leadership position is passed on to a person because of their birth right. In New Caledonia and Fiji, this idea has been translated into political life and representation in an attempt to maintain traditional governance systems in a modern and highly globalised world. In many parts of the Pacific, however, contemporary hereditary leadership is socially advantageous but does not afford political benefits (Douglas, 1979). Hereditary leadership sits aside from trait theory in that it is the leader's lineage rather than their ability to lead that allows the person to assume a leadership role.

Hereditary leadership is enacted in different ways across the Pacific region. An example of this would be in Tonga where the Royal family has held the seat of leadership for many generations. In other Pacific nations such as Fiji, for example, hereditary leaders (Chiefs) have been replaced by other parties. Although hereditary leaders no longer manage the affairs of the state in Fiji they retain considerable influence within their villages.

Transformational and transactional leadership relationships

Approximately one third of the leadership articles published in *Leadership Quarterly*, a leading journal in the domain, consider leadership transformational or charismatic leadership styles (Lowe and Gardner, 2001 cited in Northouse, 2013). Indeed, transformational leadership is a central concern in the academic research on leadership. Leaders who are exponents of transformational leadership often have a strongly held set of ideals and values and they consistently place the greater good ahead of their own self-interest (Kuhnert, 1994 cite in Northouse, 2013). Leaders who focus on transactional leadership, on the other hand, tend to focus on

following a set of rules or standards, often offering incentives to followers to achieve goals (Bass, 1991).

Transformational leadership is a complimentary style to transactional leadership because,

both styles may be linked to the achievement of goals and objectives. In this view. The transformational leader's style is complementary to the transactional style and is likely to be ineffective in the total absence of a transactional relationship between leader and subordinate. (Bass, Avolio & Goodheim, 1987, cited in Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996, p. 387).

Transformational leadership differs from transactional leadership in that transactional leaders are happy with achieving the goals that were set in place at the outset of a project whereas transformational leaders aim to achieve greater goals than were originally planned.

Transactional leadership refers to the exchange that takes place between leaders and followers (Northouse, 2013). It occurs when a leader, "initiates contact with subordinates in an effort to exchange something of value, such as rewards for performance, mutual support or bilateral disclosure" (Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996, p. 386). From a transactional leadership perspective, a leader may offer incentives to followers by promising to fulfil certain needs or requirements such as promises of recognition, increases in remuneration or advancement of employees within an organisation (Bass, 1991). Because transactional leaders tend to reward followers for their efforts and promise rewards for future good performance, they sometimes fall into the trap of micro-managing or seek out deviations from a set of rules or standards, taking corrective action when required and intervening when standards are not met (Bass, 1991).

Transformational leadership, on the other hand, leans towards a focus on improving performance at the same time as providing followers with professional development opportunities that allow them to fulfil their potential. Transformational leaders pay close attention to the charismatic and affective features of the leadership process engages followers in positive ways. They do this by assessing and satisfying their follower's needs and by considering the emotions, values, ethics standards and long-term goals that exist within the leader-follower relationship. In doing so, the leader looks for ways of motivating followers to achieve more than they would otherwise (Northouse, 2013).

Leaders who are described as transformational or charismatic often have a clear vision about the future of the group or organisation. They are self-confident, competent, have a desire to influence others, have shared goals with moral overtones, and have high expectations of followers but display confidence in their ability to meet those expectations (Northouse, 2013).

Within this charismatic relationship, followers often trust in the leader's ideology, share similar beliefs, accept guidance, actively show their esteem for the leader and actively identify with the leader. They also share the same goals. This is particularly beneficial at those times when a follower feels stressed and looks towards the leader for guidance (Northouse, 2013).

Bass (1985) (cited in Northouse, 2013) explains that followers are often willing to do more than expected because the charismatic leader is able to raise the followers level of consciousness with regards to the value and importance of the goals. They can influence followers to put aside their own self-interests and focus on the needs of the group, team or organisation and they can also motivate followers to address higher level needs.

Northouse (2013) describes transformational leadership in terms of the four I's, namely Idealised influence, Inspirational motivation, Intellectual

stimulation and Individualised consideration. Idealised influence describes the leader-follower relationship where the follower wants to emulate the leader's behaviour. In this regard, the emotional component of leadership typifies leaders who are able to provide a vision or sense of mission for followers by developing a relationship where the follower deeply respects the leader and places a great deal of trust in them. The leader is able to do this by having a very high standard of morals and ethical conduct (Northouse, 2013).

Inspirational motivation occurs when a leader is able to communicate a high level of expectation to the followers and in doing so, inspire them to be part of a shared vision. The leader does this by using symbols and emotional appeals to motivate followers to do more for the group than they would otherwise do. The leader does this to enhance team spirit (Northouse, 2013).

Intellectual stimulation is also an important aspect of this style of leadership. When followers are intellectually engaged they may feel inspired to develop innovative and creative ways of tackling organisational issues. While it may encourage followers to think outside of the box, this form of leadership may also challenge the follower's own values and beliefs as well as those of the leader and organisation (Northouse, 2013).

Transformational leadership tends to not occur in isolation and is often accompanied by transactional leadership styles (Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996). In this way the charismatic effect of transformational leaders is supported when the follower receives benefits and rewards from the leader who is behaving in a transactional manner. The combination of both transactional and transformational leadership encourages followers to work alongside the leader not only because they want to but because they benefit from it.

The tangible advantages of using transactional leadership can be seen when the leader promises certain benefits or rewards that the follower will receive if they follow their direction and the follower engages with that approach. However combining this style with transformational leadership approaches allows the leader to be perceived by their colleagues and employees as inspirational and motivational (Bass, 1991). Furthermore leaders using a transformational leadership typology often have a better relationship with their supervisors and contribute more to the organisation (Bass, 1991)

Servant leadership

At first glance, the words “Servant” and “leader” seem paradoxical but this is a view of leadership that fits within both traditional and contemporary leadership practices. A servant leader influences followers so that shared goal can be achieved. However, servant leadership proposes that a leader may serve others and through this service they are able to influence the followers to achieve the same goal (Northouse, 2013; Spears, 2010).

Sendjaya (2010) views servant leadership as an aspect of character that comes from the heart rather than skill or behaviour that a leader displays. It is a servant leaders,

willingness to sacrifice their own needs and wants in order to serve others, instead of serving their own selfish aims by sacrificing other people. As a leadership approach that is other-orientated, rather than leader centered, effectiveness is therefore measured by the holistic development of both the leader and the follower. (Sendjaya, 2010, p. 46).

Blanchard and Hodges (2003) argue that a fundamental difference between servant leadership and other leadership styles is that self-serving leaders often guard their position within an organisation or team. A servant leader, on the other hand, considers that leadership comes from within and is an act

of service to the team or organisation of which they are part. Van Dierendonk and Patterson (2010) agree and add that a servant leader is able to influence their followers through the power of service.

Servant leadership also differs from many earlier leadership typologies in that it focuses on allowing strong long-term relationships to develop that focus on personal integrity. These relationships may extend beyond the leader-follower relationship into other aspects of the followers life. In this way, servant leaders can serve multiple stakeholder's including the local community as well as regional or religious settings (Linden, Wayne, Zhao & Henderson, 2008). It should be noted here that these characteristics are extremely important in Pacific communities.

Ideas about servant leadership's grew from Hermann Hesse's 1932 novel called *Journey to the East* (Greenleaf, 2002). *Journey to the East* is a parable of the complex nature of servant leadership written from the perspective of a member of the group. In this novel, Hesse examines the nature of servant leadership and explains that a true leader has a natural inclination to serve others first and through that form of service is able to motivate the group to work towards a common goal.

From a servant leadership perspective, a leader should automatically feel that they wish to serve others first, and to lead others second. In this respect, the servant leader is different from many other perspectives about leadership because it places service in a central position. Care is taken by the servant leader to ensure that the followers' highest priority are being served (Greenleaf, 2002).

Spears (2010) explains that a servant leader often embodies listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualisation, foresight,

stewardship, commitment to the growth of people and building community. Moreover, Spears (2010) explains that servant leadership is an approach to life and work that has the potential to create a positive change within an individual, group organisation and society.

Summary of chapter three

In this chapter, I have explored the literature regarding international development and leadership. The focus of this thesis lies with aid in the education sector and with the imposition of Western economic, philosophical, political and cultural frameworks on communities in recipient nations. I have argued that part of the answer lies with supporting the development of Pacific leaders to deal with the educational issues and challenges that confront Pacific peoples in the region. I have also discussed the leadership literature as a means of illuminating the complexities involved in defining leadership as well as developing new leaders to take up positions of authority in organisations and development programmes.

Debates about the nature of leadership have long been the subject of discussion in and around the Pacific and in this chapter I have signalled how some of these ideas have played out in Tonga, for example. I consider that these discussions are very important because if leadership practice is a highly contextualised process, as I have argued in this chapter, then the cultural, and social values that inform understandings about leadership in recipient nations need to be at the cornerstone of every discussion about international development and aid.

These ideas have informed the way I have conceptualised this project and in the next chapter I explain how I set up the methodology of this study that ultimately led me to do my field work in the nations of Fiji and Tonga where debates about international aid in the education sector are highly topical and often very controversial.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research methodology used in this study. The research methods are described and the qualitative nature of the research design and data analysis techniques are explained. I also locate this study within a philosophical context. The chapter concludes with a discussion about the ethical considerations for this research.

The relationship between aid programmes and leadership development

As noted previously, the aim of international development programmes is to reduce poverty (United Nations, 2000) and education is seen as one of the most important ways of contributing to this goal (Tarabini, 2010). This study examines the relationship between international development programmes and leadership development in recipient nations. This relationship can be seen in action in the way that community leaders, teachers, international country directors and state officials talk about the following issues:

- The quality of leadership training available to education professionals.
- The infrastructure and resources that support the professional development of leaders.
- Professional development opportunities for teachers and principals.
- The kinds of leadership styles favoured in international development programmes and the kinds of leadership styles enacted in Pacific communities.
- The degree of input that Pacific programme experts have in the way that aid is designed, developed and delivered in their communities.

A curiosity about the nature of the relationships between the different social 'actors' in the development environment of the Pacific region has guided the way I designed this project. It also shaped the kinds of research questions that were posed.

Research questions

As noted previously, this research is guided by three major research questions:

1. What are recipient's perceptions about Pacific leadership and leadership development programmes in the Pacific context?
2. What are recipient's perceptions of international development in the Pacific context?
3. In what ways are international development programmes enhancing educational leadership development?

These questions are addressed in the findings and discussion chapters later in this thesis but they also helped me to decide to take a qualitative approach to my methodology.

The qualitative research paradigm

A research paradigm is a broad view of the patterns that guide a research project and can be explained as,

a set of assumptions and perceptual orientations shared by members of a research community. [They] determine how members of research communities view both the phenomena their particular community studies and the research methods that should be employed to study those phenomena.” (Given, 2008, p. 591).

This research is guided by a qualitative paradigm and the way the study was subsequently designed and the methodological choices that were made and carried out in the field are discussed in this chapter. In particular, qualitative methodologies were used to focus on the way educational leaders connect and relate to their context in international development programmes in the Pacific.

Model for research: Case study research

Yin (2003) explains that a case study is a research strategy that is especially useful when “how” or “why” questions are being posed. When deciding which model should be used, Yin (2003) maintains that three conditions should be used to determine the appropriate research model. Firstly the type of research question that is being posed, secondly the extent of control that the investigator has over the events and thirdly the degree of focus on contemporary issues rather than historical events.

Strategy	Form of Research Question	Requires control of Behavioural Events	Focuses on Contemporary Events
Experiment	How, why?	Yes	Yes
Survey	Who, what, where, how many, how much?	No	No
Archival analysis	Who, what, where, how many, how much?	No	Yes/No
History	How, why?	No	No
Case Study	How, why?	No	Yes

Table. 4.1: *Relevant situations for different research strategies (Source: Cosmos Corporation, cited in Yin, 2003, p. 5)*

The first condition considers the who, what, where, why and how of the research questions. Research questions that consider the “what” tend to be exploratory or experimental, research questions that look at the “who” or “where” often use survey strategies or analyses historic documents. On the

other hand, research questions that investigate the “how” or “why” of an issue or a phenomenon are explanatory and are often best served by case study approaches (Yin, 2003). The second condition is the extent of control the researcher has over behavioural events. Experiments are sometimes used when the researcher is able to influence or control some of the events in question. The third condition is the degree of focus on contemporary issues as opposed to historical events. These conditions are elaborated in Table 4.1 above.

Yin (2003) suggests that case study approaches provide a useful framework for investigating contemporary events and data often include the researcher’s observations as well as interviews with the people who are involved in the event (Yin, 2003). In this respect, a case study can be viewed as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2009, p. 18).

Case study inquiry relies on the triangulation of multiple sources of data that converge to give rise to a common theme or themes (Yin, 2009). Researchers using case study methodologies can also capture holistic characteristics of the subject matter that may include group behaviour, organisational processes and practices, neighbourhood change, performance of schools, maturation of industries and international relations (Yin, 2009).

Moreover, different kinds of case studies can be undertaken. Yin (2003) explains that a case study may be explanatory, exploratory or descriptive and that this is largely dependent on the construction of the research questions. Furthermore, case study research may involve a single case study or multiple case studies. The advantages of conducting multiple case

studies is that individual cases can be compared for similarities and differences, reproducibility can be observed and generalisations are more likely to be made with more than one case (Creswell, 2012; Johnson et al., 2008; Yin, 2009). This research, however, takes the form of a single case study that is explanatory in nature. Though there has been some criticism surrounding the difference between single case and multiple case studies, in real terms it appears that they are two variants of case study design (Yin, 2009). I chose to conduct a single case study as a way of gaining an understanding about how international development contributes to and enhances leader and leadership development and capacity. Participants in two Pacific nations were involved in this research but these data were analysed as a single case study (Creswell, 2012; Johnson et al., 2008; Yin, 2009).

According to Yin (2009), the single case study approach can be used to ascertain if a proposition is correct or whether there is an alternative set of explanations that may be more relevant to the context. With this in mind, this research has been designed as a single case study because it investigates a contemporary phenomenon that I have no control over and the research questions consider the “how” and “why” of the phenomenon.

There are five important components of a case study research design, namely, the research questions, its propositions, the units of analysis, the logic linking the data to the propositions and the criteria for interpreting the findings (Yin, 2009). The research questions form the basis of the case study, not only guiding the direction, but also placing boundaries around the research topic. The proposition further refocuses the research questions providing the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of a phenomenon. The unit of analysis refers to what is being investigated by the research. Choosing an appropriate unit of analysis is therefore very important if the research questions are going to be adequately addressed (Yin, 2009).

A single case study focuses on the study as a single unit or context. This research involves a single case study that includes data collected in Fiji and Tonga. The rationale for interviewing participants in two nations is that international development programmes in the Pacific generally operate in a recipient country while receiving strategic direction from Fiji. Consequently, to obtain a contextually accurate view of the relationship between international developments in the Pacific, data from both nations needed to be incorporated into a single case study. Moreover, a case study approach is appropriate in this research because it allowed me to capture the perspectives and lived experiences of one group of participants that I was then able to compare and contrast with those of participants in other groups.

Inquiry paradigm: Qualitative research

Generally speaking, qualitative research is concerned with interpreting the meaning of data and the spoken word rather than analysing numerical data using statistical methodologies. This approach allows the researcher to capture multiple perspectives of an event from the perspective of the participants. This study investigates the ways in which international development influences leadership and leader development in the Pacific context. Central to this research then, are the perspectives of community leaders, teachers, principals, Ministry officials and international development representatives. These data provide the reader with unique insights into the way that Pacific people experience international development and educational leadership in their own communities.

Qualitative researchers aim to study a topic without relying on preconceived ideas. In many cases they develop a hypothesis and a theoretical framework to support or test the observations they have made (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). This is useful for making sense of phenomena in its natural setting and allows researchers to focus on the meanings that people bring with them into the context. In this respect, qualitative methodologies provide researchers

with the means to explore in depth the underlying significance that participants attribute to phenomena.

Research conducted in this manner also considers that cultural and social contexts guide the actions of the participants (Creswell, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Johnson et al., 2008). By examining how the participants constructed understandings of their social realities, this research emphasises how they interpreted and acted on their experiences in the educational aid environment. To that end, the study considers the ontological, axiological and epistemological understandings that the participants brought to bear on the development context. Before proceeding further, it is worth clarifying what these terms mean, as follows: ontology is the philosophical study of reality, existence or the nature of being. It allows an individual to question why something exists in the way it does and what can exist, placing value on the perception of the individual (Chilisa & Preece, 2005).

The way a researcher understands the nature of reality (or the ontological stance that she or he takes), enables a study to be placed alongside other similar pieces of research and this is what I have attempted to do in this thesis. In addition, the nature of knowledge (or epistemology) considers how knowledge is constructed. On the other hand, axiology considers the values that were at play in the site communities. When researchers take an axiological position they are interpreting how values and ethics aid in the construction of knowledge (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). In this respect, this research examines the values that shaped the participants' engagement with the international development programmes in their communities and this is a key focal point of this study.

In this thesis, I take a relativist ontological approach in that I argue that there are multiple ways of understanding the dynamic and fluid nature of social reality. This kind of approach often focuses on the complexity of participants'

engagement with the realities that are under examination. From an epistemological perspective, this research explores how knowledge is disseminated vertically and horizontally within the international development frame. It focuses on what constitutes knowledge within these contexts and the ways that this knowledge is communicated to others (Chilisa & Preece, 2005).

Researching a topic in its natural context can incorporate the causes, processes, outcomes and meanings of an event or action from the point of view of the participants. In this study, participants were asked open-ended questions during semi-structured interviews and their responses were later collated, coded and analysed thematically (Creswell, 2012; Johnson et al., 2008).

In this research, as I shall discuss further a little later in this chapter, I have taken a radical humanist position which seeks to understand a complex world of shared understandings from the point of view of those who are within the context. In line with this thinking, I recognise the importance of the culture and history of the group and I argue that this can offer a valuable means of understanding how and why knowledge has been created. This research therefore draws on the participant's language, culture and history to make sense of the context (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), inquiry paradigms describe what the inquiry is about as well as what falls within and outside of the limits of legitimate inquiry. It does this by asking three questions, the ontological question, the epistemological question and the methodological question. The ontological question asks what the form and nature of reality is, and consequently what is there that can be known? The epistemological question asks about the relationship between what can be known and the knower, while the methodological question asks how the knower can find out

about what they think is known. I have engaged with all of these considerations in designing and conducting this project.

Units of analysis

Yin (2003) describes the unit of analysis as being the case itself. In this case study, the primary unit of analysis is the relationship that international development has with educational leadership. It is important for the researcher to clearly identify the unit of analysis because it relates to and is in some ways defined by the research questions. The unit of analysis therefore guides how the research questions are framed and gives the researcher some insight into selecting an appropriate research design and data collection strategy (Yin, 2003).

Research paradigms

Researchers need to be aware of the perspectives and values that they bring with them into their research and understand how this affects the analysis of data (Yin, 2003). Burrell and Morgan (1979) identify four paradigms that explain how a researcher interacts with key ideas that underpin social science research and have created a lens through which social scientists can locate themselves in terms of their research (Figure 4.1).

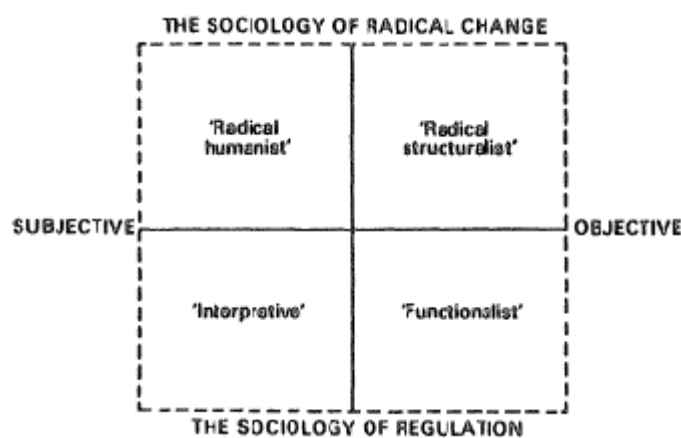


Figure 4.1: *Burrell and Morgan's (1979, p. 22) paradigms for the Analysis of Social Sciences*

As can be seen in Figure 4.1 above, the first dimension places the researcher within the matrix according to their subjectivity/objectivity. The second dimension places the researcher within the matrix according to the way they view issues of social change (i.e. radical social change vs. social regulation). The first and second dimensions are placed within the same matrix with the two dimensions perpendicular to each other. Using a 2 x 2 grid, the subjective/objective dimension and the social regulation/radical change dimension can be used to frame the paradigms as they each share a group of fundamental assumptions about reality. The paradigms are also largely mutually exclusive of each other, and consequently, a social scientist can locate his or her research in relation to a particular paradigmatic approach.

Each of the paradigms are founded on a set of understandings, perspectives and underlying assumptions about social theory (i.e. the dimension of social regulation vs. radical change) and epistemic position (i.e. the subjective vs. objective dimension) that underpin different theories, concepts and tools of analysis in the social sciences. As such, each dimension frames social reality from a worldview that is based on a particular set of beliefs.

Understanding how the paradigms relate to each other allows researchers to identify the boundaries of their own research and consequently identify what their research is able to achieve or not achieve. In addition, these paradigms can help researchers to locate their theoretical frameworks within the wider context of their disciplinary fields and give them some consistency in terms of what is 'generally understood' or 'taken for granted' within a discipline (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). As will be explained below, my own preferences align most closely with the radical humanist paradigm. I am more focused on social change than on social regulation and recognise that important elements of this study rest on subjective assumptions about the nature of social reality in the Pacific. I discuss this positioning further in the sections that follow in relation to the paradigms outlined by Burrell and Morgan (1979).

The radical humanist paradigm (subjective-radical change).

Proponents of the radical humanist paradigm assert that the nature of reality is subjective and fluid because the world around us is constantly changing. Researchers who place themselves within the radical humanist paradigm are very often concerned with finding ways of removing social constraints that limit a person's potential and in this respect they usually have a strong commitment to transformative social change. (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Within this paradigm, researchers often adopt methods that include observation and interpretation as a way of gathering data that illuminate aspects of human behaviour. Moreover, radical humanists consider that the way that social structures are configured play an important role in developing and maintaining the power relationships that affect every level of society. By positioning oneself within the radical humanist paradigm, a researcher therefore has a framework for critiquing the status quo. This facilitates an examination of the ways that social emancipation, liberation or transformation can take place. (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

The radical structuralist paradigm (objective-radical change).

Within the radical structuralist paradigm, there is an assumption that radical social change can occur as a result of the structural conflicts that emerge out of political or economic crises. From this perspective, reality is seen as being in a state of flux but because these changes are observable they are usually also measurable. As such, the nature of reality is considered to be both observable and quantifiable. This paradigm therefore allows researchers to maintain an objective position whilst also being committed to change and emancipation (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

Within this framework, it is considered that knowledge emerges from the flow of social relations. In particular, there is a recognition that the social world is stratified and consequently the knowledge that comes from each sector of society is viewed as being both context and class specific. (Burrell &

Morgan, 1979). By these means, the radical structural paradigm emphasises the creative potential of structural conflict. Since knowledge is produced as a result of the interactions and conflicts within and between social groups, it is not possible to verify or compare different sets of knowledge about the social world, however, powerful elites are positioned in such a way that they are can create “correct” or “appropriate” knowledge of the social reality and disseminate it to others (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

Several aspects of the radical structuralist paradigm have guided my thinking in this research. For example, I agree that particular kinds of knowledge are produced within social and cultural contexts and that these understandings have an influence on how people understand the world. I further argue in this thesis that within-group differences are also significant and that these give rise to multiple realities depending on the understandings of the people within the group.

I further argue that reality is both observable and describable, however, I disagree that it is always appropriate to attempt to quantify phenomena using generic tools of measurement. To do so, in my opinion, is to make the assertion that all perceptions of reality can be measured with the same measuring instruments. For this point of view to be valid there would need to be general agreement that there is a ‘correct’ way to perceive reality and that all other perceptions must be contrasted against it. I fundamentally disagree with this proposition and suggest that different perceptions of reality are describable and that these descriptions may be similar or different depending on the demographic of people who perceive and articulate reality. In this thesis, I have extended these assumptions to recognise and respect that the participants who were involved in this study operate on the basis of knowledge that is drawn from their own communities, cultural worldviews and histories.

The functionalist paradigm (objective-social regulation). Rooted in the traditions of positivism, the functionalist paradigm assumes that reality is concrete and can be understood by testing out hypotheses. Because there is an assumption that reality is concrete there is a corresponding emphasis on the importance of understanding how society is ordered and identifying patterns of cohesion (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Functionalists also consider that people behave rationally within an observable and measurable reality. This presupposes that society is not only fixed but that it follows an order that may not be apparent to its members. In this way, functionalists aim to establish objective and value-free conclusions that explain and predict specific aspects of the context under investigation.

In this respect, the social world is explained by identifying, studying and quantifying reality by identifying and explaining fluctuations and irregularities that can be understood in terms of cause and effect. Further, people are viewed as participants in a social world that is heavily influenced by economic forces. The functionalist paradigm is a problem-orientated approach that allows researchers to understand social issues and generate knowledge that can be used by members of a community or society. In this regard, functionalism is a paradigmatic approach that is often used when 'real world' problems need practical solutions (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

Within the functionalist paradigm there is a belief that society is fixed and ordered and for this reason, I have not adopted this perspective in this thesis. This is primarily because from a radical humanist perspective I consider that society is in a state of constant change and that as a result the nature of reality is fluid and unstable. I argue here that as members of societies or communities, people learn about the world they live in and act upon it accordingly. When this happens, they adapt their behaviours to incorporate the new knowledge and this can bring about social change. This has most certainly been the case in Fiji and Tonga where social change has, over time, considerably affected traditional and customary views of the world. International development programmes have also played a role in these

changing perceptions and for this reason the functionalist view of a static and orderly reality is not applied in this thesis.

The interpretive paradigm (subjective-social regulation). The interpretive paradigm observes reality from an individual's perspective so that a better understanding of people's behaviour within a given context can be explored. From this perspective, reality is seen subjectively. In terms of research methods, it is considered that the researcher/observer is unable to separate herself or himself from the context that is under investigation. The social world is seen as part of a process that is created by people through their interactions with each other in a collective social setting. In this way, society is thought about in terms of inter-related and inter-dependent relationships that give meaning to the material world. Within this worldview, multiple realities are considered to exist alongside each other reflecting the fluid nature of a shared social existence. The cohesion of multiple realities within a context comes about when shared realities become mutually regulating in a way that brings order and structure to the collective (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

A key research goal here is to establish an understanding of reality from the perspective of the participant; or, the person who exists within the social collective, rather than an observer who sits outside the web of relationships that underpin the realm of mutual understandings. Consequently, within the interpretive paradigm, a researcher seeks to understand the rationale and order that frames and supports the phenomenon under investigation as external manifestations of the group's social or cultural experiences (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

In this regard, the interpretive paradigm places the individual in a social world whereby their actions and the associated meanings of those actions frame their worldviews (Usher & Bryant, 1989). This is a view that emphasises the

ways that people experience and understand the world around them and research that sits within this paradigm is consequently characterised by an understanding that knowledge is socially constructed and embedded in the culture and history of the collective.

The role of radical humanist perspectives in this research

Radical humanists view social contexts as being dynamic and fluid and dependent on shared understandings of culture, language and history. Within this framework, research projects need to be designed flexibly in ways that lead to an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Interestingly, it was during the 1980s that the radical humanist paradigm came to the forefront of international development educational theory so it has relevance to this study (Hoslinger & Jacob, 2008). Accordingly, radical humanist approaches have shaped my interpretation of the way that participants talked about educational leadership and aid in the Pacific in the course of this study.

Using a radical humanist approach, Hoslinger & Jacob (2008) argue that educational theory has evolved cyclically over time rather than as a linear progression. This gives researchers the opportunity to, “examine an educational phenomenon from a three-dimensional, spherical standpoint where any number of qualitative perspectives from different standpoints along a spherical surface can examine the educational phenomenological core” (Hoslinger & Jacob, 2008, p. 8).

Qualitative research within the radical humanist paradigm gives support for the view that there are multiple truths, multiple realities and consequently multiple perspectives of phenomena. In this respect, radical humanists generally take a holistic view of the social world and in many respects this is closely attuned with Pacific worldviews. As shall be shown later in this thesis, these views are also congruent with the principles and practices of Pacific

people in the education sector. This research will show that the Pacific world that is created by Pacific peoples is critical when considering international development policies and that significant gains can come from investing in the people who live within Pacific contexts. It further contends that for social change to occur there must first be a vision and consequently a way of leading people in a way that is both culturally responsive and culturally dynamic. As such, in this thesis, it is argued that ideally, reality cannot be controlled by manipulating causal inevitabilities, rather it should be made by the people to serve the people.

As a researcher, I find the radical humanist paradigm stance very appealing. Ontologically, my perception of the world is subjective. Epistemologically, I consider that knowledge is historically situated and experiential. From a methodological perspective, I believe that people are able to create, interpret and modify their social experiences and that in doing so they can seek to overcome oppressive situations. The radical humanist stance applies to this research because it explains the lens through which I view the world. Another person may use a different lens; they may interpret and analyse data in a different way and come to a different set of conclusions. As such, the lens that I present here explains that the worldviews that I have investigated as being based on the subjective experiences of the participants. I further contend that the social experiences that are examined in this study can be interpreted and where possible, people can if they choose, use this research to inform or instigate a change in consciousness (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

Research design

This case study uses qualitative data collection techniques including, semi-structured interviews, interview notes, field notes, document analysis and observations. Multiple data sources were used so that data could be triangulated during the analysis phase of the research. Case study research methodologies have been used to identify, “the shared patterns that develop

as a group interacts over time” (Creswell, 2015, p. 469) and in this respect, I have organised data according to the patterns that I observed during my fieldwork.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted as part of this research. The use of open-ended questions gave the participants the freedom to express themselves as they wished while allowing me to collect data about the context. This also gave them the time and scope to discuss their perceptions of the aid and development contexts from their own point of view.

As I was developing the methodology for this thesis, I sought to identify prospective participants who could reasonably be described as change agents within the educational aid sector in the Pacific region. As I thought through these issues it became apparent that there were different cultural lenses that could be used to think about the people who were leaders or agents of change within this particular context. On one hand, development consultants and programme directors are clearly key people who can be described as agents of change within this environment and their views of the relationship between educational leaders and international development programmes were of considerable interest to this study. Accordingly, I invited people who perform these roles to be interviewed for this study but I also decided to interview recipients of development programmes in the region because their views do not figure as prominently in the Pacific development literature. In the end, I identified three main groups of people who are involved in the provision of international development programmes in the Pacific who I approached to be interviewed for this study. They were programme directors, development consultants and recipients of development.

I made these decisions for a variety of other reasons as well. I chose to approach programme directors because this study includes an examination

of the role of international development organisations in providing development aid to Pacific nations. In this regard, there is a considerable body of policy that is involved in the development process. Policy directives give important information about the perspectives of donor organisations and importantly, end-of-programme reports describe outcomes from the perspective of the donor organisation. I reasoned that interviewing programme directors would therefore provide me with some clarity about the thinking that sits behind aid policy in the region and that this information would be useful in helping me to answer the questions that guide this research.

Development consultants were also interviewed for this study in order to provide further depth and to allow the voices of people in the recipient nations to be represented. I considered this to be important because it is often the case that when a programme is operationalised in a recipient nation, local development consultants are recruited to give advice on matters of delivery and implementation. One of the reasons donor organisations do this is to help them to translate development programmes, which can be fairly generic, into local contexts. In this way, local development consultants are involved in the development process at this level and participate in elements of social change that aid programmes can bring about.

As noted earlier, this research has been constructed as a single case study. The phenomenon under study is the international development programmes that provide leadership development to the education sector at both primary and secondary school levels. Also, as discussed earlier, fieldwork was carried out in Fiji and Tonga. I chose to include participants in Fiji for two reasons. The first reason is that international development programmes in the Pacific often take their strategic direction from donor organisations that are based in Fiji. The second reason is that a flagship leadership development programme for the primary school sector is currently in operation and this is particularly relevant to this study. The programme is

significant because it aligns closely with the MDGs and there are no other programmes that focus on local leadership development in the primary school sector in the Pacific region.

I also decided to collect data in Tonga and the reason for this was that I wanted to speak to people who were based in a recipient nation where development programmes are often led by strategic decisions that are made in Fiji. With this in mind, I hoped that data collected in a country other than Fiji would yield rich material that spoke to a different educational sector and national context. The other reason I decided to go to Tonga is because a flagship leadership programme is being run there that focuses on secondary schools. The programme in question does not reflect the MDGs and this in itself provided me with information about what happens in programmes that are not aligned with the goals of international development. Also, there are no other programmes in the Pacific that focus on leadership development in secondary schools so this made the Tongan programme unique.

By combining data from Fiji and Tonga into a single case study I was able to find out some important information about key primary and secondary school leadership programmes across the region. The contexts that these programmes operate within are also significant; one programme was run in a country where strategic direction is created (i.e. Fiji) and the other was run in a country where development programmes are operationalised as an outreach service (i.e. Tonga).

Given the small size of the development community in the Pacific and the limited number of educational leadership programmes in operation throughout the region it was not possible to prevent the programmes from being identified and participants in this study were aware of this when they agreed to be interviewed although I have maintained confidentiality about the identities of the participants themselves. In Fiji, the programme of interest to

this study is the Access to Quality Education Programme (AQEP). In Tonga, the programme of interest is the Tongan Secondary School Leadership Programme (TSSLP). My supervisor, Dr. Kabini Sanga, advised me that I would need to select programmes that were currently operating because it would be very difficult to locate participants who had been involved with programmes that had concluded because once a programme has ended the people who managed them often move on to other projects.

Collecting data in two nations had a number of advantages. First, it allowed me to explore leadership development programmes that were designed for primary schools and secondary schools. I would not have been able to gain access to both these education sectors if I had collected data in only one country. The other advantage of going to two countries was that there is a small number of people working in this sector of the industry and within each nation, people know each other well. As such, if a single programme in one Pacific country had been the focus of this study anyone familiar with the area of study would be able to identify the participants. Moreover, the small number of prospective participants within a single country study would not have provided enough depth to answer the research questions. By conducting interviews in two nations, I was more likely to be able to protect participant confidentiality. I have undertaken to prevent identification by ensuring that I have only quoted material in this thesis that would be very difficult to ascribe to any particular individual. Matters of confidentiality are discussed further later in this chapter in the section on ethical considerations.

As well as conducting semi-structured interviews, I analysed policy documents in the public domain to gain additional information about donor organisations. This provided me with 'official' information about donor organisations and I have included some of this material in the literature review. From analysing these documents, as I shall discuss further later in this thesis, I was able to ascertain that donor nations tend to apply transactional leadership typologies when describing the needs of aid

recipients. This is at odds with the servant leadership styles for which the Pacific participants in this study expressed a very strong preference.

Summary of the research process

In the next sections of this chapter I discuss how I set about collecting data for this project. For the sake of convenience, however, I have summarised the overall process in the diagram on the following page.

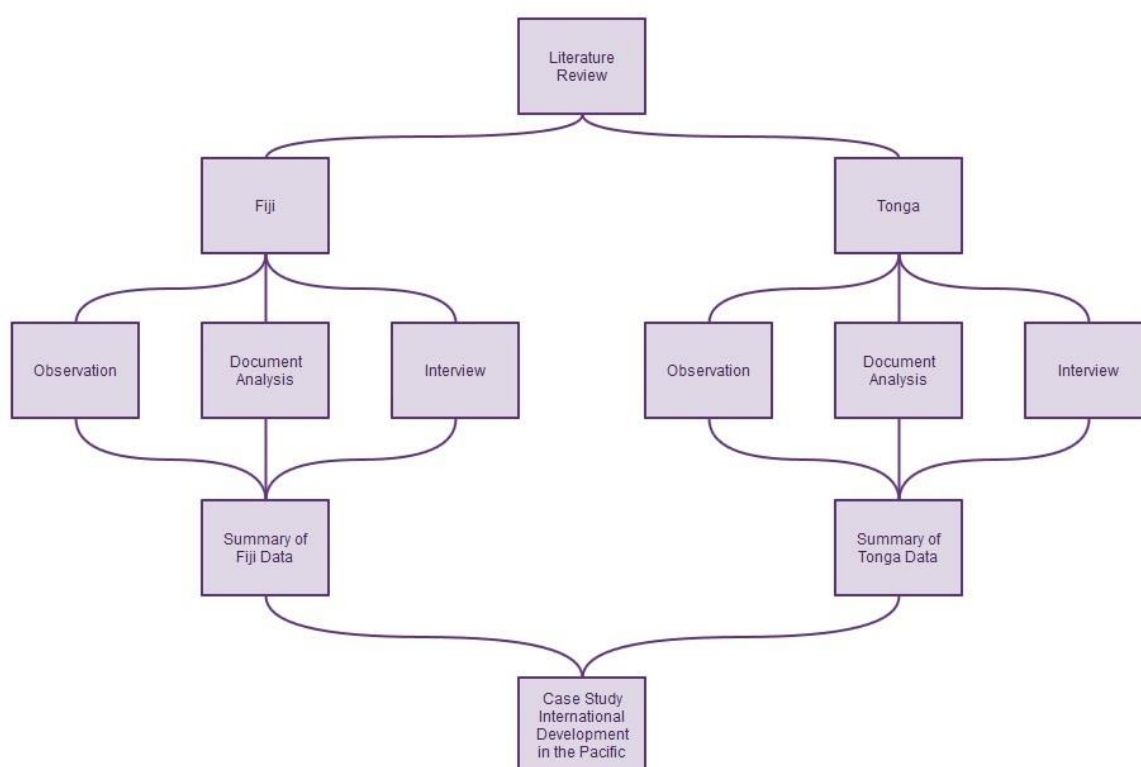


Figure. 4.2: *Summary of the research process*

Summary of data collection process

The kinds of methods that are commonly used in qualitative research include document analysis, semi-structured interviews, field notes and observation. These methods are often used in combination with each other as a way of gaining a deeper understanding of the subject matter and this is the case in this thesis (Creswell, 2012; Johnson et al., 2008). In the course of this

research, I used a range of methods, including field notes and semi-structured interviews. As I shall discuss later in this chapter, I also conducted a document analysis of a selection of material produced by donor organisations that can be found in the public domain. This material was placed alongside the interview data giving me a means of comparing and contrasting the different perspectives and themes that emerged in the course of this research.

Participant selection criteria

Convenience sampling was used to select the participants for this research. This type of sampling is generally applied when the participants are known to the researcher (or in this case, the supervisor) and are willing to engage with the research. Consequently, I selected participants because it was “convenient” to do so (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). Creswell (2005) explains that in convenience sampling the researcher cannot say with confidence that the sample is representative of the total population. In this research, however, because of the small size of the development community and the limited number of educational leadership programmes operating in the region I can be reasonably confident that a degree of representation in this particular case has been achieved.

The main selection criteria for this research were that the participants were involved with international development programmes within the education sector in the Pacific. The participants included a high-level government official, programme directors, international development agency consultants, international development recipients and international development consultants. Six participants each were selected in Tonga and Fiji, with twelve participants in total interviewed for this study.

Data collection

Data collection took place during November 2013 and February 2014.

Leading up to the collection of data, participants were contacted and I invited them to take part in this research project. Many more than twelve prospective participants expressed a willingness to be involved but they were all very busy and several people were unavailable when I was in the site nations. For those who were available, I arranged a date, time and place to meet at their convenience. I then met with each participant individually to explain the research topic, the different stages of the research, data collection processes and how I intended to use the data. At that point, I invited them to give their written consent to be interviewed.

Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and an hour and a half and I used a list of questions and issues to guide the direction of the interview. A copy of the interview schedule appears in *Appendix One* although it should be noted that this was used as a guide only. I also kept my own set of notes about my experiences in a field journal and this was very useful as an aide-memoir when it came to analysing the material.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed and this allowed the perspectives of the participants to be examined in depth at a later date (Creswell, 2012). The semi-structured interview method allows for relatively flexible interaction between the participant and the researcher so that an agreed understanding of both the questions and the responses can be made. As such, it is a method that can convey fine details that may not have been noticed had other data gathering techniques been used.

I asked open-ended questions during the interviews so that each participant could freely express their views about the subject. In some instances, the participant replied with a rich tapestry of knowledge that fell outside the brief of the research questions. When this happened the participant was given

time to talk and then I refocused the interview process. I should add here that the apparent digressions from the interview questions offered some fascinating insights into these programmes and I have attempted to convey some of this expertise and knowledge in the findings chapter.

When interviewing participants, I ensured that they understood each question and provided clarity and context where needed. The questions were well-suited to the research topic and participants were able to answer the questions easily. In addition, I kept a field journal during this phase of the data collection. A field journal is a researcher's way of keeping track of what has happened, who was involved, where the event took place and why the event took place and how it came about. The use of a field journal allowed me to record my own impressions of the fieldwork and it proved to be an invaluable tool particularly in the analysis phase of the project. I wrote up my field notes immediately after each interview took place.

With regard to the recording of interviews, I attempted to limit the background noise during interviews to help make the audio recordings clearer. This had mixed results, however, because although most of the recordings were loud and clear, in some cases the sensitivity of the microphone and the level of background noise made parts of some interviews difficult to transcribe.

Impact of researcher on data

I met many of the participants for the first time during the data collection phase and this may have influenced the data that were collected. Another researcher who has an existing relationship with the participants may have obtained different results. One way that I felt that this had an impact on the data was that it seemed that participants gave rich and very detailed descriptions about topics closely related to the subject matter as a way of educating me as well as providing context to the topic. I was enormously grateful to the participants for doing this as it greatly extended my knowledge

of the subject. I am fortunate that the rich data that I collected was somewhat similar across all of the participants. There were some slight variations, however, these can be attributed to the position that the participant held in relation to the programmes in question. An example of this was that a programme director understood some of the issues faced by recipients whereas the recipients expressed the same issue in terms of the frustration they felt. In this way both parties understood the issue but positioned themselves in different ways.

Data management

All semi-structured interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the participants. Each interview was assigned unique code that did not identify the participants or the geographical location of the interview. For example, an interview held on December 22, would be designated 22 December Data Collection Audio Recording A. When multiple interviews were held on the same day, the letter A at the end of the file name would be changed to B. In this way the letter designation identifies that each recording is different from any others made on the same day. As soon as practicable I listened to the recording, made notes then transcribed the interview.

Each audio recording was uploaded to a secure online server (Dropbox) for safekeeping as soon as it was possible. When I was in the Pacific, I had problems uploading large mp3 files to Dropbox. This was because the upload speed was relatively slow and this made uploading the interviews a long and slow process. To ensure that the information was backed up and kept secure, it was transferred to a removable flash drive that was kept in a location that was different to the audio recording device. Once a stable and fast internet connection was located the files were uploaded immediately to Dropbox online storage. The username and passwords to these recordings were known only to myself.

The transcribing and checking process

The interviews were recorded using a mp3 recorder and transcribed using an evaluation copy of Express Scribe Transcription Software Pro and Microsoft Word. I transcribed the interviews as soon as it was practical to do so using low interference descriptors (Johnson, et al., 2008). ‘Low interference descriptors’ is a term that refers to the practice of transcribing words as they were spoken by the participant and making only very minimal changes that do not affect the meaning. Consequently, the interview extracts that appear in the findings chapter of this thesis closely resemble the language used by the participants.

I also put ‘feedback loops’ in place so that I could answer any questions the participants had about their transcripts and my initial findings to ensure that these provisional findings were an accurate reflection of the interview from their point of view (Silverman, 2006). A feedback loop refers to the process of checking results with participants to determine if their findings are accurate. (Creswell, 2015). In this case, I sent a copy of the transcript to the participant concerned and asked them to let me know if they wished to add or delete material. This also gave them an opportunity to further clarify or add to the transcript if they chose.

Data triangulation

Data triangulation is an inductive process that occurs when multiple data sources of differing perspectives about an event or context are used in a research study (Yin, 2009). In this research, semi-structured interviews, field notes and observations and document analysis were brought together to explore the relationship that international development programmes have with educational leadership within the field of study. The use of multiple data sources made it possible for me to validate the findings by exploring different views of the subject. I discuss the analysis phase further in the section below.

Data analysis

The interviews were coded in line with the research questions and from this process a series of themes emerged. During the analysis phase I looked for patterns, commonalities and themes but I also looked carefully for irregularities and outliers. The irregularities were investigated to ascertain their significance to this research. As discussed earlier in this chapter, there were few outliers in this research (Braun & Clark, 2006).

During the initial research phase, a number of documents of importance came to light. As these documents were identified, they were prioritised and attempts were made to locate, inspect and gain permission to use them in this research. In all cases the documents were produced with the intent for them to be read and used by the public. As such there was no need to gain permission to use any of the documents used in this research.

Thus, once the interview data were coded and analysed, I placed the themes alongside the public domain documents that I had selected. These documents were produced by donor agencies and included donor policies, project data, conceptual papers, and other reports. They provided a deeper understanding of the development and aid context in the Pacific from the perspective of the international development agency. That said, it is likely that only reports that were favourable to the international development organisation were published. The high number of positive reports does not reflect that international development projects are often successful. Instead they are understood as being representative an undisclosed proportion of the total number of projects.

Yin (2009) explains that when document analysis is being used as a method, researchers should be aware that some documents may not be accurate or

they may contain some form of bias and in some cases may be edited from what actually occurred. Also, Yin (2009) notes that some events may not be documented and that the lack of documentation is not a justification for the event not occurring. Document analysis had a number of benefits in this study in that I was able to use it to corroborate information from other sources (Yin, 2009).

The documents that I have analysed in this study were written for an audience that is different to the academic audience targeted by this research. They are structured in such a way to put forward perspectives that were, in many cases, very different from those expressed by the interview participants. When scrutinizing documents from this perspective I had to be careful that any inferences I made were based on an awareness that they were not peer reviewed and in many respects, they could be typified as publicity material. That said, they provided me with useful information about how donor organisations in the Pacific wish to be seen and this was of relevance to this study.

Ethical considerations

This research received ethical approval from the Victoria University of Wellington, Human Ethics Committee. In conducting the research, I followed the ethical guidelines of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE). Approval for undertaking this research was also gained from the appropriate agencies in Fiji and Tonga. In addition, this study adheres to the University of Otago Pacific Research protocols which were specifically developed to respect and honour the relationships between academic researchers and the peoples of the Pacific.

As noted earlier in this chapter, because of the small size of the development community in the Pacific and the low number of educational leadership programmes operating in the region it was not possible to prevent

identification of the two programmes that are discussed in this thesis and the participants were aware of this at the time they agreed to participate. I have protected the identities of the participants themselves, however, by using pseudonyms and by ensuring that data storage was secure, as is discussed earlier in this chapter. In addition, the participants were given the option to select their pseudonyms so they could identify themselves in this research. Only two participants took this option.

In the course of this research, I ensured that participants were aware of the voluntary nature of their participation in this project and at the time of interview we discussed this as well as their right to withdraw from the research, without prejudice, if they chose to do so. I have included a copy of the consent form that participants were asked to sign in *Appendix Two: Research consent form*. In addition, we talked about how I would handle matters of confidentiality. Matters of informed consent were also considered important in this study and I talked in depth with the participants about the aims of the project and answered any questions they had about it. In this respect, I sought the participants' informed and voluntary consent to be interviewed. I have included a copy of the written information that I gave to the participants' about the project in *Appendix Three: Research information sheet*. I also sought permission to approach people associated with the two programmes from the programme leaders of the programmes. Finally, I ensured that the participants had an opportunity to review the interviews to ensure that I had accurately represented them.

The passing away of a participant

During the research process, but before member checking took place, one of my participants passed away. Although this may be identifying to people within the Pacific international development community it is noted here because this person's discussions with me about the research topic remains in the findings and discussions. The topics and subject matter discussed with this participant was echoed by other participants and it seemed more appropriate to leave this person's voice in the research rather than remove it.

My thoughts and prayers are with the participant's family.

Summary of the procedures used in the construction of this research

Below in Figure 4.3 I have provided a summary of the process that I followed during this research. It is provided in graphical form for convenience.

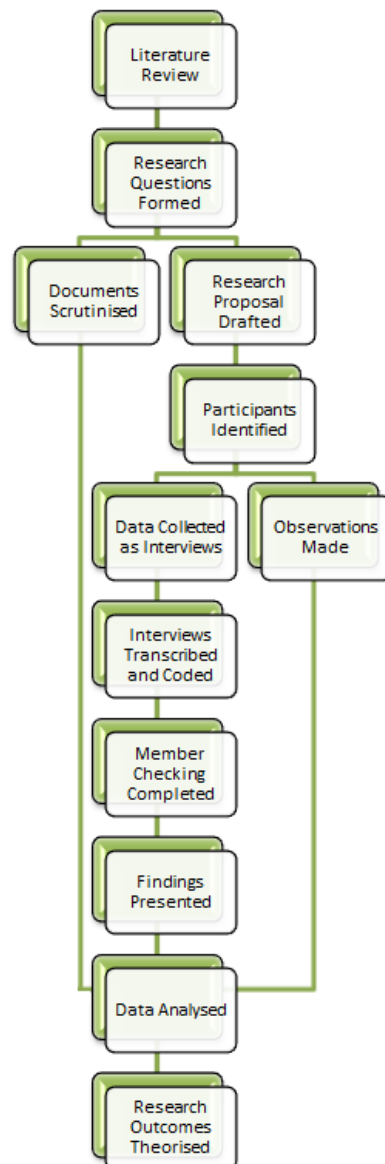


Figure 4.3: *Summary of the procedures used in the construction of this research*

Summary of chapter four

Chapter four describes the qualitative process that I followed to conduct this case study research and the radical humanist paradigm that has guided my decision-making as I designed the project. Twelve participants were interviewed and these data were placed alongside public domain documents during the analysis phase. In Chapter five, I discuss the theory that underpins the ways that Pacific people engage with the world. This discussion is placed after the methodology chapter because it provides insights into elements of Pacific cultural values that contextualise the participants' perceptions discussed later in Chapter six.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ONTOLOGY OF ENCOUNTERS

In the previous chapter, the qualitative methods used in this research were discussed and the radical humanist paradigm that guided the design of the project was explained. I argued that in this thesis the nature of social reality is considered to be both subjective and fluid and researchers who place themselves within this paradigm tend to be very committed to social change. In this chapter, I extend the radical humanist paradigm that has shaped my approach to the analysis and interpretation of the ways that people within the local Pacific context interact and engage with each other. In line with this, I use a *Wantok* Framework (Ratuva, 2010) to explain how these engagements play out. The *wantok* framework will be referred to again later in Chapter seven - the discussion chapter, as a cultural schema that provides the basis of common and shared understandings that shape the engagements that take place between Pacific peoples and others in a fluid and rapidly changing social world. In other words, the *wantok* framework is a guiding principle that frames encounters with others and it is a way of life in many Melanesian cultures, for example, in the Solomon Islands. Some concepts of the *wantok* Framework are observed in *Kerekere* in Fiji, *Fa'a Samoa* in Samoa, *Anga Fakatonga* in Tonga and *Tikanga Māori* in New Zealand. Thus, the *wantok* framework is used in this thesis as a way of weaving together a range of cognate concepts that are used across the Pacific. It is also applied here as a means of understanding the encounters between people who are involved in the international development domain in the region.

A Pacific framework

When non-indigenous researchers write accounts of indigenous peoples they often do so using a western lens as opposed to exploring the theories, philosophies and worldviews that have been constructed by indigenous groups (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001). Within the Pacific, indigenous and

local understandings of the world are of central importance to the people themselves and as a Māori researcher I also consider that indigenous worldviews are important. To that end I have drawn on indigenous Pacific perspectives to explain what is going on in communities in the region with respect to international aid. This approach is in line with Huffer and Qalo (2004) who argue that,

a body of Pacific thought should contribute to the establishment or affirmation of a Pacific philosophy and ethic – a set of applicable concepts and values to guide interaction within countries, within the region, and with the rest of the world. The ethic must be acknowledged, understood, and respected by all who interact with Pacific Island communities (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 89).

The body of thought I shall be referring to in this thesis is the *wantok* framework; a cultural schema that underpins the way that Pacific people interact with each other on a day-to-day basis. As Thaman argues,

Even today, Pacific peoples share worldviews that comprise intricate webs of inter-relationships that provide meaning to, and frameworks for, living and cultural survival. Generally manifested in various kinship relationships, such frameworks not only define particular ways of being and behaving, but also ways of knowing, types of knowledge and wisdom, and how these are passed on and/or communicated to others. (Thaman, 2009b, p. 3).

These worldviews focus on the wellbeing of the collective and the complex network of relationships that hold it together. Gegeo (2001) describes this as a Pacific way of thinking about the encounters between people that is embedded in indigenous lives but like Thaman (2009b) he also contends that it refers to Pacific ways of knowing. He argues,

The perspective of a growing number of us Pacific Island scholars, however is to approach research from a communitarian perspective, that is research that is not only applied (targeted to make positive changes) but is firmly anchored in Indigenous or Native epistemologies and methodologies. (Gegeo 2001, p. 492).

In the Pacific context, communitarian perspectives, or reciprocity, are not represented in state policies, however, as Ratuva (2010) argues, they are deeply embedded in the cultural and social norms of Pacific communities, villages, clans, and kinship systems. Reciprocity frames the encounters that take place within and between Pacific peoples and nations and is one of the things that characterises the cultural behaviours of people in different countries with diverse Pacific cultures and heritages. In this study, I have adopted a particular theoretical lens to my understanding of reciprocity in Pacific contexts and I have done this by using a *wantok* framework. According to Ratuva (2010),

the wantok framework is based on collective responsibility, the community has an obligation to look after the other members of the community. This obligation can take the form of reciprocity or exchange of goods on a daily basis. People who do not have food can always ask their relatives, and later, when their relatives need food, it will be their turn to ask. (Ratuva, 2010, p. 53).

The Wantok framework was selected as a solution to a problem orientated challenge. During the research process, participants often discussed the 'Pacific way'. Respondents were refer to the commonality across the Pacific region. This knowledge is well known in the Pacific context. Rather than provide detailed descriptions of the ways that the culture in Fiji and Tonga are similar, I choose to refer to the source data.

With regards to human migration patterns in the Pacific region, Hurles, Matisoo-Smith, Gray and Penny (2003) contend that the first settlers must have crossed the ocean from Southeast Asia to colonise the Solomon Islands. Over time, the Pacific region was colonised from the Solomon

Islands. This explains why there are cultural similarities across the Pacific region. What this also means is that the philosophical underpinnings of the culture in the Solomon Islands represents the source data of other Pacific cultures. Consequently discussing the philosophical underpinnings of the Pacific from a Solomon Islands perspective becomes relevant.

Gordon Nanau (2011) suggests that the term, *wantok*, has powerful connotations in south-west Pacific nations in particular. It refers to distinct groups and communities that form an ideological and cultural link between pre-contact and post-colonial periods (Nanau, 2011, p. 31). The term *wantok* has reasonably recent origins; it came into common usage during the 1800s with the development of Melanesian Pidgin and its literal translation is “one talk” or “one language.” It refers to the mutual and reciprocal responsibilities and obligations one has to members of the tribe or clan (i.e. those who speak the same language) (Forster, 2005). In this respect, its meaning represents important aspects of contemporary daily life in many Melanesian societies that date back to the beginnings of tribal and cultural memory. The *wantok* system is known by many different names in different parts of the Pacific but its characteristics and values are similar. It is a way of understanding and engaging with everyday life as a Pacific person and in this respect it is one representative strand amongst many that are at work in the contemporary Pacific. I argue here that there are many ways of enacting a *wantok* system in the region but it centers on a set of commonly held principles and cultural norms that characterise indigenous encounters in the Oceania and the Pacific.

Wantok: A Pacific philosophy

Across the Pacific, many island communities share some commonalities including linguistic and cultural similarities. This has been attributed to a pattern of human migration that extends from Asia through Melanesia, eastwards to East Polynesia and then south to New Zealand (Addison & Matisoo-Smith, 2010). Whilst there is a significant degree of cultural diversity

across the Pacific, a shared value for Pacific peoples is reciprocity. People reciprocate when they reward kind actions and punish unkind actions. In the cultural domain, reciprocity takes into account that “people evaluate the kindness of an action not only by its consequences but also its underlying intention” (Falk & Fischbacher, 2006, p. 293). The *wantok* framework is a Melanesian way of seeing the world that is founded upon this notion of reciprocity (Nanau, 2012; Ratuva, 2010). Nanau (2011) argues that to be a *wantok* is to be part of a complicated network of social and community organisation that relies on a system of rituals, traditions, cultural protocols and customary behaviours that govern the encounters within and between individuals and clans.

By way of example, one community in the south-west Pacific that lives by a *wantok*-based social system is on the island of Malaita in the Solomon Islands. Sanga and Walker (2012) explain that Malaitans have their own constructions of reality that reflect the social and material world they live in. In this respect, they argue, the nature of Malaitan reality exists socio-physically, “the Malaitan reality is also spiritual; existing supernaturally and affirmed by socio-physical manifestations” (Sanga & Walker, 2012, p. 225). Within this context, Malaitans experience the human-spiritual realm as a coherent, integrated and interlocking whole (Sanga & Walker, 2012).

According to Nanau (2011), in pre-contact days, clan groups of *wantoks* lived in villages that were protected from negative supernatural forces by village sorcerers. Clan members often lived in fear of people from other villages because of these practices which invoked supernatural forces. These rituals extended well into the post-contact colonial era and ultimately became a form of Malaitan cultural resistance to the British and German missionary projects and colonial regimes whose leaders were generally very dismissive of sorcery and ritualistic magic. As Nanau (2011) comments, “anti-colonial movements in the Solomon Islands appealed to supernatural forces and

interventions to establish *Kastom* (way of life) that people would identify with” (Nanau, 2011, p. 37).

In terms of a Malaitan ontological worldview, however, “an integrated socio-physical-spiritual view of the world is natural” (Sanga & Walker, 2012, p. 225). For Malaitans, as for many peoples in different parts of Oceania and the Pacific, the *wantok* view of relationships therefore includes not only the clan, but also ancestors, the environment and people in other communities (Lea, 1993; Sanga & Walker, 2012).

The ontological positioning of Malaitans informs the way the *wantok* framework is constructed in that particular context. Sanga and Walker cite Gegeo and Gegeo-Watsons’ (2001) argument that, “such arrangements mean that feelings towards others (affection) are sought out first; these feelings then influence how Malaitans feel (body), which in turn influences what people think (mind); the mind (cognition) is not independent or objective” (Sanga & Walker, 2012, p. 225). Alongside these considerations, a *wantok* must also maintain the appropriate attitude towards others as well as one’s ancestors. Living within a *wantok* system therefore means that people’s activities are constrained, “by these links to ancestors, communal traditions and the other sentient and insentient creatures which make up the environment. Because one must carefully observe these relationships, individuals find themselves subject to very strong restraints” (Lea, 1993, p. 92)

As such, the way that *wantoks* think about the world determines the way they behave towards others and ultimately how they manifest the *wantok* framework in their own communities. These communities are often kin-based and while these principles can guide the kinds of encounters that place in nurturing ways it is also a system that can generate antagonism towards members of other communities. As De Renzio (2000) argues,

the way membership is defined for wantok groups depends clearly on strong ties of kinship, and is therefore neither voluntary nor inclusive; moreover, social relations are based on a very restricted kind of reciprocity, which often implies mistrust of outsiders” (De Renzio, 2000, p. 23).

In this regard, ideas about *wantok* and *Kastom* are features of a Melanesian perspective that gives a sense of identity to clan members which allows them to enact and accord value to common objectives but may also separate one clan from another in less peaceable ways (Nanau, 2011). Accordingly, the importance of the *wantok* system cannot be under-estimated in the Melanesian region where around 1200 languages are spoken although there is greater linguistic homogeneity in the south Pacific region. In an environment where many people do not speak the same language, over millennia, different tribes and clans that inhabit the same islands have found ways of engaging with each other. Thus *wantok* is literally a way of creating a common language of engagement even when a spoken language is not shared. As Lawson (2015) notes, however, *wantoks* can be united but this is a system that can also underpin hostility towards other groups. When conflicts between groups erupt, *wantok* systems are more often strengthened rather than weakened because these cultural schema underpin attitudes about the encounters between different groups and how they should be carried out. This is an aspect of Pacific life that is often not considered by donor organisations when aid programmes are established by community outsiders.

What is *wantok*?

The *wantok* framework upholds traditional community values over individual preferences (Lea, 1998; Arua & Eka, 2002) and this is a way of building and maintaining strong relationships within and between tribes, clans and families (Arua & Eka, 2002). Although it is known by various names in different parts of the region, it is an aspect of culture that is built into the lives of Pacific

peoples across the region and defines and characterises the way they interpret and engage with every-day situations (Arua & Eka, 2002). Nanau (2011) cites Kabutaulaka (1998) who, “likened the *Wantok* system to other similar terms in the south Pacific region like *Kerekere* in Fiji and *Fa’a Samoa* in Samoa where they all advocate cooperation between people who speak the same language” (Nanau, 2011, p. 32).

Anga Fakatonga and *Fa’a Samoa* distinguish themselves from their natural context and outside modernity. In practice, local people are constantly negotiating the challenges of merging the local context and global influences. *Anga Fakatonga* describes all of the characteristics that are endemic to authentically live life from a Tongan world view. *Anga Fakatonga* is similar to *Fa’a Samoa* in that *Fa’a Samoa* also refers to the features that guide an authentic Samoan perspective. However *Kerekere* differs from *Anga Fakatonga* and *Fa’a Samoa* in that *Kerekere* does not describe the Fijian world view. *Kerekere* describes the act of reciprocity and generosity from within the Fijian context. In this way Kabutaulaka (1998) means to say that aspects of the wantok Framework are found in different Pacific nation states, and consequently have different names. Consequently, there are aspects of the *wantok* framework that are enacted across the Pacific that bring some commonality to the ways in which cultural encounters take place.

According to Lea (1998), the *wantok* framework supports and strengthens cultural protocols of social obligation. *Wantoks* often feel a very heavy responsibility to provide other *wantoks* with resources (such as food, shelter and cash) because it is a system that prescribes mutual sharing of benefits advantages that an individual *wantok* may have (Lea, 1998). The framework therefore provides a means for people to share what they with others in order to meet the needs of the collective. From the point of view of the collective this can be seen as a caring and nurturing part of community life (Arua & Eka, 2002). Arua and Eka (2002) argue that, “[a]s far as the *Wantok* system is concerned, asking is of no value at all. One gives to another knowing that

it will be returned again, when there is need. Everyone benefits well in this system” (Arua & Eka, 2002, p. 8). However, “to deny one’s *Wantok* is a grave matter which generates social repercussions which threatens one’s place or standing within the community” (Lea, 1998, p. 91). In this way, the social obligation to help other *wantoks* is strong if only to avoid the social repercussions that may ensue if those principles are not practiced.

***Kastom* not custom**

The *wantok* framework is a network of people who share a common language, come from the same general location, share kinship, operate within common social, cultural or religious contexts and place ideas about mutual reciprocity in exceptionally high regard (Arua & Eka, 2002; De Renzio, 2000; Nanau, 2011). If *wantok* is the framework for these encounters between people, then *Kastom* is a term that describes the day-to-day operation of the framework. *Kastom* is a derivative of the English word custom that has come to refer to the “set of practices used whenever references are made to the *Wantok* system” (Nanau, 2011, p. 33). It includes the practice of indigenous leadership, the practice of social and cultural norms and is *wantok* group-specific (Nanau, 1998). In practice, the customary attitudes of the *wantok* framework are divergent from and “contrast strongly with the Western cultural attitudes which have been concomitant with our market economy and technological advance’ (Lea, 1998, p. 92).

As Lawson (Lawson, 1997, p. 108, cited in Nanau, 1998) argues, “[k]astom has been an important factor in countering the negative images surrounding the worth of colonised people’s and the intrinsic value of their own cultural practices” (Nanau, 1998, p. 33). *Kastom* became increasingly important in Melanesia after World War II as a response to the colonising experience (Nanau, 1998) and can be seen as an indigenous response to maintaining their cultural identity within a globalizing world. *Kastom* differs from the *wantok* framework in that *Kastom* explains the practice of what is done, while

wantok explains why something is done. In this way, *Kastom* and *wantok* are inherently linked and provide their practitioners with a sense of identity that unites and defines them (Nanau, 2011). This is not to say that there is one definition of *Kastom* or *wantok* and that it can be applied uniformly across all social or cultural groupings, rather, *Kastom* is cast in locally cast and varies according to the context (Nanau, 2011).

As noted above, the *wantok* system has both positive and negative features (Arua & Eka, 2002; De Renzio, 2000; Nanau, 2011). It is sometimes associated with nepotism where people are able to use their personal connections to secure public service jobs or contracts and this can often come at the expense of merit and equal opportunity (Schram, 2015). *Wantoks* are also able to use their positions of influence to protect their own, using *Kastom* as a valid reason for letting another *wantok* member do something that would otherwise not be tolerated (Nanau, 2011).

It must be remembered that there are considerable social repercussions when one *wantok* denies another advantages and benefits. This has caused varying degrees of conflict in some Pacific nations and some of these conflicts have been serious and violent. In the Solomon Islands, voters tend to support candidates that they are related to (even distantly related to) and hold in high regard within the *wantok* framework. Because of this, expected or past performance with regard to policy improvements or service delivery has little to with the election of public officials. This has tended to weaken the incentives of public servants to deliver on improvements (De Renzio, 2000; Haque, 2012) and as a result, changes in state policies are often slow to take effect and there are opportunities for nepotistic behaviours and actions to occur. Another disadvantage of the *wantok* system is that it is difficult for an individual to increase their financial position because other *wantoks* are likely to place demands on them as their financial situation improves (De Renzio, 2000).

***Wantok* as social capital**

According to De Renzio (2000), the *wantok* framework is a source of social capital because it is embedded in social relationships and provides opportunities for mutual benefit through trust and cooperation. This is because some social value is derived from the embedded networks that the *wantok* framework supports. Although there is some similarity to social capital as defined by Bourdieu (2000) the *wantok* framework sits aside from this for two main reasons. Firstly, the work of Bourdieu is based on a contemporary French context, and not a Pacific context. Secondly, the historical roots of the *wantok* framework are embedded in the critique of the colonising influence of the Western world. In this way the *wantok* framework is able to represent a contemporary version of a traditional perspective that is based on an independent philosophical base. Also, it would be erroneous to equate the *wantok* framework too closely with Bourdieu's theory of social capital if only because the *wantok* framework predates Bourdieu's work by several thousand years.

The underlying source of the social capital generated by the *wantok* framework is based on reciprocity (Nanau, 2012; Ratuva, 2010). However a person's actions whether they be kind or unkind depends on what they do as well as what they believe will be the consequences of their decisions compared to the consequences of other decisions. When a person wants to reciprocate kindness with more kindness they form a belief about the first person's intentions. They then act on this belief (Dufwenberg & Kirchsteiger, 2004), "[s]ince intentions depend on beliefs, it follows that reciprocal motivation depends on beliefs about beliefs" (Dufwenberg & Kirchsteiger, 2004, p. 237).

Consequently, the social capital that is formed within the *wantok* framework is based on the belief that a person has in another person's belief system. In this way the *wantok* framework only exists in the minds of those that practice it. Since it is based on traditional ways of perceiving the world, it is aligned

with historical values. These values inform the participants about what is appropriate and what the social and cultural implications are for not practicing *Kastom*. Thus, the *wantok* framework supersedes what is considered normal practice from a Western perspective.

Servant leaders and the *wantok* framework

If we look at the *wantok* framework from a leadership perspective, we find that there are some commonalities between the *wantok* framework and servant leadership. The commonality is that reciprocity is found in both frames. From a leadership perspective, *wantok* members behave in a similar manner to servant leaders. This is not to say that people within the *wantok framework* practice servant leadership. What I argue here is that for those that people who are interested in leadership, there are some commonalities between servant leadership and the *wantok* framework. This means that people who are members of the *wantok* framework and are interested in leadership will find that there is a natural connection between the underlying principles of the *wantok* framework and the servant leader typology.

A key aspect of servant leadership, for example, is that the leader has to be a servant first and a leader second. Within the *wantok* framework, there is an obligation for people to serve other *wantoks* before they serve themselves. In this way, acts of reciprocity are common to both servant leadership typologies and the *wantok* framework. Sendjaya (2010) explains that servant leaders often sacrifice their own needs so that they are able to meet the needs of others. A *wantok* would do the same often to her or his own detriment. Van Dierendonk and Patterson (2010) explain that a servant leader is able to influence others based on their service to others. A *wantok* is also able to influence the future behaviour of others by placing the needs of others before their own. De Renzio (2000) notes that when a fellow *wantok* is in need of help there is an obligation on other *wantok* to provide the necessary help. In providing assistance there are often financial or resource based implications for the helper yet it is considered that help

should always be willingly given. In this way, helpers serve others before themselves and lead their followers out of difficulties towards a common goal. The person offering the help or providing the resources is acting in the same vein as a servant leader. Thus, both *wantoks* and servant leaders naturally feel that they should serve others first. The *wantok* framework emphasises the act of sharing and this creates a relationship between two *wantoks* whereby one person is able to provide the necessary resources for another person to attain a specific goal. From a *wantok* perspective, these activities would not necessarily be framed as a form of servant leadership, however, these actions fulfil the necessary leadership characteristics from a leadership perspective.

In this thesis, I argue that in the Pacific region servant leadership is one of the primary leadership typologies that is used. It is not defined so rigidly as other leadership paradigms because it is naturally embedded within local contexts. It is seen within the *wantok* framework in Melanesia, and the variations of the *wantok* framework across the Pacific region. Aspects of the *wantok* framework can be seen in *Kerekere* (Fiji), *Fa'a Samoa* (Samoa), *Anga Fakatonga* (Tonga) and *Tikanga Māori* (New Zealand).

Summary of chapter five

In this chapter, I have discussed the *wantok* framework and explained that it is founded on valuing community values over individual preferences (Lea, 1998; Arua & Eka, 2002). From a *wantok* perspective, *wantoks* feel that they have a responsibility or obligation to help other *wantoks* when they need help. *Wantoks* share resources, benefits or advantages to meet the needs of the community. A *wantok* gives to another knowing that it will be returned again when it is needed.

The notion of *Kastom* was also discussed. *Kastom* is a term that refers to the day-to-day practices of the social and cultural norms of Pacific peoples'

encounters with others and includes the practice of leadership. The *wantok* framework describes why things are done the way that they are done. However *Kastom* describes how things are done, so the *wantok* framework provides the why and *Kastom* provides the how.

In this chapter, I have also explored the similarities between servant leadership and the *wantok* framework. Servant leadership and the *wantok* framework are similar because they both place service to others first. What this means for leadership in the Pacific region is that aspects of servant leadership are embedded within the frame of Pacific social and cultural norms.

In the next chapter, the participant's perspectives about the research questions are examined. The interview process uncovered a trove of rich data that exceeded the capacity of this research to present. What is presented here is a selection of the participant's words that address issues relating to international development in the region.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS

The *wantok* framework was explored in Chapter five and its framework of reciprocity was discussed. I also explained that *Kastom* describes how the *wantok* framework is enacted in day to day activities. The *wantok* framework is presented as a representation of the different Pacific variants that can be found across the Pacific region.

Aspects of the *wantok* framework can be seen in Samoa also known as *Fa'asamoa*, Tonga where it is called *Anga Fakatonga* and in New Zealand where it is representative of *Tikanga Māori*. In Fiji, *Kerekere* describes the act of reciprocity which is the underlying philosophy of the *wantok* Framework. Rather than describe similar concepts from different nations, the Solomon Islands version was chosen because it represents the initial incarnation of the indigenous concept.

As people populated the Pacific region small changes were made to the *wantok* framework as people moved from island to island. The similarity between the *wantok* framework and *Tikanga Māori* can be easily drawn suggesting that the fundamental essence of the *wantok* framework has remained through its different iterations.

In this chapter the findings are presented in three sections based on the research questions. In this way the findings are a reflection of the participant's responses to the research question. The first research question describes what Pacific leadership is and how formal leadership development programmes are framed within the Pacific context. The second research question explains how recipients perceive international development from within a Pacific frame. The last research question identifies the ways that

international development enhances educational leadership development in the Pacific region.

Research question one: What are recipient's perceptions about Pacific leadership and leadership development programmes in the Pacific context?

I have organised the participants' responses into four themes. First, participants discussed what leadership and followership meant to them in the Pacific context. Secondly, participants explained the ways in which international development programmes are constructed in the Pacific context. Thirdly, participants explained that there was a lack of formal leadership development in the Pacific region. Lastly, there is some concern about what happens when development programmes end. By answering the research question in this way, understandings of Pacific leadership and formal leadership development as it exists today begins to emerge.

Leadership and followership in the Pacific context. In the Pacific context there are examples of both traditional and contemporary forms of leadership. Traditional forms of leadership generally exists in the rural context while contemporary forms of leadership is often found in urban areas. Traditional ways of life continue to be practiced in different parts of the Pacific. Culture and society is not static and new ways of doing things, new beliefs and new ways of thinking about the world also feature in the lives of Pacific communities. As one participant commented, "the Pacific is divided up into sectors. There is the subsistence sector of the Pacific, meaning the rural isolated Pacific, which is rural and traditional leaderships exists there. So in the urban areas, it is a different world" (Executive Sir). People living in urban areas of the Pacific have subsequently created leadership systems that reflect some of the colonial British norms and practices that also came to characterise the legal systems of Australia and New Zealand. Executive Sir noted that, "what you are seeing in the Pacific is that you have the two

systems existing side by side, the traditional system and then the modern government structures and the modern statutory law” (Executive Sir).

A contemporary view of leadership in the Pacific context was summed up by Pele who said that “leaders can be leaders at any level whether it’s at the school level or the ministry level, everyone is a leader really” (Pele). This captured the essence of what the participants believed that leadership is about in the Pacific region. From this perspective everyone is able to be a leader if given the right context. This is different to traditional leadership typologies where a person is born into a position of leadership. Different forms of leadership sometimes sit uneasily beside each other. Mahuika explained that the traditional “concept of leadership is associated primarily with positions with people with authority. So when talking about leadership you’re talking about people born into the category of people with status” (Mahuika).

Historically, hereditary leadership has shaped the ways that leadership is exercised. New ideas about who has the right to challenge and the nature of authority itself is changing. This is observant in well populated areas where the colonial presence has been strong. As one participant said,

The Pacific way is very much about consensus and communal decision-making so it’s a bit hard. But the dichotomy is that that you have a chiefly system where one person is making the decision for the group, but within that group it’s a collective, nobody is meant to do more or less than anyone else or have any more or less say than the chief. I think you have to encourage more people to take on the chief’s role. A lot of people aren’t comfortable with it they don’t want to speak out and say what they think because it’s considered rude or it’s not what they’re used to. So just encouraging people to speak up and letting them know that we know that this isn’t the culture you come from. But in certain situations it’s important to do so. It’s important to have a voice (Alalahe).

Alongside changing notions of leadership, new forms of engaging with decisions-making and with decision-makers themselves are also beginning to emerge and this has created a change in the way that people consent to be led. This creates certain tensions. Mahuika explains followership in the Pacific context by saying that,

culturally people always defer to leaders. In a way, when you have meetings you'll find that the large majority just go there sitting with bowed heads just waiting for decisions to be passed onto them. Or even when there is an exceptional leader that comes around and says, "Let's talk. What do you think?" You'll typically hear people say 'why don't you just tell us what to do and we will go away and do it' (Mahuika).

These approaches to followership sometimes extends to Pacific classrooms where students are often seen,

sitting in lectures where questions are being asked and no one wants to answer. Not because they don't know. They have a lot of knowledge to share. It's just not what they're used to. To do that to put themselves out there in that way. To stand forth on a topic and feel as if they can speak to it with authority. People feel that it is rude, it's not something you do. Even in a context where it's expected that you do that (Alalahe).

In the Pacific context traditional leadership structures sit alongside modern government structures. This means that Pacific leadership is a twofold system. In rural and isolated areas traditional leadership structures still exist. While in urban areas modern forms of leadership and governance are present. In this regard Pacific leaders are adapting their leadership practice to suit the context. In rural areas people are born into leadership positions. However in urban areas anyone can be a leader. Followership in the Pacific context is still traditional. People defer to what the leader says, often waiting to be told what to do rather than suggest other possibilities. This is also seen in the classroom where students feel that it is rude to question the teacher.

How are international development programmes constructed?

The participants had strong views about the ways in which international development are constructed in the Pacific context. Many of the interviews involved lengthy discussions about the complexities of international aid arrangements.

Participants explained that AusAID is set up so that it provides funding and resources for regional and bilateral initiatives. Regional programmes include the donor partner and multiple recipient nations. Bilateral programmes involve the donor partner and a single recipient nation state. It was noted that the ways in which AusAID operates is similar to other development agencies.

For Abeguwo, donor partners “are always trying to work out the difference between bilateral programmes and regional initiatives” (Abeguwo). This is to avoid duplication of services and is one way to make development programmes more efficient. If a donor partners regional programme focuses on leadership development, their bilateral programmes will concentration on other areas of need. In the case of AusAID, leadership development is a regional programme. This means that AusAID are guiding Pacific leadership by involving multiple countries in a regional programme (Abeguwo).

There are times when the inputs of international development do not equal the outputs and intended outcomes. From Alalahe’s perspective “international development is a big business and it’s on a very large scale, so you can lose sight within those big numbers [...] [of what] your actually meant to be doing” (Alalahe). Although it is important to support Pacific institutions and Pacific leadership, this is not happening all of the time. There is a tendency for development partners to bring everything that the programmes needs from outside of the Pacific (Alalahe).

Regional development programmes include multiple nations, and consequently the scale that the programme operates at is very large. This may mean that recipient nations do not have the capacity, or that donor nations do not recognise that recipient nations have the capacity to provide the services for regional development programmes. Developing service delivery capacity of the Pacific is something that development partners could enhance in years to come. Doing so would strengthen the economic capacities of recipient nations as it would result in the increased retention of funds in the local community.

International development partners have contributed to leadership development in the Pacific context. This can be seen in the AusAID funded Pacific Leadership Programme. In Bue's experience "the Ministry [of Education] sits down with the representatives [of development programmes] and seeks funding from the donor parties. The Ministry [of Education] acts as the intermediary between the international development agency and the educational leaders (Bue). Issues arise over who should control how the funding is allocated and who really holds the power in the donor-recipient relationship. Historically this has been donor partners.

The difficulty is how aid organisations use the resources in a way that they can support the context. That is the question that aid organisations struggle with. Some people say why don't you take the money and drop it to the local government, the community and let them decide what to do with it? The reality is that will never happen because aid organisations need to have some control over the funding. At the same time too much control over funding will mean that the design of the programmes will be determined externally so where is the balance of power? (Abeguwo).

Development programmes in the Pacific are partnerships with donor nations and either one (bilateral) recipient nation or multiple recipient nations (regional). They are constructed on a large scale and sometimes donor

nations have the perception that recipient nations are unable to provide programme delivery service expertise. The Pacific Leadership Programme has attempted to utilise in country expertise in the service delivery aspects of the programme, but then again the Pacific Leadership Programme was described as an experiment and has been doing things differently to what is often been done before (Alalahe).

Lack of leadership development in the Pacific. The emergence of new ideas about leadership highlights some of the challenges that the participants believed were important in the decision-making process. Five of the twelve interviewees, for example, noted the lack of opportunities for formal leadership development. These participants explained that while there are programmes in the Pacific that focus on leadership development, most of them do not orientate leadership from a Pacific perspective. Of the leadership development opportunities that are available, many are run by local churches (Abeguwo, Lahaina). Despite this, however, the opportunities for educational leaders to acquire new skills are few and far between.

The participants considered that the lack of comprehensive home-grown programmes was a problem for two main reasons. Firstly, they noted that local leadership models need to be developed so that members of Pacific communities can navigate the often highly conflicting demands of traditional and modern ways of life (Executive Sir). Secondly, because many existing leadership programmes are informal and run on an ad hoc basis, they are not always measured to see how well they have worked (Alalahe).

A few leadership programmes do exist. Within international development programmes attempts have been made to ensure that people who engage with them ultimately have a role in decision-making or are placed in positions of influence. The problem with many of these programmes is that they tend not to apply Pacific ways of thinking or local cultural practices and fail to

mobilise communities. As one participant notes, “I haven’t seen any donor programmes that focus on Pacific leadership, Pacific knowledge and the Pacific way of growing leaders. So there is a deficit in the way international aid is impacting leadership Pacific” (Executive Sir). Another participant added that it would be positive “if we can grow more leadership from within the Pacific, [because] that is where the good ideas come from” (Alalahe).

With regards to educational leadership, Mahuika explains that

Of the 31 [Principals], only one Principal had had any training whatsoever in educational administration. The rest none. No formal training in educational leadership or things like that. These were just individuals that were probably very trustworthy teachers that were promoted into the position (Mahuika).

What this participant was explaining was that in the Pacific context, people who attain leadership positions in schools often do so because they are good teachers and there was a vacancy that needed to be filled. They often do not have the appropriate leadership skills for the position prior to taking up that role.

Mahuika also noted that “the quality of leadership training available is largely dependent on the local situation” (Mahuika). In the Pacific region there is some suspicion about formal leadership programmes, especially those offered by outside agencies. This is because leadership development is still a new phenomenon in the Pacific and it is still common that people inherit traditional leadership positions (Mahuika).

What happens when the funding stops? But what happens when the development programme ends or when the economic or political priorities of donor nations change? The recipients commented on this issue, noting that it highlighted the power imbalance between outside funders and local peoples. When donors change their minds about delivering aid to particular regions or for specific initiatives, local communities can be left hanging. As Lahaina comments,

When they [donor parties] change their priorities, it's ok to have the funding. I learned it in New Zealand; it happens for Pacific people in New Zealand, it happens here in Tonga and in the Pacific. When they change their priorities they can pull the plug. What happens in the local community? It leaves it to us! It leaves the people. We rise up to deal with the situations like that. Either we forget about the project and continue on without it, or we carry on in some form (Lahaina)

One way that international development has supported leadership development is explained by an interviewee. "I think we [the TSSLP] are the only ones that have brought the Tongan secondary principals together for the first time in history" (Mahuika). In this way the secondary school principals are able to network and receive professional development in a way that is targeted. Another participant agrees and says

If we take the example of the TSSLP, I think just by observation and listening to the people, it has changed people's attitudes, peoples view on how they work with school children. But at the same time the other impact that they are actually creating the frustration within a community. So it's best not to touch it than begin a programme and create frustrated people around. I'm sure that is one of the impacts (Lahaina).

The frustration that this participant refers to was caused by the TSSLP having their funding stopped before the anticipated end of the programme. In this way the local community feel frustrated by the lack of ongoing support

from the donor organisation. The frustrations was caused because as one participant said,

This is an AusAID funded project [TSSLP] and it's only happening because there's funding. But this too has a very limited life. In fact we have already been informed that come June next year (2014) Australia is withdrawing it's funding for no apparent reason other than a change in government and other things. The emphasis is now strictly basic education. And because we are dealing with secondary school education we are outside of the scope of their new policy (Mahuika).

It is in these kinds of situations that local people feel a little like puppets who are manipulated by other people and this can create considerable resentment. Another participant agrees saying that,

The donor money is based on self-interest. It's based on their own agenda. When the gate opens for people to apply for aid. They say here is the window. We determine to you, here are the areas, it's on human rights, it's on free speech, and gender maybe. So they determine where you put the money. It's not based on needs. And it changes based as the political landscape the in the donor country changes (Executive Sir).

When donor nations change their policy directions there is a direct consequence for recipient nations. Donor nations seem to change their policy direction because of self-interest. In this way policy direction regarding international development is donor focused. When donor policy changes, development programmes that the policy impacts on is likely to stop. This often occurs because the recipient nation is unable to provide the resources for the development programme themselves.

Insufficient resources in schools. An issue in recipient nation's states is that there is often not enough money to pay for all the resources that are needed. Recipient nations are known to be resource poor, this is one of the reasons why development programmes are in such high demand. Mahuika found that "there is barely enough money to pay for the staff wages. Most schools are left to fend for themselves in terms of operational spending" (Mahuika). When this occurs schools tend to rely on the goodwill of parents to fill the gap and provide resources to pay for necessities like text books and photocopying (Mahuika).

The lack of resources in schools are limiting the educational outcomes of students in recipient nations. This has created the perception that to obtain the desired educational outcomes for students you need to send them abroad to another country. Afekan argues that "the impact is that [you] do what you can do here with what you have. If you want to do anything else you have to try and leave Tonga and continue your study elsewhere" (Afekan).

Although education is highly valued by parents, the expectation of what schools should be doing, how education should be delivered and how knowledge can be constructed is low. However with the help of development partners this can change (Mahuika). While the educational outcomes for students in recipient nations can be improved, parents understand the value of a good education. This is one of the reasons why some parents perceive that educational outcomes in other nations is preferable. Improvements in the education sector in recipient nations will improve the local economy and over time reduce the dependency on development programmes in the education sector.

Aid dependency in the education sector has helped maintain a perception that education in other countries are able to provide better educational

outcomes. This occurs because there is often a lack of resources in recipient nations. In the absence of development programmes the deficit in resources has been partially met by parents and the local community. The wider community do their best to accommodate the needs of the school, but often this is inadequate.

Research question two: What are recipient's perceptions of international development in the Pacific context?

This research question attempts to uncover the perceptions that recipients have of international development in the Pacific context. The views of participants have been categorised in three ways to create an understanding of the Pacific context. Firstly it identifies that the Pacific culture which is based on reciprocity, this is the philosophical space that the Pacific sits in. Secondly that development partners provide the capacity for recipient nations to change their behaviours. Thirdly international development is seen as a form of colonisation.

Reciprocity in the Pacific context. Although it is known that the nations in the Pacific region differ in terms of culture, language and social interaction, the participants in this research indicated that there is a shared understanding that reciprocity underpins the social interactions in across the Pacific region.

It seems as though the participants provided descriptions of the Pacific context from the position of how they wanted the Pacific to be perceived, rather than how it is perceived. Interviewees tended to place some emphasis on the positive aspects of the Pacific context and avoided conversation of historical conflict. Two participants (Abeguwo and Executive Sir) did talk about issues of corruption in some examples of international development in the Pacific. During these conversations it was made clear

that international development could make improvements to the service delivery of leadership development to mitigate the incidences of corruption. Generally there was a tendency to focus on the good aspects of the Pacific way and downplay or simply avoid conversation of the negativity.

From the participants perspective the Pacific way is based on reciprocity. This was understood to mean that across the Pacific region kind or positive actions are rewarded with other positive actions.

Our culture, even though the Pacific is about reciprocity, is about serving the other person. Some people have fused their culture with their Palagi ways, but reciprocity is to serve others without asking what they want. Rather knowing in what ways I can be of service to you. In fusing Palagi ways with traditional views you keep the essence of reciprocity, but it is applied differently (Bue).

Another participants agrees and says that

the Pacific ways is not all good. There are some norms of the Pacific way that needs to be done away with. But there are some key elements that need to be kept. For example reciprocity is an element of Pacific way that needs to be kept. Family, respect for family. But that does not mean that respect for family you don't become a critical thinker (Executive Sir).

The literature explains that while reciprocity is not represented in the policies of Pacific nation states, it is entrenched in the cultural and social norms of the individual Pacific cultures (Ratuva, 2010). This is not meant to reduce the diversity in the Pacific to a simple concept. Instead it argues the point that Pacific nations share the concept of reciprocity. It is important for Pacific peoples to weigh up the kindness of a person's actions as well as their underlying intention (Falk and Fischbacher, 2006).

Reciprocity in the Pacific context plays a role in the ways in which Pacific peoples treat each other. Applying critical lens to the act of reciprocity in the Pacific context leads me to think of the Pacific context in two ways. By this I mean that reciprocity is a social way of favouring the acts and behaviours that are good or considered appropriate. However it can also lead to behaviours that in other contexts would appear to be corrupt or nepotistic in nature. One participant explains that for leaders there is sometimes the expectation that the leader will favour those that helped the leader attain the seat of leadership. By doing this it is understood that the leader will retain the seat of leadership (Abeguwo).

This is of concern in the context of international development as there is a fine line between creating and maintaining socially appropriate relationship and ensuring that development programmes are free of corruption and are transparent.

Participants and the literature agree that reciprocity is entrenched in the social behaviours of Pacific peoples. However, this does not by itself define or characterise the Pacific people as a single homogenous group. Each Pacific nation state is different from other Pacific nations in terms of social, cultural and governance contexts. The Pacific shares reciprocity as a form of commonality upon which their individual social and cultural contexts are built. Reciprocity frames social interactions in a positive way and influences more positive social actions.

Improved leadership capacity. Pacific communities have the capacity to change. We know this because development programmes are common in the Pacific and the intention of development programmes are to make positive changes to recipient communities. Even though recipients are grateful for the support of donor partners, there is a need to frame the support that is provided using a Pacific lens. Maui believes this “because if

we don't contextualise it, it's just another way of re-imposing foreign templates and hoping that it works and in most cases it doesn't" (Maui).

Development programmes have improved the leadership capacity in local communities. An example of this is the improvement in way that educational leaders interact with students, teachers and parents. Mahuika explained that in their development programme, "students have shared how teachers don't beat them anymore in many schools and greatly reduced in some" (Mahuika). During an educational leadership training session,

a female principal confessed to have hit not just students but teachers as well. This particular principal shared how after attending a couple of our coaching trainings then one day a mother came into her office complaining about a teacher who had hit her child. She said that everyone was expecting uproar. But she decided that she would try and use the coaching method. So instead of scolding the teacher in public like she would have normally done she called the teacher into her office and started coaching instead. And she said before long the teacher was in tears apologizing promised to make amends with the family and the child and the principal could not believe that she was able to accomplish that in peace. (Mahuika)

As seen in this example, development programmes are making a difference for educational leaders. This is an indication that the Pacific context has the capacity to make changes in the ways that educational leaders behave.

Donor partners are increasing the opportunities for leadership development programmes to increase the personal leadership capacity of leaders. For Lahaina "the problem would arise if that is not the kind of leadership that development partners have in mind. And then we would therefore be building capacities, developing capacities forever to meet the particular, whoever, the outsider's definition or standards of leadership" (Lahaina).

Some questions have been raised about who determines what capacities need to be strengthened in the Pacific region.

In my time in New Zealand there has been a focusing on capacity building. Building the capacity of Pacific and Māori people to catch up. Bridging the gap, and I think it is a flawed way of looking at the world. That we will forever be building the capacity because who determines the agenda, who decides the standard that we need to aim for. Nobody not Pacific (Lahaina)

For Pacific leaders' whether in the education or another sector, the question is who determines what Pacific leadership capacity should look like.

Development programmes tend to focus on leadership characteristics and capacities that are favoured by donor nations. There is some suspicion that donor partners determine their own strategic priorities and in doing so determine what Pacific Leadership should look like and the ways in which leadership capacities should be built.

Donor partners are developing leadership capacities in ways that are different to traditional modes of leadership. Developing leaders using leadership development programmes is not traditional. In this way leaders are being created using a non-traditional frame. This is likely to produce leaders that do not use traditional leadership typologies. Although leadership development programmes harness and gain some leverage from the knowledge contained in the leadership literature, there is some concern that the forms of leadership that are created are not from a Pacific perspective.

Development partners using external consultants. Donor nations often recruit external consultants to work on development programmes. However, as Abeguwo notes “the debate is how you can bring in a leadership expert from abroad that will train and develop leaders and leadership within a country, sector [or] community” (Abeguwo). In the past there has been

some criticism of using external experts in the local context. Alalahe commented that “for many years Australian Aid have spent a lot of money on consultants. They’ve been pulled up on it and they are much better now, but for a long time that’s where the money was going” (Alalahe).

While donor nations are predisposed to using external consultants, this frequently causes frustrations for recipients.

Rarely would you get a good consultant who understands the local context. The consultant may have the expertise in a particular area which is important. We have decided that perhaps we should charge the consultants. Every time they come here to find out about us we are educating them, so we are forever educating consultants that have been employed to come out and develop us. So who is developing who? We develop them to be able to write about us, so we think that we should come up with a charge, and charge the consultants that come here and try to find out about us (Lahaina).

A proportion of the funds allocated to development programmes are not spent in the recipient nation state. Instead it is spent on recruiting external consultants to work in the recipient nation state. This disregards the expertise that is available in the recipient nation state. Loau, for example commented “we have people in Tonga that are fit to do the job. They are qualified from western countries from world recognised universities, but they don’t have that job” (Loau).

One of the issues in using external consultants is that they often do not understand the local context. As Bue argues “It’s hard for them to understand the Tongan context. [...] The palagis understand that they do not understand the context” (Bue). The solution has usually been to either develop the external consultant so that they are able to contextualise the knowledge and skills they bring to the development programme, or to recruit locals to operationalise the programme (Pele, Executive Sir).

External consultants tend to come to the Pacific with preconceived notions of what is expected. Developing external consultants to understand the local context is important. When this is not done well it can cause some frustrations.

When they [external consultants] come, they come from a different reality. [...] It's like they are forcing us to move from our reality, move from what we are used to and adapt to their perspective which does bring a lot of problems for us. It is very frustrating (Loau).

There is some inconsistency in how well external consultants take on the lessons about contextualizing their knowledge. Some have done it well while others have not.

Some of the consultants working in education in the region are crap. Some of them are good they are few and far between. But a lot of them aren't worth their salt. [...] They're more interested in either conveying or bestowing their ideas on their less fortunate brethren in all the Pacific countries. Or they're there for a holiday. [...] It's very frustrating (Alalahe).

But international development is changing. Participants believe that recipient nations have the capacity to determine their own destiny and that the potential of Pacific people have been exposed to development partners. Maui's experience is that "aid is shifting into a more recipient friendly. Whereas before it was more donor driven. [...] What is expected of the donor [is] to facilitate the assistance so that it can be fully maximised by the recipient" (Maui). Historically this has not been the case.

The use of external consultants have been frustrating for recipients for two reasons. Firstly that there is a perception that external consultants do not understand the local context sufficiently. There is the perception that some external consultants are there for a holiday. Secondly there are domestic consultants that are appropriately qualified and experienced that are able to replace the external consultant. But they are not recruited. Historically there has a pre-disposition for donor nations to recruit external consultants rather than domestic consultants.

International development as a form of colonisation. Seven of the twelve participants see international development as a continuing form of colonisation (Lahaina, Bue, Loau, Afekan, Abeguwo, Maui, and Executive Sir). This seems to be based on the fact that “all those agencies [international development agencies] have their own agenda. They have their own strategic priority areas. They decide where their funding ought to go. NZAID/AusAID all of them have got their own, like any organisation you would have your strategic plan, what are the priorities for the Pacific this year” (Lahaina). Donor partners appear to have a plan about how they manage their relationships with Pacific nations. By strategically planning the future of the Pacific, there is some strength in the argument that international development is a continuation of colonisation. Donor partners are attempting to make changes to the Pacific through development programmes that support the donor nation’s agenda. From the recipient’s perspective, there is some similarity between international development and colonisation.

“International development is basically just another form of colonialism” (Executive Sir). There was a time when the colonial powers administered and governed the Pacific. In their absence Pacific nations became independent and created their own forms of governance with all of the bureaucracy that accompanies it. “But what you are left with is that you still have international aid, which is a way of saying because you are not fully

developed you need financial help to improve your systems of leading, your lifestyle and everything” (Executive Sir).

Today donor nations support change in recipient nations through development programmes. Development partners are external actors who attempt to influence changes in villages and provinces in the Pacific (Abeguwo). From Abeguwo’s perspective “as an external actor we [development partners] can try and influence some of them [villages and provinces]” (Abeguwo). Sometimes development partners come with their own agenda and do not always engage well with the local community. Loau states that “the westerners come with their western view and just do what they want to do and sometimes do not talk to us” (Loau). It is important for development partners to work with and consider the needs of the local community. Sometimes development programmes do this well, at other times they do not.

An interviewee explains to their students that “If anyone is going to make a difference in this country it’s you and I because we know the context, we know the needs, and we know the language of the people” (Maui). There is a need for local people to be involved in the construction and delivery of development programmes. Doing so will help ensure that the knowledge that is transmitted through the development programme is contextualised appropriately. Bue explains that

if a non-Tongan ran a Leadership Programme it won’t work, I know it won’t work. Leadership is so connected to you, who you are, too culture. They just don’t know. They will not appreciate the context. It will just not work. It would be utterly stupid if a Palagi turned up and run a programme, and they are apologizing from beginning to end about being culturally inappropriate (Bue).

For one interviewee, international development is about maintaining power relationships. Who has the power in the donor recipient relationship?

It's almost like power relations, power play, it's like maintain the status quo for the donor over the recipient and when that happens and that is what I refer to as being on a level playing field and we both agree to that. Otherwise power play is in force. The power play will always exist without equal partnership. So what we have to do is create a kind of mutual understanding that we agree and sometimes we have to agree that we don't agree (Maui).

Participants have good reasons to suspect that international development is a continuation of colonisation. In the absence of colonisation, development partners (many of whom are former colonisers) are continuing to influence and impact the development and growth direction of recipient nations. Donor nations do this from a distance through the use of development programmes. The similarities between colonisation and international development are seen in the ways in which donor nations use conditional and tied methods of making development programmes more efficient and effective. In this way donor nations are able to influence recipient nations to make changes to their domestic policies. Also donor nations come to the international development table with their own agenda and vision for the region. Because of this the nature of international development in terms of intent and action are similar to colonisation.

Development programmes need to be contextualised to the local context to gain maximum value. Sometimes this is done well and at other times it is not. However the key to the future of development programmes lie with local people. The knowledge of local people cannot be underestimated. By engaging well with local people development programmes are more likely to be successful. This is because local people know the needs, and understand the local context. Engaging with local people and designing development programmes from their perspective will go some way to

dismantling the idea that international development is a continuation of colonisation.

Research question three: In what ways are international development programmes enhancing educational leadership development?

In answering this research question, participants made three points. Firstly that the church is heavily involved in the professional development of leaders in the Pacific. Although the role of the church falls outside of the scope of this research, it featured in the conversations with participants. The church provides a time and place for parishioners to exercise leadership. This is commonly known in the Pacific. The conversation about the church providing a space for leadership development features in the findings of this research to ensure that the contextual voice of the participants remain. Secondly participants describes what is meant by educational leadership capacity. Lastly interviewees explained the ways in which international development enhances leadership development in the Pacific. This includes providing funds, resources and infrastructure. Participants were also critical of donor partners.

This dialogue is included to show that recipients are grateful for the help that international development partners are able to provide. However there is room for improvement.

The Church. A common theme generated in the discussion was about the presence of the church and its function in Pacific society. Participants clearly understood the difference between the church and international development, however they sought to include a conversation about the church because it was appropriate to do so. The value of the church in Pacific society cannot and should not be underestimated. It is entrenched within Pacific society and helps guide and determine what is considered to be the Pacific way.

Seven of the twelve participants talked about the role that the church plays in the both the provision of schools and leadership development in the Pacific context. For Aguna, “the community life and church life is impacting on the school life, and educational leadership in the Tongan context understands this” (Agunua). This is important as the church impacts on educational leadership in two ways. Firstly that they provide schools throughout the Pacific region (Mahuika, Abeguwo, and Alalahe). In Tonga this is especially true. Mahuika has experienced this and says that “a few [schools] are run by government, but the majority, about 70 percent or so are run by churches” (Mahuika).

Secondly that through participation in the congregation, churches provide a place where leaders can grow and practice leadership skills that are later utilised in the wider community (Agunua, Lahaina, Bue, Abeguwo, and Executive Sir). Bue explains this by saying “I get professional development from my church, my colleagues and family. There is no leadership programme [for senior educational leaders]. You just collect from your environment. Very Pacific, you just collect form your environment, you absorb it, you hear things and see what works” (Bue).

One participant explains that “church is a very important part of the Pacific way. Although Christianity was introduced to the Pacific, the values of Christianity are so fundamental and so critical for this region to survive and prosper” (Executive Sir). The church is strongly featured in the way that Pacific culture is constructed and this is common across the different countries that make up the Pacific Region. Because of this, the church features strongly in the leadership development of Pacific peoples.

Although the work of the church fell outside of the focus of this research, the church seems to play a part in the both the provision of schools and

leadership development. The function of the church in the Pacific includes being the primary agent that fills the gap between what the Ministry of Education in Pacific nations can supply, and the supplements that international development provide.

The church plays a role in leadership development by providing a space and mechanism for people to practice leadership in the community. The lessons learned in this context are able to be transferred into other sectors and in this way the church is supplementing leadership development programmes. In the Pacific context, the church is embedded in the local context and can be considered the default leadership development process.

Educational leadership capacity. When assessing leadership capacity for educational leaders, research has shown that the use of either quantitative or qualitative research methodologies can have a significant impact on the outcomes of research. Quantitative research has indicated that educational leadership has an indirect relationship with student outcomes, concluding that the effect of the educational leader is mediated by the effect of the teacher (Robinson, Lloyd & Rowe, 2008, Leithwood & Day 2007). However qualitative case studies often examine examples that vary significantly from the norm. In this context leadership has been shown to have a high impact on learning outcomes for students (Firestone & Riehl, 2005). Despite the differential outcomes related to research methodologies, school effectiveness and improvement may be dependent on leadership capacities (Hulpia, Devos & Rosseel, 2009).

Leadership capacity refers to both the numbers of leaders practicing leadership as well as the personal skills a leader has. Mahuika describes personal leadership capacity as being about “equipping people with tools and strategies and thinking skills with which to accomplish what they would otherwise not been able to do” (Mahuika). Alalahe furthers this saying that

“when you’re talking about individuals you’re talking about their internal capacity take on any given job or role. Or you’re talking about a country and whether they have leadership capacity. You’re talking about both those things” (Alalahe).

Leadership development programmes such as the TSSLP and AQEP have increased the internal capacity of leaders in their programmes (Mahuika and Pele). In the TSSLP Mahuika has “been trying to help educational leaders become are people with vision, people who behave ethically are people that are good in terms of organisation and management of resources. People that are well connected to their community and things like that” (Mahuika). In the AQEP

a lot of the focus of our work is really capacity developing leaders at the school level, so we’re helping them at the micro level in terms of schools. [...] We’re trying to improve the ability of the school community which comprises leaders whether it’s the leader of the school [or] the leader of the management committee of the community that’s made up of parents and chiefs and the like (Pele).

Another way to improve leadership capacities is to provide scholarship programmes for students. Abeguwo commented that “students who pursue studies abroad and these are funded by development agencies are improving their knowledge and skills but are also exposing them to environments where they will be expected to fulfil some of the characteristics of a leader in the future, preparing them to be better leaders” (Abeguwo).

When people talk about enhancing leadership capacity they are referring to either the personal skills of a person, or the number of leaders in the country. How the term leadership capacity is used largely determines whether we are talking about the personal skills a person has or the number of leaders in a given area.

There are two ways that international development is able to impact educational leadership. The first way is to provide development programmes that focus on the professional development of educational leaders. This is a way of improving the personal skills that educational leaders embody. The second way is to provide scholarships to students. In this way education system is growing leaders for the future and increasing the number of leaders for tomorrow.

How international development enhances leadership

development. The Pacific Leadership Programme is a flagship international development programme. Alalahe explains that a flagship programme “is significantly larger than any other projects in the portfolio. It’s very high profile” (Alalahe). The Pacific Leadership Programme provides funding and strategic direction for a number of educational leadership development programmes in the Pacific region including the TSSLP and AQEP. Through the Pacific Leadership Programme, AusAID has been able to enhance leadership development in the Pacific region. The programme itself operates as a regional programme, consequently it focuses on providing assistance to multiple nation states.

Development programmes can impact on leadership development directly or indirectly. Leadership programmes that are tagged as leadership development have a direct impact on leadership development. However all development programmes, regardless of whether they are tagged as leadership development have aspects of leadership development embedded in it. In this way development programmes that are not tagged as leadership development have an indirect relationship with leadership development. Pele remarks that “I am sure that indirectly or directly there is always going to be some leadership development that occurs naturally because that’s the nature of the benefits that accrue out of any development programmes I am sure” (Pele).

International development programmes that are not tagged as leadership development contain aspects of leadership development because the people working in the programmes are in a position of leadership. As part of the development programme the people who work in the programme often lead the local community in a strategic direction. To do this the development consultant needs to have leadership skills that are appropriate for the context. In this way all development programmes have aspects of leadership development embedded in them.

Some interviewees were critical of the enhancing effect of international development. The influx of resources and infrastructure to recipient communities can sometimes tempt people to be corrupt. Executive Sir's opinion is that this can be combatted "if international development creates institutions that will grow a new crop of leaders based on ethical and entrepreneurial leadership, we will reduce corruption; we will reduce violence and will strengthen accountability in institutions" (Executive Sir).

Generally speaking, the participants in this study did not talk about negative aspects of international development. Instead they tended to focus on the positive work that donor nations are achieving. Executive Sir believes that leaders that are strong in ethics and entrepreneurial skills will be an advantage in the Pacific context where there have been historical cases of corruption. "International development has enough resources and infrastructure. For example in the Solomon Islands it has led to corruption" (Executive Sir). Corruption in international development has been well documented in the literature, although it has not been focused on in the literature review in this research.

Donor partners have enhanced development programmes by providing resources and infrastructure. Donor and recipient nations agree what resources and infrastructure will be provided by the donor nation. Using Fiji as an example one interviewee explains that “the government of Australia and government of Fiji work out things that they (Australia) can support, then they channel money into the [Fiji] Ministry of Education and the [Fiji] Ministry of Education manages it because we have an agreement for what it’s for” (Abeguwo).

From Lahaina’s perspective international development impacts recipient nations “by building some infrastructure and things like that, we can’t just build infrastructure and leave it there because the people have to work there” (Lahaina). The people need to be developed to make use of the resources and infrastructure that is on offer. Sometimes the resources provided are what is wanted, at other times development programmes provide what is needed. What recipients want is not always what is needed. However when resources are provided they should be utilised. This is not always happening.

One of the issues for schools is that teachers sometimes do not make full use of the resources provided. One participant explained that at their institution, “AusAID had been tremendous, we spent close to \$80,000 Tongan dollars of AusAID money. They invested in sciences in particular. But unfortunately the teachers did not seize the opportunity and make use of it. That’s the problem” (Agunua).

Teachers indicated that help from donor nations was occurring but a large percentage of the allocated resources were used to manage the development programme rather than make changes in the classroom.

At a basic level international development builds schools, puts books in, maybe computers depending on where you are, making it safe for girls to go to school and things like that. [However] when a figure about the financial contribution gets announced, maybe half that goes to a managing contractor to manage the programme. That's just the reality of it (Alalahe).

In the classroom teachers said that they felt that teaching resources were limited and an insufficient amount made it to the classroom. When this happens they have to make do with what they have.

We are pretty limited with our resources here in Tonga. Having been a teacher myself in primary school we really had to make do with what we had at the time. We didn't get much help from overseas that got to us. I think that they came in to help the Ministry as a whole. But when it came down to us teaching in the classroom the resources were limited. The resources never made it to the student (Afekan).

Development programmes tend to generally focus on the main islands. This is often where there is the biggest populations. However what this means is that more rural and isolated areas receive less development support. Loau explains that “what donor countries that bring aid need to do are to reach out to the smaller islands, not just the main island. Because what we mostly see is that they only reach out to the main island. So the main island has the benefit.” (Loau). Educational leadership development in the Pacific tends to be different from Loau's experience. This is because educational leaders are brought together to be developed from remote locations for professional development. However Mahuika indicated that educational leadership development in the Pacific is still new (Mahuika).

In Lahaina's experience “the funding helps. It helps to move people around and bring people together to focus on the project. But the actual implementation of the project depends on the people locally” (Lahaina). Training local people is important. This is because leadership development

programmes tend to focus on training local people. But often they use external consultants to inform the training. External consultants need to be able to work contextually in recipient nations. This may require external consultants to be trained to deliver contextually appropriate knowledge. But this has caused some frustrations for recipients who feel they are forever training external consultants. But there are advantages to training local people in this way. It retains knowledge in the region that is otherwise lacking.

When you train people the multiply factor is much greater. It is an exponential multiplying effect. You're making a difference in the lives in the people. [...] So it's very important the locals are trained so they can benefit from that. Because otherwise they bring their own people, they train and bring their own knowledge back. What is important is that the knowledge has to be translated to the local people. Because the local people stay. And that will determine the sustainability of that initiative and increase the leadership capacity (Maui).

International development does enhance leadership development if only in the absence of international development the opportunities for leadership development would be lesser. International development does enhance leadership development by transporting people around the region and providing resources and infrastructure.

All development programmes have aspects of leadership development embedded in them. In this way all international development programmes enhance leadership development. This occurs because development programmes that are not tagged as leadership development require development consultants to lead projects in recipient communities. When this happens the development consultants need to be developed to lead the community in a strategic direction. The knowledge and skills gained in this capacity can then be used by the development consultant in other areas.

Development programmes that are tagged as leadership development are more directly enhanced by international development. Like development programmes that are not tagged as leadership development, leadership development programmes have aspects of leadership development embedded in them. The rationale is the same. However because they focus on leadership development, greater focus is placed on developing participants in the programme. In this way both the participants and the development consultants have their leadership capacities increased.

Participants have indicated that when development programmes provide resources and infrastructure for educational leaders it is not always utilised efficiently and does not always make it to the students. This may be because the resources provided are not always what is wanted. It is presumed that the resources that are provided are what the development partners and the recipient nation liaison person has decided what is needed. When there is a difference, educational leaders need to be trained to use the provided resources. When the resources lie unused, it becomes a limiting factor in the ability of international development to enhance leadership development. Using the resources can only enhance the capabilities of the leader.

Interviewees indicated that a sizeable percentage of the resources allocated to the project are used in the creation and maintenance of the project. This is a reality of any development programme. When the programme is advertised to the public, the total value of aid is used. The costings for designing and implementing the programme needs to come out of this fund. There has been some concern that the use of external consultants have absorbed a large amount of the resources allocated and that the consultants themselves need to be developed before they can contextualise the knowledge that they have. When resources do not make it to the classroom, there is a perception that the money was spent on managing the project. This cannot be denied. There is a proportion of funds spent on managing

the project. However recipients need to focus on utilizing the resources that are made available.

Although international development does play a part in enhancing leadership development, the church seems to be the default way that Pacific peoples obtain their leadership development. It is unclear from the research what percentage of leadership development the church is responsible for. However it is clear that in the Pacific context leadership development can be obtained in three ways. Firstly from traditional means, secondly from the church and lastly through leadership development programmes operated by donor nations.

Summary of chapter six

In this chapter I have discussed the participants' perceptions of international development and leadership development in the Pacific context. Not all of the participant's views were represented in this research. At times the discussion during the interview process talked about other associated subjects that fell outside of the scope of this research. However several themes did emerge that were representative of the participant pool. The themes that are presented in this research were those that were common from both the Fiji and Tonga participants. In this way the themes of this research are more likely to be representative of the Pacific as a region.

Participants talked about; leadership and leadership development in the Pacific context, how international development programmes are constructed, how there is a lack of leadership development in the Pacific, what happens when the funding to development programmes stop, described how reciprocity exists in the Pacific context, how Pacific communities have the ability to improve leadership capacity, the issues with donor partners using external consultants, how international development is continuing

colonisation in the modern day, that the church plays a role in the provision of schools as well as providing leadership development to local leaders, and how international development enhances leadership development.

In chapter seven these themes will be discussed in detail including references to the literature. It will be postulated that Pacific leaders have a common shared understanding that they use to guide their leadership actions in both the traditional and modern contexts. This means that even though the context changes and the leadership typology leaders use changes to suit the context, there is a fundamental set of guiding principles that is the same in the modern and traditional context. When people talk about Pacific leadership, they are referring to the leadership action that is guided by the common shared understanding.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

In Chapter six, I discussed the participant's perspectives of the research questions. The chapter was presented and organised by the research questions so that the reader can gain some insight into the perceptions of the participants. Care was taken to present the essence of what the participant's said. This was achieved by selecting appropriate quotes from the participant interviews that support a range of recurring themes. There were some topics that the participants talked about that are not represented in the findings chapter. Largely these comments fell outside of the scope of this research and provided a backdrop to the issues investigated in this thesis.

In chapter seven I move away from the research questions and bring the themes together to tell a story. There is a strong alignment with the participant's perceptions and the literature. This brings some credibility to the participant's perceptions of the subject matter. There is also strong internal alignment within the participant's perceptions that span two nations and various development programmes. In this chapter a description will be provided that explains; how development programmes are constructed in the Pacific, what happens when development funding ends, the recipients perceptions of development partners using external consultants, that international development is framed as a continuation of colonisation, how leadership and followership is constructed in the Pacific context, that there is lack of formal leadership development in the Pacific, that future leaders need to be able to straddle both traditional and modern sectors of Pacific society, and how international development enhances leadership development. Concluding this chapter brings all of the themes together to form an assessment of the relationship between international development and leadership development in the Pacific context.

In chapter eight recommendations will be made to find way forward into the future.

The research participants

This research included participants who were involved with various development programmes in the Pacific context. However there was an attempt to include educational leadership development programmes that were operational at the time of data collection. These were the Access to Quality Education and Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme. Both programmes are part of the Pacific Leadership Programme which is considered to be a flagship leadership programme in the Pacific. The Pacific Leadership Programme is funded by Australia through AusAID.

Participants were included in this research if they had some experience with international development programmes, mostly in the education sector in the Pacific context. This included teachers, lectures, former and current programme directors and development consultants. The size of the possible participant pool is small, so restricting the participant selection process to consultants and recipients that are currently engaged in educational development programmes would have significantly limited this research.

By selecting participants in this way, this research was able to gain some depth and richness that would otherwise be lacking. Including participants that have been involved in development programmes that have ended as well as the two AusAID programmes means that the findings from this research are not solely based on programmes created and maintained by AusAID.

Including and naming the two AusAID programmes is intended to highlight two flagship educational leadership programmes that have added value to

the Pacific community. As a regional programme the Pacific Leadership Programme operates in multiple nations including Fiji and Tonga. Participants explained that AusAID representative's liaise with the local Ministry of Education and come to an agreement on the ways in which AusAID are able to support Educational leaders in the local context.

Other participants have been involved in development programmes that have since ceased operating. These include donor nations other than Australia. In this way a cross donor perspective was captured. Although participants have been involved in different programmes, there were recurring themes that came to the surface during the interviews.

How international development programmes are constructed in the Pacific context

One of the participants (Abeguwo) explains how development programmes work in the Pacific context. Development programmes in the Pacific are tagged as either being regional or bilateral. Regional programmes have recipients in multiple nation states. Bilateral programmes include only the donor and a single recipient nations. From a funding perspective there is regional funding and bilateral funding.

Donor nations are always trying to work out the differences between regional initiatives and bilateral initiatives (Abeguwo). If a regional programme is focused on a particular area, bilateral programmes will focus on other areas. In this way duplication of service delivery is minimised.

Development programmes do use conditional and tied methodologies to control the financial structures of development programmes. "But then again aid is always politics. Conditionality and tied methodologies happen. This is where the mutual arrangement comes in" (Maui). Donor nations and

recipient nations meet and decide together what is needed and what can be funded. This is conducted at a nation state level. Often the people working with the community do not have input into the negotiations between donor partner and recipient representatives. It is the recipient nation's responsibility to accurately describe and negotiate with the donor nation what is needed at the community level. However the donor nation is guided by their own strategic plan which may not align well with the needs of the recipient nation. It is typical that the donor nation only funds programmes that align well with their strategic direction. Because of this it is common that programmes that do not align well with the donor partner's strategic plan will not be funded. Some recipient nations change the presentation of their needs to align well with the strategic direction of the donor nation, while others do not.

"The inputs don't always equal the outputs and outcomes that you're actually seeking to put a programme in place" (Alalahe). It is difficult to conceive why the inputs do not align well with the programme outputs. Mosley (1987) explains that it is challenging to find a correlation between the gross national product of recipient nation states and the value of aid received by the recipient. This could mean that the financial inputs are being transformed into social gains which is difficult to assign a financial value, or that funds are being diverted into non-assignable and non-recoverable expenditure. It is difficult for development partners to say that assigning this much funding and resources will result in a definable change in the recipient nation. This means that it is difficult to assess the overall effectiveness of any particular development programme outside of meeting anticipated programme outcomes.

What happens when the development funding stops?

The Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme focused on educational leadership in secondary schools in Tonga. However the MDGs focus on providing universal primary education. This resulted in the Tonga

Secondary School Leadership Programme having their funding stopped because AusAID wanted to refocus their attention to other areas. A participant explains it like this.

This is an AusAID funded project and it's only happening because there's funding. But this too has a very limited life. In fact we have already been informed that come June next year (2014) Australia is withdrawing it's funding for no apparent reason other than a change in government and other things. The emphasis is now strictly basic education. And because we are dealing with secondary school education we are outside of the scope of their new policy. So that is where we stand at the moment (Mahuika).

Participants explained that having funding redirected to other purposes was common and that when this happened there were two options. One option was to carry on with the programme without funding and the other was to stop the programme. It would be typical that the programme stops rather than finding funding from other sources.

Recipients find it frustrating to have their funding stopped because of a shift in the policy of donor nations. In the case of education in the Pacific, nation states do not have enough funds or resources to equip their schools with what they need to provide quality education. This is one of the reasons why international development programmes focus on schooling.

When development programmes end it leaves a gap that needs to be filled by the recipient nation. This need tends not to be filled by recipient nations because there was initially a lack of resources which gave development partners the opportunity to supplement schools and when that is taken away we are back to the original position. Consequently when the funding stops the needs of the recipient nation state are no longer being met.

With regards to the Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme, its loss is devastating because it was the first educational leadership programme of its kind in the country. It was the first time that many of the principals had received any kind of leadership training, with many of the principals having been promoted to the position because they were very good teachers. Since the data collection phase of this research, it has come to my attention that the Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme did not continue after the AusAID funding ended. This means that for the foreseeable future there are no donor driven leadership development programmes that target either primary or secondary schools principals in Tonga.

Inconsistent funding of development programmes undermine the perceived value of the quality of education that you can receive in recipient nations. There is a perception that the education system in recipient nation states have insufficient resources, infrastructure and support. The degree to which recipient nations have insufficient resources, infrastructure and support varies between countries. Some nation states have more than others.

Recipient nations do the best that they can with the shortfall being met in part by the church, a lesser part by donor nations, and a small amount by the local community. The shortage of quality educational opportunities support the idea that if parents in recipient nations want their children to receive quality education, then they need to send their children overseas. A participant explains it by saying

I think that's why for generations now, everyone's always thought that further education overseas because they know there is a limit to what you can do in Tonga. So the impact is that do what you can do here with what you have. If you want to do anything else you have to try and leave Tonga and continue your study elsewhere (Afekan).

When funding for educational programmes stop and is not replaced, it sends a message to parents that the education in recipient nations is not of the same standard as in donor nations. It tells the Pacific that donor nations are not serious about education in the Pacific. There is an understanding that when the funding stops, so do the resources that the funding was able to provide. Parents are acutely aware of the impacts on the schooling system when donor partners withdraw their funding.

Donor nations took the time to plan for the provision of universal primary education, but when it comes time to build the infrastructure to support such an ideal, donor nations are found to be lacking. When donor nations commit to providing universal primary education they need to support other associated tasks that universal primary education impacts on. For example, if donor nations were successful in ensuring that universal primary education occurred this would create more students for secondary schools. Consequently a flow on effect of providing universal primary education would be to support secondary schools to increase their capacities.

What this means for development partners is that there is a need to; adequately resource schools, train teachers to a high level and support their professional development, and make development programmes long term. It appears that donor partners do not understand how to make long term commitments to recipient nations that extend past the three year review cycle. This is difficult for donor nations as the review cycle is often tied to the election cycle of donor nations. As governments in donor nations change, so does their strategic priorities and consequently the funding to development programmes.

Recipient perceptions of development partners using external consultants

International development programmes have traditionally used external consultants (meaning consultants not embedded in the local context) to provide expertise to recipient nations. However this has caused some frustrations. One participant explains that “some of the consultants working in education in the region are crap. Some of them are good they are few and far between. But a lot of them aren’t worth their salt” (Alalahe). External consultants do not understand the context and need to be professionally developed themselves. “They [donor nations] will never have the full knowledge. So the debate is how you can bring in a leadership expert from abroad that will train and develop leaders and leadership within a country, sector [or] community” (Abeguwo). However another interviewee says “Every time they [external consultants] come here to find out about us we are educating them, so we are forever educating consultants that have been employed to come out and develop us. So who is developing who? We develop them to be able to write about us” (Lahaina).

Continued use of external consultants have frustrated recipients. External consultants created a perception about themselves that one participant explains as being as if “they’re more interested in either conveying or bestowing their ideas on their less fortunate brethren in all the Pacific countries. Or they’re there for a holiday. Some people you can see that they’re there to do the minimum so that they can go off and have their holiday on the weekends. It’s very frustrating” (Alalahe).

The continued use of external consultants has an underlying assumption that domestic consultants (development consultant who are embedded in the recipient nation context) are in some way inferior to external consultants. This is clearly untrue. It is untrue because it would mean that there are no appropriately qualified or experienced candidates that are based in the Pacific. This is not the case. In fact there are many Pacific based

development consultants that are appropriately qualified and experienced. Some of them were participants in this research.

Development partners need to recognise the value of using domestic consultants rather than external consultants. The added value of engaging with domestic consultants is threefold. Firstly domestic consultants are less likely to need professional development from recipients to understand the local context. Secondly when the programme ends, the domestic consultant is likely to remain in the local context. This enhances the likelihood that the programme will be able to continue on in another form. External consultants are far more likely to leave the local context, taking with them the expertise that plays a critical role in the development programme. Thirdly it sends a message to recipient nations that development partners take Pacific peoples seriously and that they believe that the knowledge held by Pacific people is the same as that of external consultants. This would go some way in reducing recipient's frustrations with regards to the use of consultants.

International development framed as a continuation of colonisation

Thaman (2008) explains that "once colonised by European powers and later by Japan, USA, Australia and New Zealand, most Pacific Island Nations (PINs) are now politically independent although economically dependent still on former colonial masters" (Thaman, 2008, p. 462). One of the ways that Pacific nation states are dependent on donor nations is because they are dependent on development programmes from donor nations. Some "small states such as those of the Pacific Islands region are increasingly dependent on aid and the external 'expertise' that usually implies" (Coxon & Munce, 2008, p. 147).

Many of the participants believe that international development is a continuation of colonisation in a different form. This is understandable because of three reasons. Firstly that the colonisation of the Pacific by the

west is still a recent event. Secondly that colonisation and international development are undergirded by aspects of control of the recipient nation state. Thirdly that an impact or effect of colonisation and international development on the recipient nation is the oppression or changing/adaptation of social and cultural behaviours in lieu of different behaviours.

When we talk about colonisation, what we tend to mean is the settlement of lands by people who seek to take control of the land and resources from those that lived there before them. This often means that there is a trend of immigration of the colonisers to the new lands, and the expansion of their culture. This may result in the fusion of or replacement of the indigenous culture, or multiple cultures sitting alongside each other. International development is different to colonisation in this regard. Colonisation implies that there is settlement on lands by the donor nation in the recipient nation. However international development does not require this. When recipients have the perception that international development is a continuation of colonisation, they do not mean it literally. It is a metaphorical statement that recipients use to indicate that donor nations are still influencing the development direction of recipient nations.

International development programmes attempt to influence the recipient nation state through negotiated development contracts without the need to maintain a permanent presence in the recipient nation state. Although this makes colonisation and international development fundamentally different, I would argue that colonisation continues on in the form of international development. This is because at its roots both colonisation and international development intend to make changes to the recipient nation from the perspective of the donor. If international development was positioned from the recipient's perspective, I would argue that they are fundamentally different. This tends not to be the case.

The effects of colonisation are evident in the Pacific, and it cannot be denied that colonisation has taken place. Participants have explained that what we see today is that the urban areas are more modern, while the rural, isolated areas of the Pacific are still traditional. In this way colonisation and international development of the Pacific has had its greatest impact on urban areas. Although many development programmes have attempted to make changes in rural and isolated areas of the Pacific, differences in the amount of development that has taken place still exist.

The colonisation of the Pacific by the west is still a recent event.

The colonisation of the Pacific by the west is still a recent event. As an example, Fiji was granted independency from the British in 1970 while Tonga, which was never formally colonised (Tonga entered into a relationship with the British where it became a protected state under the Treaty of Friendship in 1900) exited their treaty with the British in 1970. Similar examples can be found in other Pacific countries.

Only 45 years has passed since Fiji and Tonga have gained their independence from the British, consequently the era where the British were able to influence domestic policy is still very recent. In this way participants are able to say with some clarity that from their position, international development is a continuation of colonisation.

Even though colonisation has formally ended, the memories of colonisation are still fresh. Examples of the effects of colonisation are easily observable. It includes; the fusion of culture and social behaviours of the coloniser and the colonised, a change in traditional leadership structures from traditional leadership typologies to modern leadership typologies, and changes to the local economy from traditional styles of economies to a modern economy. Although there is an argument that all cultures evolve over time, this is not the case in the Pacific. It is true that culture in the Pacific has and is able to

change over time. However with regards to colonisation, it changed to accommodate the nuances of the coloniser. It cannot be argued that the British did not have a colonising effect on the Pacific.

Colonisation and international development are undergirded by aspects of control of the recipient nation state. Colonisation occurs when one nation state has some control over another nation state. This is similar to the experience of participants involved in development programmes.

When donor nations use conditional and tied methodologies to manage the efficacy of development programmes they are exerting a form of control over the recipient nation state. This is because the conditional nature of development programmes often require the recipient nation to meet the conditions set by the donor nation ex-ante (before the programme starts) (Svensson, 2003). This enables donor nations to have some control over domestic policies of recipient nations. Some recipient nation states align their domestic policies with the interests of donor nations so that development programmes can occur. This diminishes the amount of autonomy that recipient nations have over their own domestic policies. The power relationship that occurs in the donor recipient relationship is biased towards the donor. We know this because donor parties tend to only support development programmes that are aligned with the interests of the donor nation. The conditional and tied methods used by donor parties to control the development programme does not allow the recipient nation to spend and distribute resources as they wish. Recipient nations are contractually obliged to follow the contracts that describe how development funds can be spent and how resources are to be distributed.

Colonisation and international development can change of social and cultural behaviours. Traditional forms of leadership in the Pacific tends to mean that you are born into a position of leadership. However in urban areas this is becoming less common. The average person is now able to become a leader more easily in urban areas. This is because opportunities for leadership is more plentiful. Because of this, traditional leadership typologies such as chieftainship typology applies less in urban areas and more in rural areas. In urban areas leadership typologies other than chieftainship are able to be observed. This includes servant leadership, transactional/transformational leadership and educational leadership. In urban areas, leadership development is able to be gained from the person's position within the family, the church and professional development courses. Traditional leadership is strong in rural areas and traditional forms of leadership development can be found there.

Development programmes that are tagged as leadership do not focus exclusively on traditional forms of leadership development. Donor driven leadership development programmes often develop people that are employed in positions of leadership or have shown ability at being a leaders. With this in mind, donor driven leadership development programmes tend to focus on providing leaders with skills and experience they can use in the working world. This means there are more leadership development opportunities than would exist in the traditional context alone. This is different to traditional leadership development which focuses on developing leaders that have been born into leadership positions.

If we think of a Pacific Island nation state where the rural areas are more traditional and the urban areas are more modern, we realise that the urban areas must have been once traditional. Urban areas transitioning away from the traditional way of doing things to the modern. Rural areas are also developing, just at a slower rate.

Pacific cultures, the church and modern systems.

In the Pacific context, there are three domains that exist concurrently. While they can be thought of as being distinct, there is a degree of overlap that exists. Sanga (2008) explains that there are three domains of social relationships and influence. These are:

1. Pacific cultures and traditional systems.
2. The church/religious systems.
3. The formalised institutionalised modern systems.

For Pacific peoples, traditional systems and the church are intertwined in rural areas. The formalised institutions exist but play a lesser role in rural areas. In rural areas traditional systems are important and guide and constrain the day to day activities of the village. In urban areas traditional systems, the church and formalised institutionalised modern systems embedded within day to day activities (Sanga, 2008).

This has an impact on the leadership development in both the rural and urban areas of the Pacific. There is some suspicion that the church represents more leadership development opportunities in Pacific nations than international development. This is because the church has a greater presence in Pacific nations than donor partners. Accordingly it stands to reason that their impact on leadership development is far greater. Many of the participants in this research said that they received their leadership development from the church. They also said that there were few formal leadership development programmes in the Pacific.

Figure 7.1 shows that traditional forms of leadership development exists mostly in rural areas and lessens in urban areas. This occurs because in rural areas traditional leadership is strong. Traditional leadership plays less

of a role in urban areas where formalised institutionalised modern systems exists.

Donor driven leadership development programmes are more likely to occur in urban areas and are less likely to occur in rural areas. This is because in rural areas traditional leadership is more common. Since development programmes are part of the formalised institutionalised modern system, they are more likely to occur in urban areas.

I believe that leadership development from the church is likely to occur in all church congregations. Because of this in Figure 7.1 the distribution of church leadership development distribution has been shown as being evenly distributed in both rural and urban areas. It is worthy to note that in Figure 7.1 the size of leadership development conducted by the church is larger than that of donor driven development programmes. This is because there are a large number of churches in recipient nations. If all churches are continuously developing leaders as the participants have indicated, then the total number of church developed leaders is likely to exceed that of the donor driven leadership development programmes. Also it is possible that the people who participate in donor driven leadership development programmes are also church members and consequently may have had some leadership development from the church also.

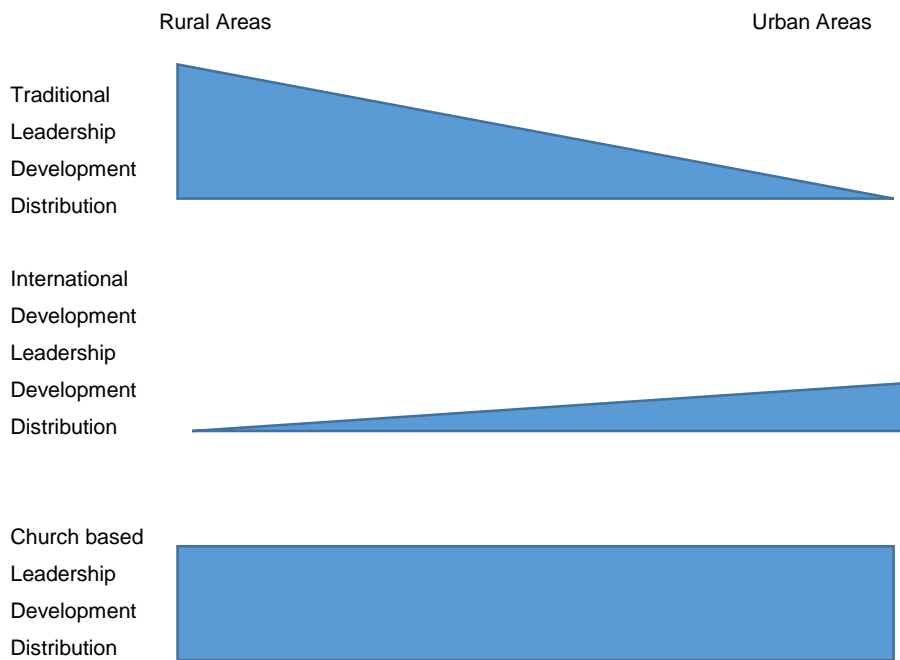


Figure 7.1: *Leadership development distribution between rural and urban areas of the Pacific*

There is some agreement with Sanga (2008) amongst the participants who explained that in the Pacific the traditional way of life is more prevalent in the outer islands and that development programmes tend to focus on the main island. “The Pacific is divided up into sectors. There is the subsistence sector of the Pacific, meaning the rural isolated Pacific, which is rural and traditional leaderships exists there. So in the urban areas is a different world” (Executive Sir). Another participant explained it by saying “If you go to the smaller island, the main island is further ahead in terms of civilisation and development. Smaller islands are far away. It’s like going back to the 70s and 80s.” (Loau).

In rural areas traditional leadership is easily observable. Leadership development in the rural context is gained from a leader’s family, the community and the church. In urban areas there are more opportunities for people to become leaders. This could be in the family or the church as in rural areas, but can be extended to include work and sport contexts. In

urban areas there are greater possibilities for leadership development to occur as part of professional development programmes.

Pacific leadership.

In some areas of the Pacific leadership is still traditional. However in modern areas traditional forms of leadership have merged with more modern forms of leadership. One participant explains it by saying that “the dichotomy is that that you have a chiefly system where one person is making the decision for the group, but within that group it’s a collective, nobody is meant to do more or less than anyone else. Or have any more or less say than the chief” (Alalahe). This suggests that traditional Pacific leadership is moving away from the traditional lens and is beginning to incorporate modern leadership typologies. I say this because traditional leadership historically has meant that the chief makes the rules for the group. However this is changing to a context where the group collective are able to influence the decisions of the chief.

Arguing that Pacific leadership is in a state of transition accepts that Pacific leadership is rooted in traditional forms of leadership and this is changing in some contexts. While traditional leadership still exists in the rural setting, it is less common in urban settings. In the urban setting we see that anyone can become a leader, if the context allows for it. This shows that contemporary leadership typologies are being utilised in the modern context.

It is difficult to say what Pacific leadership is transitioning into. It is clear that it is transitioning from traditional forms of leadership. Observationally it would be hard not to notice the aspects of chieftain leadership in rural settings and servant leadership in urban contexts. However there are also characteristics of transformational and transactional leadership as well. These are seen in the donor programmes.

Leadership in the Pacific context can be viewed in two ways. Firstly that leadership in the Pacific is traditional and can be described by the chieftain leadership typology. One participant explains that, the traditional “concept of leadership is associated primarily with positions with people with authority. So when talking about leadership you’re talking about people born into the category of people with status” (Mahuika).

Secondly there are examples where anyone can be a leader. This tends to occur more in urban areas of the Pacific where the need for leaders is more plentiful. This is because there are more leadership opportunities in the work place, sports, cultural and church. One participant explains that “leaders can be leaders at any level weather it’s at the school level or the ministry level, everyone is a leader really” (Pele). While I was collecting data I observed many examples of servant leadership. Not only from the participants in the research, but also people that I met during my time in the Pacific. This has led me to believe that servant leadership is dominant modern leadership typology that is used in the modern Pacific contexts.

To describe this difference in terms of Pacific leadership, I believe that Pacific leaders use traditional leadership typologies in the traditional context. When placed in the modern context, Pacific leaders tend to use a servant leadership typologies.

During data collection it became apparent that some of the participants were leaders in their different areas of their lives. Some were leaders at work, while others were leaders in the church or their family. Through the rich detail of their conversation the participants indicated to me that there was a “Pacific way” of behaving. To me this means that the “Pacific way” is underlying the leadership decisions that a Pacific leader makes. Thinking on this. I realised that Pacific leaders have a common shared understanding and this is known as the “Pacific way”.

When I thought of this in terms of the distribution of leadership typology in the Pacific, I realised that the same leader is likely to use a traditional leadership typology in a traditional context, and a modern leadership typology in a modern context. This can be shown graphically in the diagram below.

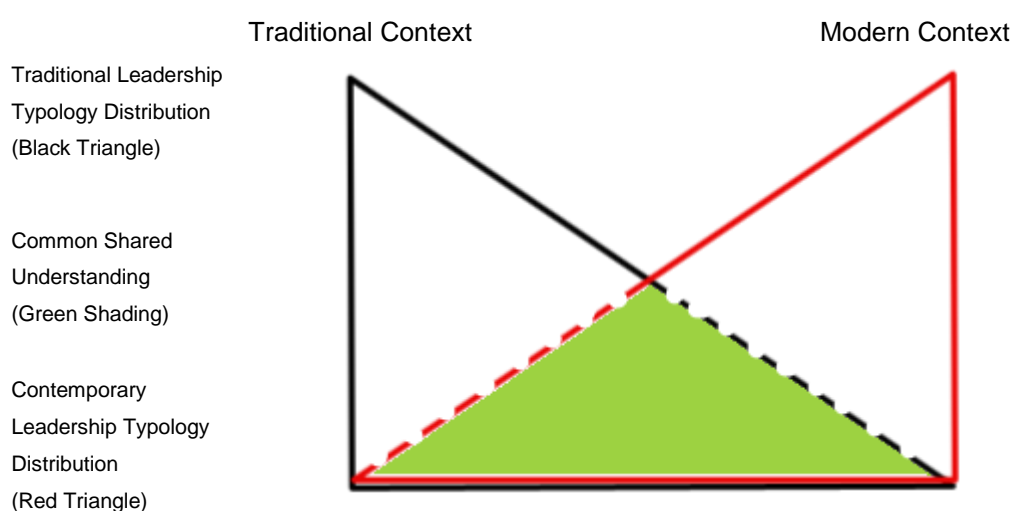


Figure 7.2: *Pacific leadership typology distribution between traditional and modern contexts*

Figure 7.2 illustrates that traditional leadership typologies occur more often in traditional contexts. This lessens as the context becomes more modern. Conversely modern leadership typologies are found less often in traditional contexts and appears more in modern contexts. The green shading represents the common shared understanding required to operate successfully in the traditional and modern contexts.

When looking at the black triangle we see that traditional leadership occurs more often in a traditional context and this leadership typology lessens as it the context becomes more modern. The red triangle shows that the contemporary leadership typologies occur most often in modern contexts but this is likely to diminish as the context becomes more traditional. The two

triangles are overlapped to indicate that the same leader may use different leadership typologies in different contexts, but their actions are underpinned by a common shared understanding.

The common shared understanding represents the shared beliefs and knowledge that is present in both the traditional and modern contexts. The knowledge is shared with other kinsmen and kinswomen. It is only in outlier examples of the traditional and modern contexts that the shared understanding begins to diminish. When there is no longer a shared understanding the person can be considered to be outside of the context. If a person does not have the common shared understanding they are likely to not be a kinsman or kinswoman. I believe that this common shared understanding helps inform the “Pacific way”. However it is informed by the *wantok* framework.

This means that leadership typologies used in modern contexts are different than that in traditional contexts. This may be because of the increased need for more leaders in the urban areas who use modern leadership typologies. However it also means that what we understand as Pacific leadership is in a state of transition away from the exclusive use of traditional leadership structures.

With regards to the development of external development consultants, Figure 7.2 would suggest that external development consultants begin with no shared knowledge (the far right of the diagram). As they become more contextualised their shared knowledge base increases and they move from the modern context towards the traditional context (i.e. they shift along the diagram). The amount of shift that occurs is relative to the amount of common shared knowledge that they take on board.

Development programmes that are tagged as leadership act in a similar manner for traditional leaders. As leaders who are experienced in traditional leadership typologies learn about modern forms of leadership, they are more able to be leader in modern contexts and this is also represented by a shift along the diagram towards a modern context. In this way with appropriate professional development, it is possible to move between the modern and traditional contexts.

What this means is that external consultants need to learn about the common shared understanding that exists in the Pacific region, while Pacific leaders need to learn about modern leadership typologies. This will result in a movement from the outer edge of Figure 7.2 towards the other side. It also means that when people have the common shared knowledge and knowledge of modern leadership typologies, they are able to operate efficiently and effectively in both the traditional and modern contexts. One of the participants (Executive Sir) felt that developing leaders that were able to straddle the traditional and modern contexts was important for the future of Pacific leadership. Understanding Pacific leadership in this way will develop leaders that are able to do so.

The common shared understanding

The common shared understanding is important in terms of understanding Pacific leadership. It represents the core essence of Pacific leadership. The common shared understanding can be explained by the *wantok* framework. Although the *wantok* framework originates from the Solomon Islands, it is similar to other frameworks that explain the underpinning ideologies of Pacific Nations.

The concepts that underpin the *wantok* framework (the connectedness between the spiritual world and the lived reality) came with Pacific peoples as they migrated from the Solomon Islands throughout the Pacific and onto

New Zealand. In this way the *wantok* framework is the primary source of the common shared understanding that underpins Pacific leadership. For this reason it has been chosen as a representation of all other similar frameworks. However it recognised that it is not the same as other similar frameworks.

Reciprocity is embedded in the *wantok* framework and was mentioned by many of the participants in both Fiji and Tonga. It appears that the concept of reciprocity is at that core of the shared understanding. Ratuva (2010) explained that although reciprocity is not recognised in policy documents, it is well entrenched in Pacific cultures. Reciprocity describes the concept of mutually exchanging goods or services for mutual benefit. However in the Pacific context, the gains may be in the future when there is a time of need. In this way the Pacific concept of reciprocity is more about delayed gratification rather than instantaneous gratification.

Kastom is also an important feature of the common shared understanding. While the *wantok* framework provides the basis from which the common shared understanding is built, *Kastom* explains day to day practice. According to Nanau (1998), *Kastom* includes forms of indigenous leadership and the practice of the social and cultural norms of the group and has been an important factor in countering the negative images of colonisation and embodying the intrinsic value of local cultural practices. In the Pacific regional context, *Kastom* changes depending on the nation state. This means that although there is some similarity there is also some diversity. Consequently *Kastom* is dependent on the local culture (described by the local variant of the *wantok* framework).

A common shared understanding is important to Pacific leadership. The common shared understanding differentiates Pacific leadership from other forms of leadership practice. When a person does not have the common

shared understanding, they are not able to operate from within the traditional context. However without the knowledge of modern leadership typologies, traditional leaders will find it difficult to work in the modern context.

Pacific followership

Unlike leadership, followership in the Pacific context has not changed from its traditional position. By this I mean that followers tend to wait till direction is given from the leader. Even when there are opportunities for followers to give their perspective about a topic, this is not likely to happen. Followership in this form can be considered as traditional.

A participant explains Pacific followership by saying that in lectures when asked questions, Pacific students tend not to answer. Not because they do not know the answer. In many cases they have a lot to say. Rather it is because they do not feel that it is their place to question the authority of the teacher (or leader) (Alalahe). Another participant (Mahuika), explains that when asked to give an opinion about a subject, followers often say “why don’t you just tell us what to do and we will go away and do it.”

In this way followership has not developed in the same way that leadership has. Instead followership in the Pacific context has remained the same as it was in traditional forms of leadership. This means that the strength of Pacific followership is reflective of traditional leadership. Consequently followership in the Pacific context is cast from a traditional perspective.

Pacific followership remains unchanged because of the way that leadership is constructed in the Pacific context. Fundamentally Pacific leadership is rooted in traditional leadership. Because there is an overlap between the domains of social relationships and influence, the context that frames traditional leadership plays a part in framing Pacific followership.

Pacific followership reflects the emphasis that traditional leadership has in both rural and urban areas of the Pacific. In urban areas where Pacific leadership has fused with other leadership typology characteristics, followers tend to recognise the characteristics of traditional leadership within the merged leadership typology.

This has allowed Pacific leaders to be adaptive to their context. When the context is traditional, traditional forms of leadership are used. When the context is transactional, transactional forms of leadership are used and so forth. In this way Pacific leaders are oscillating between leadership typologies depending on the context they are in at the time.

What is unknown is the ways in which Pacific leadership and followership are likely to change in the future. In the Pacific context, Pacific leadership and followership is a closed system. It is often defined by the region but more specifically by the nation state that contains it. Although there are similarities in what constitutes Pacific leadership in Tonga, it is different to what constitutes Pacific leadership in Fiji. However there are commonalities, such as reciprocity being seen in the leadership in both Fiji and Tonga.

Transactional and Servant leadership in the donor recipient relationship

It is my conclusion that donor partners use a transactional leadership typology. Although donor nations display aspects of transformational leadership (donor partners are attempting to make positive changes in recipient nations and in this way the leadership typology they use has aspects of transformational leadership) the predominant leadership typology that describes how donor partners are behaving is transactional. This is at odds with the traditional leadership typologies that exists in the traditional

context, and the observations that I made that servant leadership was the predominant leadership typology of leaders in modern contexts.

Servant leadership is observant in recipients because the common shared understanding that underpins Pacific leadership incorporates reciprocity. When Pacific leaders act in a reciprocal way, they are serving other people before looking after their own needs. This is a necessary requirement of servant leadership.

Some of the frustrations that have been felt by participants may be related to recipient nations serving the needs of the donors. An example of this is the reaction that recipient nations have to donor nations using tied and conditional methodologies. The literature and participants have agreed that when donor and recipient nations negotiate the terms and conditions of development programmes there are cases where the donor requires the recipient to change domestic policies. Changes to the domestic policy of recipient nation states is often required to be made before the development programme begins.

Another cause of frustration is that the servant leader not only wants to serve others before themselves, but they want others to serve them, before themselves. This does not occur in the donor recipient relationship. When donor partners uses transactional leadership and the recipient nation's uses servant leadership, frustrations will be felt by the servant leader. However this can be extended to when two different leadership typologies interact.

Leadership typologies typically determine the nature of the relationship between the two parties. In the case of international development the donor nation is leading the recipient nation, consequently the donor is the leader and the recipient is the follower. When the leader and follower use different

leadership typologies the way in which each party negotiates the relationship is different. This is because each leadership typology has a preferred way of negotiating between the follower and the leader. The amount of influence that each party brings to the table helps determine which negotiation strategy is used to describe the relationship between the parties. This means that one party has the ability to influence the other party. In other words the leadership typology of the party with the greater amount of influence is likely to be preferred in the relationship. What that means for the donor recipient relationship is that the donor has more influence in the relationship and because donor nations use a transactional leadership typology, it is used to describe the relationship between the parties rather than servant leadership.

When two groups use different leadership typologies a power relationship will be created. When the power relationship is not balanced one party will feel as though they are being oppressed. In the case of this research, recipients of donor aid are feeling frustrated by the actions of donor nations. I believe that this is less likely to occur when two parties use the same leadership typology. An example of this would be if both donor and recipient nations used servant leadership. Both parties would be serving the other and their mutual needs are likely to be met. Another example would be if both parties were using transactional leadership. In this case there would be a clear understanding that the relationship was based on a series of transactions, there would be a mutual understanding of this and the parties would leave the relationship understanding that what occurred was best for that particular context.

In the future donor partners may want to consider changing the leadership typology that they use in the Pacific context. The transactional typology that is currently being used maybe a source of frustrations for recipient nations. This is impacting on the perception that recipient nations have of the donor recipient relationship. If donor nations used a servant leadership typology, development programmes would be representative of the needs of recipient

nation states. I believe that if donor nations used a servant leadership typology, then anticipated development programme outcomes like providing universal primary education to Pacific nation states may become more achievable.

Lack of formal leadership development in the Pacific

Almost half of the participants in this research indicated that there were few formal leadership development opportunities in the Pacific region. Of those that are available, they tend not to orientate leadership from a Pacific perspective and are insufficient in quantity.

Participants explained that donor driven leadership development in the Pacific needs to address two issues. Firstly that leaders need to be developed so that they are able to operate effectively in both the traditional and modern sectors of Pacific life. Secondly that leadership development programmes need to be measured to see if they work as anticipated. At the moment this is not being done.

The lack of leadership development opportunities can be partially explained by donor nations only conducting leadership development programmes when it suits their needs to do so. In the education sector, donor nations are not providing leadership development programmes in sufficient quantity to achieve their goal of providing universal primary education.

Despite best efforts on the part of donor nations, many educational leaders remain insufficiently trained. This raises questions about the quality and quantity of educational leaders in recipient nations. The quality of educational leaders is being questioned because many educational leaders remained insufficiently trained. The quantity of educational leaders is questioned because universal primary education in Pacific nation states as of

yet remains unachieved. Because of this it seems that more teachers and educational leaders will need to be trained to cater for the school aged children that are currently not attending formal schooling.

Universal primary education can be achieved when donor nations play a more significant role in providing educational leadership support. There seems to be some reluctance on the part of donor nations to pay close attention to the needs of educational leaders and consequently there are too few appropriately trained educational leaders to achieve the goals of donor nations. In my opinion this is a key reason why donor partners have not been able to fulfil the MDGs. I believe that if donor nations created sufficient quality educational leaders and provided the infrastructure and resources to support teachers, universal primary education could be achieved. However donor nations failed to create sufficiently trained teachers and as a consequence the anticipated outcomes failed to be realised.

In terms of providing educational leadership training in the Pacific, there are two programmes that have provided these opportunities, the Access to Quality Education Programme and the Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme. Both have provided educational leaders at the school level with leadership development opportunities. However for more senior educational leaders, there is little in the way of professional development. Participants indicated that the gap appears to be filled by traditional forms of leadership development and what is on offer from the church. What we can learn from this is that there are significant gaps in the way that donor nations approach educational leadership development.

We can say with some certainty that the opportunities for educational leaders to receive donor driven leadership development is now restricted to the primary school sector. But even then what international development has on offer in the Pacific context is limited. As we have discussed the MDGs focus

on the primary school sector. We know that this is the case because the Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme has had its funding stopped because it did not focus on basic (primary) education. Also participants have expressed that the professional development opportunities for senior educational leaders are limited and have been for quite some time. Donor nations need to take a more active role in providing support for educational leaders if their goal of providing universal primary education is to become a reality. Two things are not happening, donor partners are not sufficiently supporting the development of educational leaders and they are not achieving universal primary education in Pacific nation states.

Future leaders need to be able to operate effectively in both the traditional and modern sectors of Pacific life

One participant explains that international development should create institutions that are able to “grow a new crop of leaders based on ethical and entrepreneurial leadership” (Executive Sir). This will strengthen accountability while reducing the incidences of corruption and violence. Corruption does occur in the Pacific “you see the system that is created in the Pacific enhances corruption” (Executive Sir). In some contexts acting in a reciprocal manner while in the seat of leadership can be interpreted as acting in a corrupt way. However to do away with reciprocity from a Pacific leadership typology, would take the Pacific out of Pacific leadership. This is why new Pacific leaders need to be entrepreneurial and ethical while being able to operate in both the traditional and modern frames.

There is a need for leaders to have the skills that will allow them to bridge the gap between the traditional (rural) context and the modern (urban) context. One participant explains that they had not seen a development programme that focuses on growing leaders from a Pacific perspective (Executive Sir). For this to happen, leaders will need to have skills in both traditional and contemporary forms of leadership. When Pacific leaders are strongly connected to their culture and the church, they are likely to find success in

the modern formalised domain (Sanga, 2008). Donor partners need to be aware of the importance that the church plays in the development of leaders in the Pacific context.

Because of the overlap in the domains of social relationships and influences, Pacific leaders are able to gain leadership development from other areas in their life. Many participants indicated that they have gained some leadership development skills from being members of the church, while others indicated that it was traditional to gain leadership skills from their family life. In this way the perceived lack of formal leadership development programmes are supplemented by informal leadership development found in traditional leadership and church leadership structures. This highlights that donor partners are not making a significant impact on leadership development in the Pacific context.

How international development enhances educational leadership development

Leadership capacity. When we talk about leadership development in the Pacific, we mean that we want to make changes to the leadership capacity of the Pacific. Leadership capacity can be thought of in two ways. Firstly that is describes the skills and experience that a leader has. This is the leadership capacity of a person. Secondly it refers to the number of leaders that are embedded within the Pacific context. Leadership capacity in this context refers to new leaders being created. Leadership development is able to make changes to both the skills and experience that a leader has, as well as increasing the number of people with these skills. In this way leadership development directly impacts on leadership capacity. When development partners run leadership development programmes they intend to increase the leadership capacity in the sector that is focused on.

The Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme increases the personal capacity of the educational leaders in their programme. It does this to expand their “competencies so that they are more able to do what they should be doing” (Mahuika). However the Access to Quality Education Programme increases the personal capacities of educational leaders at all levels, “it’s also for those that have been identified as potential leaders that would come into a leadership position at some point. They’ve been identified because they have demonstrated some kind of leadership skills that they want to develop further” (Pele). AusAID has provided the funding and expertise for both the Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme and the Access to Quality Education Programme. In this way international development has enhanced educational leadership in Fiji and Tonga.

All development programs have aspects of leadership

development. All development programmes tend to have some aspects of leadership development embedded in it.

I guess for me whatever donor programmes, aid programmes whether it’s in health or education or whatever, I am sure that indirectly or directly there is always going to be some leadership development that occurs naturally because that’s the nature of the benefits that accrue out of any development programmes I am sure (Pele).

This occurs because the people working within the development programme need to be able to lead the recipients of the development programme in an anticipated direction. So within the development programme there are aspects of leadership training and development.

The act of leading others in a pre-defined direction is a core definition of what leadership sets out to achieve. So in this regard all development programmes are in fact leadership development programmes. However this

does not necessarily mean that they are tagged by donor nations as leadership development programmes.

Donor programmes that are tagged as leadership development programmes have a direct relationship with leadership development in particular sector. These programs explicitly develop leaders with particular skillsets. However development programmes that are not tagged as leadership development have an indirect relationship with leadership development. The relationship is indirect because leadership development is an unanticipated side effect of the development programme. Instead of the recipient being developed as leaders, the consultants working on the development program receive the leadership development. In this way the development consultants are able to lead their recipients in a pre-defined strategic direction.

Provision of funds, resources and infrastructure. It is well known that one of the ways that international development enhances leadership development by providing resources and infrastructure to development programmes, or by providing funds to move people around the Pacific. However sometimes when development programmes provide resource to local communities they do not train them in ways to use the resources efficiently.

A participant explained that after years of applying for resources for their school their application accepted. However he felt frustrated when the resources arrived because there was no training for the teachers to show them how to use it. The teachers did not use the resources because they did not know how to use them (Agunua)

Although development programmes do provide resources and infrastructure to recipient nations, sometimes it is not in sufficient quantities. One

participant said that even though some resources were made available, they still had to make do with what they had (Afekan). While another explained that the resources were often distributed to the main island, and that the outer islands did not receive the “full capacity of development” (Loau). In this way resources are distributed unequally. This may occur because the population distribution in Pacific nation states is unequal, meaning that to reach the majority of people resources distribution needs to reflect the distribution of the population. That means focusing resources on the main islands where the larger populations tend to live.

Donor partners do provide some infrastructure, resources and funding to enhance educational leadership development, but more can be done. Recipients are grateful for the help that they have received. However issues with the delivery of the resources have left some recipients feeling frustrated. Donor partners can improve the delivery of resources and infrastructure by providing recipients with what they want, rather than what they are perceived to need.

A shift in the reporting of the Millennium Development Goals outcomes

Until recently the bulk of the MDGs reports indicated that donor nations were unlikely to meet the anticipated outcomes. However as this thesis and the MDGs draw to a close, there has been a significant shift in the ways that the MDGs outcomes for the Pacific region are now being reported by AusAID.

A 2014 United Nations report on the progress of providing universal primary education indicated that “between 2000 and 2011 progress was observed everywhere except in Oceania, sub-Saharan Africa and Western Asia” (United Nations, 2014, p18). In the Pacific region, primary net enrolment rates in Fiji, Kiribati, Tonga and Vanuatu were described by AusAID (2011b) as being on a downward trend. At this time it was reported that the proportion of pupils starting Grade One who reached the last grade of

primary education in Oceania had decreased from 60 percent in 2000 to 50 percent in 2011 (United Nations, 2014).

Furthermore, “[e]ven before the economic downturn, donors had not met the commitment made in Dakar in 2000 that no country would be left behind due to lack of resources. More recently, donors have even been moving away from this promise” (United Nations 2014, p. 19). This was seen in the reduction in donor funding to provide universal primary education from “\$6.2 billion in 2010 to \$5.8 billion in 2011” (United Nations 2014, p. 19).

However what is being reported now, only a few months later by donor nations and United Nations reports is that the MDGs are “on track” to being achieved (Australian Agency for International Development, 2015a). What “on track” means has not been explained. For some reason that is unknown, there has been a significant shift in the reporting of the anticipated outcomes of the MDGs reports. In the final months of a 15 year programme, donor nations have stopped indicating that the MDGs are unlikely to be achieved and are now reporting that they are “on track.”

Although there has been some progress on realising the MDGs, it is unlikely that they will be achieved by 2015. Instead of reporting that the MDGs were not achievable, donor nations are describing the outcomes of development programmes in a positive light. This reminds me of a comment that one participant made. He said that donor nations tend to not publish negative reports about development programmes (Abeguwo). While I remain hopeful that the MDGs are “on track”, this thesis was constructed on the prevailing literature at the time which indicated that the anticipated outcomes were unlikely to be met.

One reason why there may have been a change in the reporting of the MDGs is that there has been a shift in focus for donor partners such as Australia. Prior to 2014, the MDGs guided international development programmes in the Pacific region. However this has since changed. AusAID's new strategic framework focuses on, "maximizing impact by being innovative and leveraging knowledge and finance" (Australian Agency for International Development, 2015b) in private sector development and human development to achieve the promotion of, "Australia's national interests by contributing to the sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction" (Australian Agency for International Development, 2015b) in recipient nation states.

How has this research answered the research questions?

NZAID (2012) explains that there are approximately 1.6 million school aged children throughout the Pacific region not currently attending formal schooling. However in September, 2000 member states of the United Nations made a commitment to provide universal primary education in recipient nations as one of eight MDGs. The MDGs intended to provide learning opportunities for all school aged children. However it was clear by 2009 that this was proving to be more challenging than anticipated (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009).

As donor nations made attempts to achieve the MDGs it was realised that more work needed to be done to achieve the anticipated outcomes. These included the Monterrey Consensus (2002), the Rome Declaration on Harmonization (2003), the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005), the Accra Agenda for Action (2008) and the Cairns Compact (2009). However donor nations did not seem to be able to make sufficient changes in recipient nations to achieve either key performance indicators or anticipated outcomes (Australian Agency for International Development, 2009).

About this time I was considering topics for research as part of a PhD at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand. I soon realised that if I took one of the MDGs (in this case the provision of universal primary education) I would be able to unpack its issues and find an alternative dialogue to explain why after 10 years (now 15 years since I am at the end of the PhD process) donor nations were not able to achieve universal primary education in recipient nations.

After reading the literature about how donor nations construct development programmes in recipient nations I came to an understanding that the issue is not with the implementation of development programmes. The issues were far deeper, and a bit to the side of the current focus of the literature. I realised that this was a problem that could be resolved with a technical solution. However it seems that the technical solution was not being explored by donor or recipient partners.

Part of the issue is that there were an insufficient number of educational leaders to take up the challenge and support the donor nations in providing universal primary education. This led me to question the impact that international development has on leadership development in the Pacific context. It seemed to me that if you wanted to achieve universal primary education in the Pacific you would need three things. Firstly sufficient educational leaders in place to do the work. Secondly sufficient infrastructure and resources to support the work and thirdly buy-in from the local community.

Education is greatly valued in the Pacific, so it was presumed that buy-in from parents was likely to occur. The international development literature was full of examples where donor nations were providing resources and infrastructure to recipient nations. It became clear that providing resources

and infrastructure was not the issue either. That left the development of leaders in the local context to actually do the work.

There was very little in the way of literature about leadership development in the Pacific context, or Pacific leadership in general. I conducted a literature review of the leadership literature and found that the leadership typology that a leader uses describes how they interact with their followers. I also found that the education sector has their own leader's typologies that describe leadership within the school. But what I didn't know was what educational leadership development programmes were currently operating in the Pacific region.

Further investigation led me to the Pacific Leadership Programme. At the time it was the only donor driven educational leadership development programme operating in the Pacific. The Pacific Leadership Programme constructed two programmes in the education sector, one in Tonga and the other in Fiji. I knew that if I needed to interview people from these programmes for my thesis. I also interviewed other people who had experience with development programmes.

While I was collecting data for this research I found that leadership development in the Pacific context is not dominated by donor partners. This surprised me. The literature told a different story. Almost immediately I found out that the church plays a significant role in developing leaders in the Pacific context. Compared to the church, donor nations do not play a significant role in the leadership development of Pacific peoples in the education sector, or any other sector. This immediately raised alarm bells for me. I asked myself, if donor nations were serious about providing universal primary education to the Pacific context, why are they not developing teachers, principals and educational consultants? The plot grew thicker.

I spent quite some time during my data collection acculturating myself into the local context. I understood that I needed to be contextualised into the local context and this was my opportunity to do so. My time in-country was limited, so I attempted to learn as much about local life as I could while I could. It became apparent that Pacific peoples have become adept at living in the modern world and the traditional world at the same time. While they were doing this they remained the same person, guided by the same ideals and principles. Finally I began to understand what it means to be a Pacific leader.

Upon returning to New Zealand, I analysed the data from the new perspective that I had gained while on data collection. It was apparent that the people I interviewed had a common story regardless of whether they were based in Fiji or Tonga. Participants were frustrated with donor partners for a multitude of reasons. Mostly the reasons for their frustrations were related to the ways in which donor programmes are constructed. This in part validated my thoughts that there was an issue with the focus of development programmes.

After reading the literature, interviewing participants and analysing the collected data I have come to understand that today it is common for Pacific leaders to get their leadership development from traditional sources or the church. Donor partners do have some leadership development programmes but they are not sufficient to meet the needs of the Pacific. Furthermore, they are lacking in terms of longevity to support the long-term development of leaders in the education sector, or any other sector. Consequently it appears that international development is failing because it is reliant on the leadership development that is already occurring naturally in-country, only providing minimal support to the sectorial needs of leaders.

It is my contention that in the Pacific context, the MDGs were slow to be realised because of inadequate support with regards to the development of leaders in the appropriate sector. In the case of education, there was not enough support of local educational leaders. Very little was done to create new leaders or create new institutions to provide support for leaders. What was provided was decidedly insufficient to meet the needs of current educational leaders let alone provide for the needs of tomorrow's students. There was a heavy reliance on what was already being done within the Pacific region in terms of leadership development. The MDGs supplemented existing mechanisms to provide support, infrastructure and resources to the education sector and any successes in achieving universal primary education in the Pacific region is partially attributable to the work of the church in recipient nations. The work of the church is not mentioned in donor partner reports. It is not until you are in country that you realise what is really happening.

With so many conferences supporting the achievement of the MDGs, I thought that donor partners would realise that supporting sectorial leadership development is fundamental to the achievement of anticipated goals using development programmes. However it appears that donor partners tend to focus on what they were currently doing and making that more efficient. To say that donor partners are slow learners is an understatement. They are not learners. Donor partners do not seem to have understood the basic concepts of leadership and have not applied any form of leadership to the technical aspects of providing universal primary education to recipient nations. The transactional leadership typology that donor partners use in some ways gives me the impression that donor partners are attempting to buy the solution rather than create it.

Up until recently, all donor nations were reporting that it seemed unlikely that recipient nations were able to achieve universal primary education. Now that the deadline for the MDGs has been reached donor nations are saying that

achieving universal primary education is on track. There is some suspicion that the mechanisms that influence the reporting of results have changed. In some nations states such as Tonga, very little was done to support the development of educational leaders in the primary school sector by donor partners. This seems to indicate that donor nations are saying that you can achieve universal primary education without developing new and existing educational leaders. For me, there is something fundamentally wrong with that assessment.

To summarise it is my belief that for any development programme to be successful long term, donor partners need to support leadership development in that sector. In the Pacific context, we need to develop leaders that share a common understanding of the nation state. Pacific leaders need to be able to operate efficiently in the traditional and modern context. This can be achieved with appropriate professional development. Concepts of what constitutes Pacific leadership is changing from the traditional forms of leadership to more modern forms. Some work needs to be done to investigate if this means that Pacific leaders are using already known leadership typologies from within a Pacific frame, or if in fact Pacific leaders are developing their own new leadership typology.

Summary of chapter seven

This research examines the relationship that international development has with leadership development in the Pacific. To achieve this I have examined the literature. From the literature review I explained that through the MDGs the United Nations has prioritised the provision of universal primary education. United Nations member states have supported this and we can see that in the Pacific this has meant that there has been a re-alignment of development programmes by donor partners to suit the strategic direction of the MDGs. Despite their best efforts donor nations were unsuccessful in achieving the MDGs. I believe that this occurred because international development has a weak relationship with leadership development in the

Pacific context. This means that donor nations do not fully understand Pacific leadership as it exists today, and they are unwilling to commit to providing development opportunities to recipient nations at a scale and a way that is required to achieve anticipated outcomes.

Understanding Pacific leadership is difficult because it exists simultaneously in the traditional and modern contexts. However as seen in Figure 7.2 there tends to be a shared understanding that informs decisions in both the traditional and modern context. What this means is that Pacific leadership seems to be in a state of transition. Leadership in the Pacific is still traditional however this is changing slowly away from this frame to include more western leadership typologies. However the leadership typology used is context dependent. When the context is traditional a traditional leadership typology is used. When the context is modern a modern leadership typology is used. Although the leadership typology is changing, there is a common thread of shared knowledge that exists in both the traditional and modern contexts.

The shared knowledge represents the knowledge that recipients are giving external consultants so that they can be contextualised into the local context. In this way a person is able to move between the modern and traditional contexts depending on the amount of shared knowledge they have. This shared knowledge can be described differently depending on the nation state you are in.

Traditional Pacific leadership still exists in the Pacific context. Traditional leadership is rooted in a cultural base that is founded upon reciprocity. However Traditional Pacific leadership is not the same as Pacific leadership. Today, Pacific leaders can be found using both traditional modes of leadership as well as more modern leadership typologies. By themselves neither represent Pacific leadership well. Furthermore it would be erroneous

to homogenise the two extremes and use this as an example of Pacific leadership. Pacific leadership is more about being adaptive to different contexts and applying the correct leadership typology to the correct context. This in itself is a leadership style that needs to be explored more in the leadership literature.

Pacific leadership is contained by two concepts, leadership and followership. Pacific leadership and Pacific followership are rooted in Pacific traditions. However Pacific leadership is in a state of transition away from the traditional frame and has started to incorporate contemporary leadership typologies. Pacific followership on the other hand is still based on traditional forms of followership. Pacific followership does not seem to have moved away from its traditional form in the same way that Pacific leadership has. What this means is that it is likely that there is a time delay between when leadership and followership are the same, and the accompanied shift when leadership moves away from its traditional foundations. There is some suspicion that while Pacific leaders are adapting the leadership typologies that they use to the context, Pacific followership will remain embedded in a traditional followership frame. Pacific followership is likely to remain this way because the shared knowledge that exists in both the traditional and modern contexts are anchoring Pacific followership to a traditional frame.

What this means for me is that Pacific leadership is currently in a state of transition from traditional forms of leadership to another leadership typology that is currently unknown. It is unknown because observantly there are aspects of traditional, transactional, transformational and servant leadership embedded within the practice of leadership in the modern Pacific context. When recipient nations enter into a development program with donor nations donor nations are using a transactional leadership typology. However observantly Pacific leaders use a servant leadership typology. When recipients use a servant leadership typology and engage with donor partners who use a transactional typology recipients become frustrated. This may be

extended to say that when a transactional leadership typology has more influence in a relationship with servant leadership, the servant leader may feel frustrated with the contextual actions of the transactional leader. In this way future relationships of this nature may be predicted with some certainty.

Pacific leadership is dynamic and always incorporates traditional values, however in some cases also includes aspects of 'modern' leadership practices. There are times where Pacific leaders display leadership characteristics of one leadership typology, and there are times where they display others. This means that Pacific leaders are increasingly adaptive and flexible to the local context while practising a dynamic form of leadership that is not bound by a single leadership typology as described by the leadership literature.

Educational leaders have been let down by policy direction changes made in donor nations. In the case of Tonga, the only educational leadership programme had its funding stopped due to a change in Australia's strategic direction. This is because the MDGs focus on providing universal primary school education while the Tonga Secondary School Leadership Programme focused on secondary schools. Donor partners tend to take a one step solutions to resolving issues that arise in the achievement of strategic priorities. Instead of taking a macro view of the issues of providing international development assistance, donor nations tend to take a micro view of the context. This means that donor nations cannot see the larger picture and are likely to apply small simple fixes to complicated technical issues.

Although international development has a weak relationship with leadership development, international development does have a relationship with leadership development. This is a good thing. Because in the absence of donor driven development programmes, there would be no relationship. The

relationship that exists is both direct and indirect. In a direct way development partners have provided resources, infrastructure and funds to move people around the Pacific and support local initiatives. It has an indirect relationship because all development programmes have aspects of leadership development embedded in it. However in both cases, the relationship that international development has with leadership development in the Pacific context is weak. It is weak in that it is small in the relative abundance of leadership development programmes tagged and not tagged as leadership.

There was once a time when traditional leadership gained leadership development from the cultural space that existed at the time. After colonisation, the church became central to the Pacific way of life. It supplied a space where people were able to develop as leaders outside of traditional modes of leadership development. Traditional forms of leadership development and leadership development from the church now provide the mainstay of leadership development opportunities in the Pacific context. International development makes up very little of the leadership development opportunities in the Pacific.

Traditional leadership development and church based leadership development options far outnumber leadership development opportunities managed by donor nations. International developments relationship with leadership development is weak because with regards to the MDGs, sectorial leaders were unable to meet anticipated outcomes. I believe that if Pacific leadership was strengthened by donor partners, meeting the anticipated outcomes of the MDGs would not be a challenge. In short, there were too few leaders working towards a pre-defined goal to make achieving that goal possible within the allowed timeframe and given the available resources. This is not just in the education sector, but any sector that international development provides support to. Development programmes that are successful tend to have strong sectorial leadership support.

Although international development intends to help recipient nations, it is causing frustrations for those involved in the development programmes. Participants have highlighted six reasons for frustrations to be created, as follows,

- Changing policy directions in the donor nation.
- The use of external consultants that are not embedded in the local context.
- Insufficient resources.
- Insufficient training to fully utilise the resources that are provided.
- The perception that international development is a continuation of colonisation.
- There are few opportunities for leadership development.

Recipients of development programmes have legitimate reasons to feel frustrated. Largely the frustrations are born of the failure by donor partners to recognise and negotiate the technical difficulties in providing donor support to development programmes. These frustrations are not new and are well known in the Pacific context. However it is also well known that donor nations are slow learners and tend to perceive the success and failures of development programmes from their own perspective. Recipients seem to have a lack of confidence in the donor nation's ability to make appropriate changes to the international development model that will alleviate the stressors of development programmes.

Leadership in the Pacific is changing. This is because there are an increasing number of leadership opportunities becoming available. As more opportunities for leadership become evident, there is an increasing need for leadership development. What this means for Pacific leadership is the number of traditional leaders are not sufficient to meet the needs of the

region. Consequently there is a need for more leaders to be developed. Leaders that are grown using leadership development programmes are not traditional leaders and are less likely to follow traditional leadership typologies. Instead more modern leadership typologies are likely to be taught. Because of this, leadership development programmes are influencing the direction that Pacific leadership is taking. However they are also increasing the leadership capacity of Pacific leadership.

The relationship that international development has with leadership development is dynamic and adaptive to the changes from both donor nation policy and the changing leadership landscape in the Pacific. Unfortunately at current levels it is weak. This research has uncovered that international development in its current form is creating frustrations for recipient nations. Recipients feel that Pacific knowledge is not taken seriously and that international development programmes lack the depth to capture the essence of what is needed in the Pacific context. Furthermore leadership development programmes that are intended to address the need for increased leadership capacity are changing the face of Pacific leadership. Currently Pacific leadership is transitioning away from the traditional leadership frame. What it is transitioning cannot be defined as it has not finished transitioning. What we do know is that Pacific leadership today is underpinned by knowledge base that exists in both the traditional and modern worlds. Should this continue into the future it would constitute a new leadership typology that is at this time unknown in the leadership literature.

With regard to the ongoing success of development programmes into the future. Donor partners need to take a macro view of the context and apply multiple programmes in a supporting way to achieve anticipated outcomes. Currently donor partners are not gaining critical mass to initiate momentum to achieve aspirations such as providing universal primary school education. While the achievements of donor partners are appreciated by recipients, more work can be done to improve programme outcomes.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In the previous chapters of this thesis I have identified that approximately 1.6 million school aged children are not attending formal primary school in the Pacific region (NZAID, 2012). In September 2000 the United Nations recognised that millions of children globally were not attending primary school and created a pathway to increase participation in primary school for school aged children. To do this the United Nations created the Millennium Development Goals. Designed as a set of eight strategic outcomes, United Nations member states committed to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. Today in September 2015 we are able to say with some clarity that United Nation member states that support international development in the Pacific have been unable to achieve universal primary education in the Pacific context. Furthermore donor partner driven leadership development programmes have been limited in the transformational effect they have had in recipient nation states.

The literature and the perceptions of the participants make similar observations. Generally recipients feel as though donor partners come into the Pacific context with their own perceptions that are not representative of the Pacific. This is seen by many as being a continuation of colonisation. However participants identified a number of issues that they have had with the current development model. One of the issues that had some traction with participants was the use of external consultant's in-country. Another was the lack of formal professional development opportunities that are available for Pacific leaders. The intention of this chapter is to recommend a way that donor partners are able to negotiate the difficulties that recipient nations are experiencing. In this way it is hoped that future development programmes will be able to achieve their anticipated outcomes with more regularity.

The recommendations that are provided here presume that donor nations are able and are willing to commit similar levels of resources and funding to the Pacific context into the future. There is an expectation that recipient nations will be willing to participate in development programmes as they have done in the past. It is anticipated that there will be a need for outcomes like those described by the Millennium Development Goals in the Pacific context in the future.

Changes in focus for donor partners

Donor partners have made some effort to provide universal primary education in the Pacific context. However donor partners may consider focusing on smaller more achievable goals in future. The Millennium Development Goals were a set of large scale goals that were hard to meet. This was especially true in the Pacific context where donor partners were attempting to provide universal primary education. The irony is that recipient nations and the church are the main providers of schools in the Pacific region. Development programmes have helped, but success in providing universal primary education lay in supporting the church to provide schools in the Pacific context. This is one of the ways the church supports the local community. A person just has to visit the Pacific to understand the impact that the church has had on schooling in the Pacific context.

The scale of development programmes will always take second place to the national interests of the donor nation. From Australia's perspective "the purpose of the aid programme is to promote Australia's national interests by contributing to sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction" (Australian Agency for International Development, 2014, p. 1). For the participants in this research, self-interest of the donor was a cause of frustration.

Throughout this research I have attempted to present the view of the recipient in the aid relationship. To further this in the recommendations I would hope that donor nations such as Australia change their self-interest focus towards a perspective that is recipient focused. From my perspective, donor driven development programmes are more likely to achieve anticipated outcomes when they are positioned from the perspective of the recipient. This may mean that donor nations need to change their strategic direction to be reflective of the needs of the recipient nation.

Long term commitments

One of the outcomes of this research is that donor partners are not impacting leadership development in a transformational way within the Pacific context. This is partially due to the longevity of donor based leadership development programmes. Donor development programmes tend to be short term. Donor programmes are often contained within the election cycle of the government of the donor nation. This allows governments in donor nations to focus on a particular area while they hold the seat of leadership. When governments in donor nations change, it is often accompanied by a shift in strategic focus of the government's development programmes. Historically this has caused some frustrations for participants in this research.

If donor nations want to gain sustainable traction in the Pacific region, development programmes need to be long term. Long term programmes are likely to bring sectorial growth and stability to the region. Long term development programmes will indicate to recipient nations that donor nations are committed to making long term sustainable change in the region. When development programmes are long term they are more likely to transform the local community.

Use of external consultants

Donor partners tend to use external consultants in their development programmes. Participants have indicated that this is a concern because external consultants often need to receive some professional development so that they are able to contextualise their knowledge to the local context. Continued use of external consultants sends recipient nations the message that domestic consultants are not able to do the same job as external consultants. This is not the case.

There are many examples in the Pacific region where domestic consultants are as experienced and qualified as external consultants. Many domestic consultants have spent time working on development programmes in donor nations before returning to live in the Pacific. Furthermore there are an increasing number of Pacific graduates from Pacific based universities such as the University of the South Pacific that are able to fulfil the role of the external consultant.

With this in mind a recommendation is made to favour the use of domestic consultants over external consultants in the Pacific region. The advantage of using a domestic consultant is that they are often naturally attuned to the local context and do not need to receive professional development in this area. Furthermore supporting domestic consultants is likely to result in a greater acceptance of the development programme in the local community. Credibility with local community is gained because the community are likely to see the domestic consultant as being part of them. External consultants on the other hand may appear as though they are trying to impose their “colonial” ways on the Pacific region.

Another benefit of recruiting domestic consultants rather than external consultants is that the knowledge that the consultant retains is likely to stay in the local area. When external consultants are employed in development

programmes, the external consultant is likely to return to their home country taking their knowledge with them. This limits the ability of development programmes to continue when the funding for the programme ends.

Using leadership in a macro and micro scale

Achieving universal primary education in recipient nation states is an issue that can be overcome by providing a technical solution. Some of the challenges identified in this research are providing resistance to achieving universal primary education. One example of this is the lack of impact that donor partners have in providing leadership development in the Pacific context. Yet another is the transition of Pacific leadership from traditional forms of leadership to more modern leadership typologies. A further example is the changing focus of donor partners.

There is a lack of formal leadership development opportunities in the Pacific region. This has resulted in many educational leaders obtaining their professional development from their family and the church rather than donor partners. Furthermore donor partners are not significantly impacting on leadership development in ways that can enhance Pacific leadership in the long term. When donor partners do focus on leadership development, their focus is only maintained for a short amount of time. This reduces the overall effective change that a programme can make when compared to the same programme maintained over a longer period of time.

Supporting universal primary education in the Pacific context is not the sole responsibility of donor partners. There are three interested parties that are contributing to the provision of schools in the Pacific context. They are the recipient nation states government, the church and donor partners. Some efforts have been made by recipient nation state governments to work with the church and donor partners to provide education resources infrastructure and expertise. However this has not been able to achieve universal primary

education. It seems that the wall of separation between church and state that tends to exist in donor nations can be seen in donor driven development programmes. What this means is that recipient nation states are able to work with both donor nations and the church, but donor nations and the church are unlikely to work together. It would be beneficial to Pacific nation states and the region generally if donor partners and the church were able to work together on development projects.

To achieve universal primary education, a twofold leadership plan can be used to bring interested parties together and enhance the work that is already being completed in the local context. This means that a macro and micro approach to leadership can be applied simultaneously to the recipient nation state. A macro approach will bind the interested parties together, guiding and motivating them to enhance and support their strengths. In doing so a cohesive group will be formed that will have the capacity to achieve the anticipated outcome of providing universal primary education. Unifying the interested parties into one group and harnessing the strengths of the group to achieve universal primary education is a form of leadership at a macro level. A transactional/transformational leadership typology could be applied to this group to guide the direction of the project.

If a macro leadership approach is used in-country, donor partners, the church and recipient nation states governments will be able to leverage the strengths of what they are currently doing to achieve larger scale goals. In the Pacific context, the church in partnership with recipient nation state governments are making some movement towards providing universal primary education. Many schools in Pacific nations are funded and resourced by either the recipient government or the church. This is common across the Pacific. However donor nations are supporting the education sector as well. In the Pacific context donor partners are providing fee relief, increasing infrastructure and teacher training initiatives (Australian Agency for International Development, 2011a). Recipient nations, the church and

donor nations all seem able to support the construction of schools and train teachers. This needs to continue to occur but in a more structured manner.

Building new schools, creating transportation pathways, providing resources and supporting the professional development of teachers and educational leaders is important to achieving universal primary education in recipient nation states. Some success may be found if interested parties play to their strengths. This means that recipient nations could work with donor partners to provide policy support.

Donor partners could work with the church to identify geographical spaces that require schools to be built. They would then be able to plan the logistics of creating the school and supporting infrastructure in remote locations. Where there is a need for schooling but there is population is not large enough to support a creating a school, travel pathways may need to be constructed for day to day travel. An alternative would be to provide some schools close by that has residential facilities attached.

Donor partners, the church and the recipient nation state government could identify what resources each school needs and collect them in a central location. When there is a need for the resources, they could be transported to the schools as required. Purchasing common resources in bulk from local providers and transporting them to school using local transportation vendors will support the community financially. This is an additional way that development programmes are able to reduce levels of poverty by supporting the local economy.

Resources by themselves do not lead to improvements in learning outcomes. What is needed is well developed human resources to make use of the resources. The development of quality teachers, support staff and

educational leaders are an important human factor in providing a successful primary education. We know that teachers that possess a good subject knowledge and have appropriate resources to support them are more likely to produce students with educational outcomes that meet or exceed what is expected. Students who have a good educational experience are likely to contribute positively and significantly to the economy, thus reducing levels of poverty. In this way developing the human resource aspect of providing universal primary education is fundamental in using education to reduce poverty in recipient nation states.

Providing appropriately trained teachers and support staff are also important. This is where a micro approach to leadership is appropriate. A micro approach to leadership is already underway. It involves giving the leader the skills, qualities and experience that they need to be a better leader. This form of leadership involves the professional development of the leader. It is also known as leader development. Participants have identified that in the absence of formal leadership opportunities, Pacific leaders gain leadership experience from the church, their family and other locally available sources. This is one area that international development may be able to gain some additional traction and support more fully Pacific leadership development. By developing a micro approach to leadership, Pacific leaders will be developed at different levels, giving them the necessary skills that their position requires.

According to Rooke and Torbet (2005), the majority of leaders are “diplomats”. This means that the leaders have developed past the first two leadership stages and are in the third (of seven) stage of leadership development. 38% of leaders are “diplomats” who are characterised by avoiding conflict by attempting to please higher status colleagues. However the act of leadership involves the leader having to make decisions while their authority is being challenged. When leaders are deferring to others, there may not be sufficient leadership skills to achieve change in the status quo.

Consequently leaders need to be developed beyond the “diplomat” stage to more multifaceted leadership levels as defined by Rooke and Torbet (2005). This is unlikely to occur naturally and will require external intervention through a leadership development programme.

Developing leaders to different levels is important for the ongoing success of large scale development programmes because different positions within organisations require different leadership skill sets. Leaders who are managing the macro picture need to have a sophisticated leadership skill set, while educational leaders who are involved in the school may need a completely different leadership skill set. In this way one of the issues in leadership development is providing different leadership development programmes to different sets of leaders while ensuring that all of the leadership development programmes are orientated in the same direction. This is where the management the macro leadership landscape is as important. It is also the place where I feel that donor partners have failed to grasp the handle of leadership in the recipient nation state context. The development of senior leaders is just as important as developing leaders at lower levels. When a sufficient number of people have the appropriate leadership skill sets, achieving large scale outcomes such as universal primary education will become a technical issues that is able to be resolved with logistical planning, infrastructure and resources.

Further research

More research needs to be conducted to more fully understand the concepts that underpin Pacific leadership. What this research has found is that Pacific leadership is in a state of transition away from being solely traditional to incorporating more modern leadership typologies. It was also found that there is a common shared understanding that underpins Pacific people’s decision making process. This means that the same person can draw on the same experiences and knowledge in different contexts. Because leadership

is context dependent, the leadership typology used by Pacific leaders changes depending on if the context is traditional or modern.

Further research may give a better understanding of the common shared understanding. This may include describing in detail the uniqueness of the common shared understanding in terms of cultural groupings. This may occur in the country of origin or a second homeland such as New Zealand or Australia. A comparison could be made between leadership in-country and in the second home-land. This would identify if a further shift in Pacific leadership has taken place.

Conclusion

The recommendations in this research have been guided by the views and perceptions of the participants and the literature that is available. This thesis has uncovered the frustrations that participants feel when they engage with development partners. However donor partners have been slow learners and have tended to put their own self-interests before those of recipient nations. The self-serving nature of development programmes is frustrating for recipient nation states because donor partners are helping recipient nations only when it is in the donor partner's interests to do so.

The impacts that donor partners have made in the Pacific region are noticeable. This cannot be denied. In the education sector donor partners have provided infrastructure, fee relief, teacher training and resources to different Pacific nation states through an assortment of development programmes. While this is commendable, it is not significant when it is compared to the investment that the church has made in the provision of schools and associated resources throughout the Pacific region. Donor partners are not impacting on the education sector in the Pacific context in a substantive way to achieve universal primary education. In the most simple

terms donor partners did not build enough schools and train enough teachers in the right locations to allow every school aged child to attend school.

Furthermore donor partners have not impacted on leadership development in the Pacific context in a transformable way. Participants in this research indicated that they get their professional development from the church, their family and where ever they are able to. In this way leaders in the education sector are not being sufficiently supported or developed so that they are able to make substantive changes to the local context. I contend that the lack of leadership development support to the education sector in the Pacific region is a leading factor in the inability of donor partners to achieve universal primary education as part of the Millennium Development Goals.

During this research I have come to understand that while donor partners and international development programmes dominate the literature landscape, there are other parties that are significantly impacting on local sectors. These parties do not produce reports of the nature and to the extent of donor partners.

A review of the literature was one of the first things that I started during the PhD process. Up until my data collection phase I was of the impression that donor partners were impacting greatly and in a transformational way on recipient nation states. It was quite a surprise and life changing to hear the frustrations of the participants when they talked about donor driven development programmes.

If there was one decision that changed everything for me during this research, it was the decision to travel to the Pacific to conduct the interviews. Initially part of me wanted to call the participants on the phone or use skype. However deep down I knew that I needed to see the context for myself. In

doing this I was able to obtain more authentic data than would otherwise be possible. Spending time in-country allowed me to contextualise myself into the local environment. I did this by not staying at an expensive hotel, instead choosing to stay at the cheapest backpackers. This introduced me to other travellers, many of whom were from within country passing through. I also ate primarily at local markets where I was able to experience life as a local. These experiences shaped my thinking and as I wrote this thesis I attempted to present the position of the participant. This was important to me as there are many reports that present the position of the donor.

As this thesis draws to a close I am thankful that you have taken time out of your busy schedule to read my work. As I sit here in my office it is a cloudy cold mid-winter day in Wellington, New Zealand. There is a warm half-finished coffee to my side and I am imagining that you are sitting somewhere in a nice comfortable chair thinking about what I have written. Maybe you agree with my conclusions. And then again you may not. Either way I am happy. It is not until the end of the research process that you hope that someone, anyone reads your work. So to you the reader I thank you.

Kāhore taku toa i te toa takitahi, he toa takitini. He pai te tirohanga ki nga mahara mo nga raa pahemo engari ka puta te maaramatanga i runga i te titiro whakamua.

We cannot succeed without the support of those around us. It's fine to have recollections of the past but wisdom comes from being able to prepare opportunities for the future.

Thank you and goodbye.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions to ask in the interviews

To answer research question 1

1. Would you consider the leadership programme you have been involved in as flagship?
2. What would be the contextual understanding of a flagship programme?
3. What programmes do you consider to be flagship?
4. In the _____ context could you describe the elements of, impacts of, outcomes of, flagship leadership programmes?
5. In the _____ context how would you describe leadership best practice?

To answer research question 2

6. To what extent did the _____ context influence the conceptualisation/design of the programme?
7. What is the contextual understanding of leadership capacity?
8. How have development leadership programmes impacted on contextual leadership development programmes?
9. How would you describe the attributes/characteristics/experience/skills that define a leader in the _____ context?

To answer research question 3

10. In what ways have development programmes supported educational leaders?
11. To what extent are development programmes reflective of the _____ context?
12. In what ways can educational development programmes be improved in the _____ context?
13. What would be the contextual understanding of educational leadership?

APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH CONSENT FORM



CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERVIEW

Title of project: Educational leadership in Pacific Nation states

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project before *1 January 2014* without having to give reasons.

It is my understanding that the views shared in the interview will not be repeated outside of the interview. Because of this I understand that I will be able to speak freely about the subject.

I understand that this research will involve my participation in an interview and it will be have the audio recorded. It is my understanding that the information provided in the interview will be presented as a cumulative work presented for the fulfilment of a PhD degree. The information from the cumulative work may be presented in conferences, or submitted for publication in journals, books or other media in either printed or digital form.

I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, the supervisor and the person who transcribes the tape recordings of our interview. I understand the published results will not use my name, and that no opinions will be attributed to me in any way that will identify me. I understand that the tape recording of interviews will be wiped at the end of the project unless I indicate that I would like them returned to me. I understand that any documents provided by me to the researcher will only be used in this research.

I understand that any documents that I may provide the researcher may be used in the research that it being undertaken. I also understand that I may be asked to facilitate contact with other parties that may be relevant to this research. I do so willingly and without prejudice.

Date of Interview

Name	Signature	Pseudonym	Email

APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET



Information sheet for interview

Title of Research: Educational leadership in Pacific Nation states

Researcher: Sean Fernandez: Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington.

I am a PhD candidate at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand who is examining the relationship that leadership development has with international development in the education sector of the Pacific region. This research will be used by me as part of my PhD Course. It will provide the understandings that I have of the subject matter and will inform a framework that describes leadership development from a Pacific lens in the education sector.

This is a qualitative piece of research and data will be collected from two case studies. The case studies will be based in two different countries. Later the case studies will be compared and the common themes will be presented as a possible representation of the Pacific context. This research will include an analysis of the literature, documents and interviews.

Anonymity is important when conducting an interview. The views and opinions shared in the interview environment are not to be repeated or acted upon outside the interview. This will allow interview participants the freedom to express themselves in the way they feel best represents their views. Participants will be asked to choose a pseudonym to represent them during the interview. The transcripts will refer to people by pseudonym not name. The list of pseudonym to people will only be available to me and my supervisors. Participants will be contacted within a reasonable timeframe of the interview so that they can confirm that the transcripts of the interview are accurate. Included will be a summary of the views expressed in the interview. Changes will be made as required.

The raw data that I collect will only be available to my supervisors and I. Anonymity will be maintained at all times. All information collected will be held in a secure location and destroyed three years after the data is collected.

This research investigates an international development programme that participants may have been involved in. I humbly ask your permission to participate in an interview and have the audio recorded by me and allow me to report on the research and publish in appropriate educational conferences and journals.

The interview should take 50 minutes to complete. The location of the interview will be negotiated with you at your convenience.

Any publication of the research will contain no names; only pseudonyms will be used. Should you give your consent, I will send you a copy of any publication related to the research on your request.

The consent of participating in this research is voluntary. Participants are free to withdraw their consent without needing to provide an explanation. I request that this be done by the end of data collection which I anticipate will be 1 January 2014. During the analysis of the findings, interview participants will be contacted to ensure transcript records are accurate. Participants will be given the opportunity to comment on changes they would like to make or to clarify a topic. The means for verifying the accuracy of the transcript will be arranged during the interview.

If you have any questions about this research please feel free to contact myself at [...] or either of my supervisors Kabini Sanga (Primary Supervisor [...]) or Joanna Kidman (Secondary Supervisor [...]).

The research has been approved by the Faculty of Education Human Ethics Sub-committee under delegated authority from the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee. If you have any ethical questions about this research please contact [the] Chair of the Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Wellington

Thank you very much for your time and help to make this research project possible.

Sean Fernandez