

**Pacific Peoples Leadership in the
Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector**

By

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SALUTATION

“Tulouna le lagi tuatasi! Tulouna le pogisa ma le leai! Salutations to the first heaven!
Salutations to the darkness and the void!

Tulouna le lagi tualua! Tulouna le nanamu! Salutations to the second heaven!
Salutations to the sense of smell!

Tulouna le lagi tuatolu! Tulouna le efuefu! Salutations to the third heaven!
Salutations to the dust!

Tulouna le lagi tuafa! Tulouna le iloa! Salutations to the fourth heaven! Salutations
to the knowable!

Tulouna le lagi tualima! Tulouna le maua! Salutations to the fifth heaven!
Salutations to the obtainable!

Tulouna le lagi tuaono! Tulouna le ‘ele’ele! Salutations to the sixth heaven!
Salutations to the earth!

Tulouna le lagi tuafitu! Tulouna le papatū! Salutations to the seventh heaven!
Salutations to the standing rock!

Tulouna le lagi tuavalu! Tulouna le maa taanoa! Salutations to the eighth heaven!
Salutations to the stones!

Tulouna le lagi tuaiva! Tulouna le mauga! Salutations to the ninth heaven!
Salutations to the mountain!

Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taisi Efi, Head of State of Samoa, Public Lecture
Address, University of Hawaii, Manoa, Hawaii, 29 October 2007

DEDICATION

**Su'a Faleula Fagaloa (Salelavalu, Savaii, Samoa)
& The late Maria Fagaloa (nee Peilua, Malaemalu, Falealili, Samoa)**



For my parents, new migrants to Aotearoa-New Zealand in the 1950s from Samoa, who made a successful life for themselves, their families, and descendants. I hope this contribution to your journey repays the hours you worked so tirelessly to provide for us much needed support physically, financially, emotionally, and spiritually. This is for you.

The late Dr Jenny Neale



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Finally, to our mum and dad. Thank you for everything, this is for you with all our love.

ABSTRACT

Pacific people have experienced a turbulent introduction to life in New Zealand. The result has seen an over-representation of Pacific people in unemployment, health disparity, crime, and poor education outcomes (Marriott & Sims, 2014). Since the 1980s, Pacific public sector leadership roles have been established to support Pacific people and their communities. These public sector roles are the focus of this study. By strengthening Pacific leaders and leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector, Pacific people and their outcomes can be improved.

The aim of my research was to explore the experiences of Pacific leaders in the New Zealand public sector. The methodological approach used for this study was phenomenology which is aimed at illuminating specific experiences and meanings as they are perceived by the interviewees (Hycner, 1985; Lester, 1999; Paea, 2009). Pacific methods, such as Fa'afaletui (Tamasese, 2010) and Talanoa (Vaiolleti, 2006), were adopted to best draw out such experiences from the leaders, with attention to the strengths of their leadership.

The study discovered five themes: 1) Negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific and Western constructs of leadership; 2) Creating safe environments for Pacific public sector leaders; 3) Valuing Pacific leaders as knowledge experts; 4) Access to equal employment opportunities; and 5) Growing Pacific leadership. The themes are located within a cultural metaphor of the Tuiga, a traditional Samoan headdress.

The study offers recommendations for government and public sector agencies to better support Pacific leaders by genuinely integrating Pacific cultural capital within the policy, funding and workforce development areas of the public sector; provide safe environments by addressing racist and discriminatory practices within all levels of the public service with a specific focus on planning and funding, and workforce development units; value the contribution Pacific leaders and staff make to the public sector through promotion, reward and acknowledgement, ensuring Pacific leaders and staff access equal opportunities to develop and be remunerated equally; and build an agency-wide pipeline for future Pacific public workforce to develop into leadership roles.

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ACRONYMS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
DCYF	Department of Child Youth and Family
DHB	District Health Board
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
HRC	Human Rights Commission
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment
MCNZ	Medical Council of New Zealand
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
MP	Member of Parliament
MPIA	Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs
MPP	Ministry for Pacific people
MSD	Ministry of Social Development
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NPM	New Public Management
NZOM	New Zealand Order of Merit
PCF	Pacific Cooperation Foundation
PSC	Public Service Commission
SSC	State Services Commission
TMLD	Talent Management Leadership Development
UKCES	UK Commission for Employment and Skills
UN	United Nations

GLOSSARY

Aoga amata	Samoa Pre-school
Atamai Tauvae	Continued wisdom
Fa'alavelave	Collective approach to gifting and offering
Fa'asamoa	Knowledge of Samoa
Faasoa	Distribution of resources
Feso'ota'i	Making connections
Fetufa'a'ai	Sharing of opinions
Fono	Meeting
Ifoga	Forgiveness
Mafutaga Tina	Collective of women
Pule Nu'u	Clarifies roles and responsibility
Tapu	Sacredness
Tautua	To serve
Tofa Mamao	Wisdom of long view of the world
Tofa Saili	Search for knowledge
Tu Fa'atasi	Stand as one – Better integration
Tu'ua o le nu'u Mafutaga Tina	Mentoring
Tu'ua o le nu'u	Collective of men
Va Tapuia	Sacred relationships

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Aims of the Study

The aims of this study were to explore the experiences of Pacific public sector leaders employed into leadership roles in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public service, to consider the challenges experienced by Pacific leaders and to consider the solutions that exist to address these challenges. The Pacific leaders interviewed each have no less than 20 years public sector experience across a range of government and community services in both operational and governance roles. Their time in leadership roles has predominantly involved advocating for improving better outcomes for Pacific people. A group of Pacific youth employed as new graduates in the public service was also interviewed and has provided a youth perspective.

The findings of this study demonstrate that Pacific public sector leaders work in harsh and destructive environments where they are exposed to racist and discriminatory behaviours. Pacific leaders have been challenged and have faced barriers which have resulted in the lack of progress in addressing Pacific people's issues that the public sector is ultimately responsible for. Leaders associate the systems barriers they face with the failure of government to support them in their roles so they in turn can support the system to achieve positive outcomes for Pacific communities.

If the public sector were genuine in their commitment to improving outcomes for Pacific, then Pacific leaders must be given an appropriate mandate to serve and advocate for the communities they represent, however the study reflects that this is not the case with Pacific communities unduly facing outcomes that could otherwise be avoided. The onus is on the chief executives and their managers of public sector agencies to accept responsibility for the way in which Pacific leaders have been treated and to use the recommendations of this study to begin redress the ongoing, systemic undermining of Pacific leaders.

Why do we need Leaders?

The emerging pillars of interest in the field of leadership also relate to the focus on the leader. The study focuses on the range of leadership styles and theories as well as on the qualities of leadership.

Leaders are needed to provide structure, guidance, and direction. Leaders provide followers with essential support by inspiring followers to work towards specific goals and outcomes. Leadership has undergone significant transformation over the past few decades. The leader of today is vastly different from the leader of the past because of the changing global environment. Leadership has been transformed over time and now requires leaders to have skills that are both transformational and transactional (transformation and transactional definitions of leadership are further discussed in Chapter Three). For example, pro-equity measures have been a key government focus for governments globally. Followers are wanting more transparency, inclusivity, and fairness, reflecting the increase in voting of more women leaders into political roles. Throughout my time as a Pacific follower and leader, I believe that Pacific people need to see Pacific leaders in the public sector as it gives them an assurance that a Pacific person is looking out for their needs and ensuring the values of Pacific people are embedded in policy.

Why do we need Pacific Leaders?

My experience as a Pacific leader in the Wellington region has provided me with insight and perspective about the nature of Pacific leadership. I have observed that Pacific leaders hold essential roles in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. Pacific people, as leaders, understand the value and diversity of Pacific people, families, and communities. They bring a Pacific lens and worldview to policy setting. They understand Pacific people and can translate their needs into government policy. Pacific leaders are strong advocates for Pacific people and view advocacy as a natural part of their role in being part of a Pacific community. For Pacific communities, leaders are trusted and dependable. Pacific people will naturally gravitate towards Pacific leaders in an unfamiliar formal environment.

Research Question

The research question for this study is “What are the experiences of Pacific leaders who are in Pacific public sector roles in Aotearoa-New Zealand?” The aims of the study were to explore

the experiences of Pacific public sector leaders employed into leadership roles in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public service, to consider the challenges experienced by Pacific leaders and to consider the solutions that exist to address these challenges. The study considered what is working well for Pacific leaders; what challenges and barriers are being faced by Pacific people in leadership roles; and what solutions can be developed to better support Pacific people in leadership roles? The study considered sub-questions that focused on attributes, skills and experiences needed to be a Pacific leader in the public sector, the transfer of skills from past and current leaders to future leaders, and the changes to be undertaken by the public sector to ensure Pacific leaders are successful.

Significance of This Study

Researching Pacific leadership allows for an in-depth examination of Pacific leaders in the public sector. The focus of the study would be on government departments due to the mandate they have to address inequalities through various policy systems and structures. This focus will include considering the number of Pacific leaders compared to non-Pacific leaders. The literature in the field of Pacific leadership is still emerging (at the time of writing), and it can be inferred that literature on Pacific leadership as it relates to Pacific leaders in the public service in Aotearoa-New Zealand is extremely limited. This presents the opportunity for this doctoral research to begin to fill the gap with research on Pacific leadership that relates to Pacific people in the public sector. This study, then, presents an opportunity for the leaders to share their experiences and to provide insights into the challenges and barriers for Pacific people employed in Public Service in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Thesis Map

This thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter Two focuses on the history of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand, their migration, population patterns, and socio-economic status.

Chapter Three focuses on the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector. This chapter provides data relating to the status of Pacific people as it relates to leadership roles and pay equity. Chapter Four discusses and explores a range of leadership theory. Chapter Five considers Pacific leaders and leadership theory and an exploration of cultural protocols and characteristics in the context of chieftain leadership. Chapter Six presents and explains the research methodology employed for the study; both Western and Pacific approaches were used for the purposes of

this study. Chapter Seven analyses participants' responses to the research question which leads to the key themes of this study. Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine offer a detailed discussion in relation to the findings and provide recommendations aligned to the cultural metaphor of the Tuiga, a traditional Pacific headdress. Finally, Chapter Ten provides reflections of my journey through this research and my public sector journey.

CHAPTER TWO: PACIFIC PEOPLE IN AOTEAROA-NEW ZEALAND

I am not an individual; I am an integral part of the cosmos. I share divinity with my ancestors, the land, the seas, and the skies. I am not an individual, because I share a tofi (inheritance) with my family, my village, and my nation. I belong to my family and my family belongs to me. I belong to my village and my village belongs to me. I belong to my nation and my nation belongs to me. This is the essence of my sense of belonging.

(Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taisi Efi, Head of State of Samoa, Public Lecture Address University of Hawaii, Manoa Hawaii; 29 October 2007)

Across the vastness of the Pacific Ocean lies a cluster of Pacific Islands that have experienced a significant historical connection with Aotearoa-New Zealand. This is a connection that has altered the way in which Pacific indigenous cultures present in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The story of Pacific migration presents an opportunity to understand how important retaining cultures, values, and languages was to those Pacific migrants and the commitment they made to ensure their identity is retained for future generations through the provision of leadership.

The research question for this study is “What are the experiences of Pacific leaders who are in Pacific public sector roles in Aotearoa-New Zealand?” This study explores the barriers to delivering successful public sector interventions to improve the outcomes for Pacific communities and how Pacific leadership structures and models are applied to achieve this goal. The public sector has employed Pacific leaders to act as a conduit between Pacific people and the public sector. This study aims to understand the challenges experienced by Pacific public sector leaders in their roles and their relationships with the Pacific communities they serve. The study aims to identify ways in which Pacific outcomes can be improved through better operation of the role of Pacific leader.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a platform for understanding where Pacific people originated from, and their history in relation to Aotearoa-New Zealand. The outlook for Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand is dependent on exploring and recognising past and present contexts. The Pacific identity is ingrained in Aotearoa-New Zealand society with the presence of Pacific people across all facets of the Aotearoa-New Zealand way of life. This is followed by a discussion of what prompted Pacific people to migrate to Aotearoa-New Zealand and what

issues Pacific people faced when they arrived. Pacific women leaders have become more prominent in the public sector and are now taking up the Pacific leadership roles. The chapter will explore the history of Pacific women leaders, the challenges they face, and the global platforms put in place to support them into leadership roles.

The chapter begins with a discussion of my own journey as being part of the first Aotearoa-New Zealand-born generation, due to my parents being new migrants from Samoa. The chapter explores the impact of migration on the growth of the Pacific population in New Zealand and the impact of this in Aotearoa-New Zealand in terms of the economy. It details the struggle of Pacific people and the inequalities they have experienced in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and how Pacific leadership has been used to improve outcomes for the Pacific population. The history of Pacific women leadership in the Pacific is discussed with a focus on the representation of Pacific women leaders in Aotearoa-New Zealand and how Pacific women leaders have responded to the challenges they experience as leaders.

The genealogical origins of Pacific public sector leaders originate from the seven Pacific countries which are recognised as countries of origin for migrants to Aotearoa-New Zealand. The seven countries are Samoa, Tonga, Tokelau, Fiji, Tuvalu, Tokelau, and the Cook Islands (Ministry for Pacific people, 2006). Understanding the history of Pacific people from these Pacific countries and the constitutional relationship with Aotearoa-New Zealand that existed during the migration era provides a better understanding of how Pacific people became a part of Aotearoa-New Zealand society.

My journey

My initial interest in exploring public sector leadership by Pacific people was driven by my own experience working and growing up in Aotearoa-New Zealand. My parents migrated to Aotearoa-New Zealand in the 1950s. They did not know each other prior and had met in Wellington at a church ‘siva’ (dance social) run by the local Pacific Island church in Newtown. By then the population of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand numbered approximately 2,200 (Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010). Like most new Pacific migrants, my parents spent their early years residing in boarding homes across Wellington City. When their first child was born, they sought more permanent rental arrangements. At the same time, they started to support family members on my mother’s side to apply for residency in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and to send remittances to their families in

Samoa. Strathmore Park in the Eastern suburbs of Wellington became high-density Housing Corporation units, and it was there that my parents decided to settle so they could start saving for their first home.

There were times when there were eight to-10 of us residing in a three-bedroom unit. We were poor, often behind in paying rent and power bills despite our father working two full-time jobs so that our mother could raise the five children under eight years old. Our parents eventually bought their home in Wellington in the 1980s; this was their first breakthrough in a solid investment that would provide financial security for their children.

In 1993, following the birth of our son, I graduated from Victoria University with a Diploma in Social Work. From there I began to focus my career on the social service sector. This not only reflected my choice of education but being born to migrant Samoan parents; we had also been exposed to some discriminative and racial experiences when very young. I believe it was these injustices that molded my values around equality, equity, and justice for all.

Because we were the first Aotearoa-New Zealand-born generation in our family, our parents reinforced the importance of achieving educationally. There were several goals behind this, including good employment opportunities, status, but most importantly, the need to prove to families in the Pacific that the sacrifice made to travel to Aotearoa-New Zealand was worthwhile.

Although we were raised in a non-Samoan speaking environment, our parents spoke fluent Samoan to each other and, among our Pacific-born relatives, we were expected to practice cultural protocol through the serving of elder family members on their visits, as well as church ministers, and members of the congregation.

Educational achievement by Pacific students in those days was unique, so when it did happen, often Pacific families would celebrate those achievements proudly, acknowledging the efforts put in by their student through the offering of celebratory gifts.

My own educational achievement was not experienced until my early adult years, as I had left school with no qualification. Embarking on a university qualification led to opportunities in the social work arena. At this time, my Pacific leadership status journey began through the development of the Pacific Island network in the role of Pacific advisor in the National office

for the Department of Child, Youth and Family in 1995. In the late 1990s I resigned from the Department having served nine years.

The Pacific public sector began to form and develop under the leadership and advocacy of the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs' prosperity programme which advocated for a Pacific approach to reducing inequalities. This programme placed emphasis on the establishment of more Pacific providers to ensure Pacific people have the option of receiving their services from Pacific service providers. This meant there was a demand for policy skills and experience to support Pacific providers to translate their aspirations and needs for their community into a policy context.

I began my community journey working for a Pacific non-government agency, Taeaomanino Trust, as a consultant when I decided to enrol for a MA Applied in social science research at Victoria University. After a year I was given the opportunity to take up a role with Whitireia Community Polytechnic's Pacific research unit as a research assistant, eventually becoming a fulltime lecturer in social policy in the bachelor's in social work degree.

During this time, I had been involved in left wing politics through the Aotearoa-New Zealand Labour party and served two terms as a Porirua city councilor representing the Eastern ward. The Labour party ties with the Council of Trade Unions and the Service and Food Workers Union prompted a nomination to be considered for the co-convenor of Council of Trade Unions Komiti Pacific. During my two-year term, I attended the Commonwealth Emerging Pacific leaders' dialogue, a two-week south Pacific leadership programme aimed at growing Pacific leadership and run by the Commonwealth.

Prior to taking up my role as Director of Pacific Health at Capital and Coast District Health Board (CCDHB), I was appointed as General Manager of Porirua Healthlinks Trust in 2008. The Trust is a mainstream non-government health organisation that advocates for improved health outcomes for the community of Porirua. Porirua Healthlinks Trust was contracted by CCDHB to deliver advocacy services on behalf of the Porirua community. The most significant outcome of my time in this role was when the Porirua Alcohol and Drug cluster led opposition to a liquor store based across from Cannons Creek primary school. Leading the community action by coordinating relevant stakeholders, media coverage, and public protest resulted in the authority opposing the liquor license.

This set case law precedent for the Liquor Licensing authority; to date there was no provision in the law to consider negative impact on communities when liquor licenses were being approved. However, this action gained national attention through media; and communities, where there was an oversupply of liquor stores, commenced similar protests resulting in the Government's immediate focus on the review of out-of-date liquor legislation in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

My own leadership journey, then, has been supported by sound experience of the public service and the Pacific community. My experiences of being Pacific, understanding and representing the Pacific community, has assisted in how I maneuver through the complex public service systems.

The South Pacific Islands

As stated, this study focuses on the population groups of Pacific people who migrated from the Pacific nations of Samoa, Tonga, Tokelau, Fiji, Tuvalu, Tokelau, and the Cook Islands to Aotearoa-New Zealand. The reasons for this are because these countries experienced the most significant migration in the 1950s and 1960s to Aotearoa-New Zealand, over the period when migrants from these countries were invited to take up post-war production forms of employment. I also focus on the generation who hold Pacific public sector roles, predominantly descendants of this major post-war migration generation.

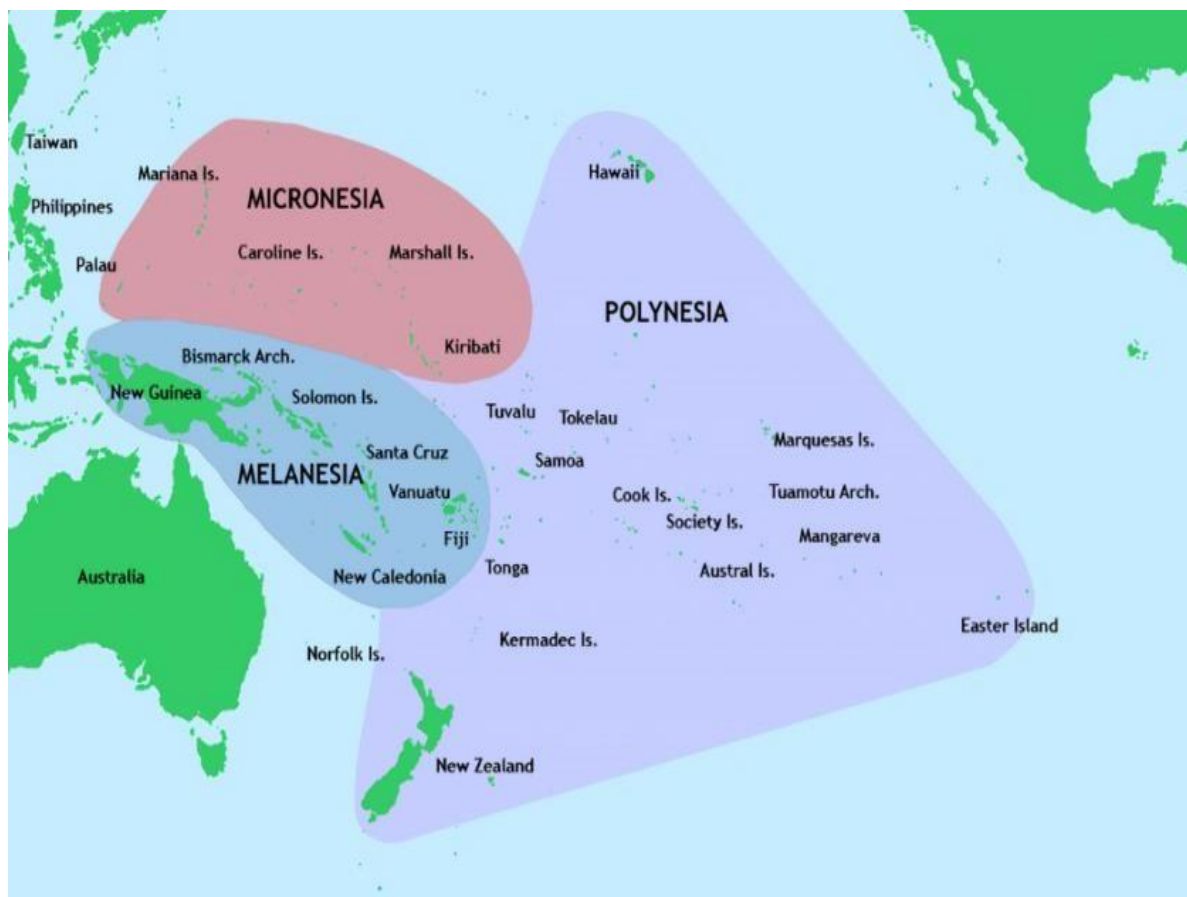
The South Pacific covers a vast area from the north of the equator to Antarctica, and is politically, economically, ethnically, and culturally diverse. There are sixteen independent and self-governing states with several colonies administered by developed countries. Examples of these in the context of this study include Niue, Tokelau, and the Cook Islands who are dependent states under the Aotearoa-New Zealand constitution, with Tonga, Fiji, Samoa, and Tuvalu being countries that have since become independent and self-governing states (Rolfe, 2007).

The Pacific Island states of Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Fiji, Tuvalu, Tokelau, and Niue share migration journeys of similarity. Examples include these migrants' shared experiences of migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand for post-war employment opportunities, and their shared experiences of isolation, alienation, and the process of cultural assimilation in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Their common strengths exist within their shared values of family and extended

support systems, and chieftain models of leadership (Macpherson, 2008). This section follows with a brief outline of these countries and their relationship with Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Within the Pacific region, countries share common characteristics such as significant isolation from the rest of the developed world which creates challenges for transportation and economic development. This isolation has made it difficult for small island states to compete with larger countries: for example, due to limited infrastructure such as ports and transport. Most Pacific countries share an abundance of marine and environmental resources which creates opportunities in ecotourism and organic food production (New Zealand Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade Committee, 2010).

Figure 1: Map of the Pacific Islands, Micronesia, Melanesia, Aotearoa-New Zealand, and Australia



(Source: Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors – the discovery and settlement of the Pacific, ed K. R. Howe, 2008, p. 57)

Niue

As mentioned above, the relationship between Aotearoa-New Zealand and Niue is that Niue, as a self-governing nation, has free association with Aotearoa-New Zealand. This means that Niuean's are eligible for dual citizenship. Niue is made up of a large coral atoll based at the centre of the Polynesian islands. It is located 2,400 kilometres from Aotearoa-New Zealand. After 1945, Niue experienced population increases of around three percent. By 1971 the population in Niue should have reflected approximately 9,449; however due to migration, the number of Niuean's living in Aotearoa-New Zealand was 4,461 which saw a reduction in Niue Island's population to 4,988. By 2019 the total number of Niuean's living in Niue is 1,628 people.

Migration and the search for a better way of life has led to the population decline. Niue also experiences challenges in relation to rising sea levels. Despite this, Niue continues to receive Aotearoa-New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) funding to support its economic, local, and environmental needs. NZAID provides a grant of \$50 million (approximately \$11,000 per resident) per annum. It is this process which has led to a significant migration of Niuean people to Aotearoa-New Zealand. This is evident in the point that Aotearoa-New Zealand's Niuean population is eleven times more than the population residing in Niue itself.

Cook Islands

The Cook Islands share with Tokelau the same bi-lateral relationship with Aotearoa-New Zealand. The Cook Islands are self-governing in free association with Aotearoa-New Zealand. The Cook Islands are made up of 15 individual islands. In 2013 the population of the Cook Islands was approximately 20,000 with 61,839 Cook Islanders living in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Statistics, 2014). Of the Cook Island population living in Aotearoa-New Zealand, three quarters (77.4%) of Cook Islanders were born in Aotearoa-New Zealand as opposed to 22.6% born overseas. The main industry of the Cook Islands is tourism.

Tuvalu

Tuvalu is one of the smallest independent states in the world and is based on a low-lying atoll in the Pacific. Tuvalu, previously known as the Ellice Islands, was a dependent state of Great Britain until 1978 when independence was declared. The population is now 11,000 and has

grown since the 1950s when the population was only at 5,569 persons. Under the Aotearoa-New Zealand Pacific Access Immigration category, Tuvaluans are eligible to be considered for Aotearoa-New Zealand citizenship. There are approximately 3,500 Tuvaluans living in Aotearoa-New Zealand with 46.5% of these being born in Aotearoa-New Zealand and 53.4% born overseas. (Government of Tuvalu, 2011)

Samoa

Samoa, officially known as the Independent State of Samoa, is located 2,500 kilometers from Aotearoa-New Zealand. Samoa is made up of nine islands with the two main islands, Upolu and Savaii, making up 99% of the country's land mass. In 2013, the population of Samoa was approximately 650,000. The number of Samoans living in Aotearoa-New Zealand made up 182,721, making up 3.9% of the population. Samoa has a constitutional history that includes German administration taking possession of Western Samoa from 1899 to 1914, when Aotearoa-New Zealand took over administration until Samoa gained independence in 1962. Samoa, thus, became the first colonised Pacific Island state to gain independence. Like many of its neighboring Pacific Island states, Samoa has a communal way of life, based on Fa'asamoa, which is the unique socio-political culture of Samoa. Culture and Faith are central to Samoan lifestyle and wellbeing (Gough, 2019).

Tonga

Tonga became a protected state under a Treaty of Friendship with Britain in 1900. Under the protection of Britain, Tonga retained its sovereignty, with the monarchy continuing to be a succession of hereditary rulers from one family. Britain's involvement was by way of a Treaty of Friendship under which Britain controlled the foreign affairs of Tonga (Small & Dixon, 2004). Tonga remained a British protectorate for 70 years when it became an independent nation in 1970 under the leadership of Queen Salote Tupou III. Tonga joined the Commonwealth of Nations in 1970 and became a member of the United Nations in 1999 (Rolfe, 2010).

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of 160 islands of which 36 are inhabited. The islands are divided into three main groups, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and Tongatapu. Seventy-five percent of Tonga's population resides on Tongatapu. Nuku'alofa is the capital and largest city. In 2018, the population of Tonga was recorded at 109,194, with approximately 60,000 Tongans living

in Aotearoa-New Zealand of whom 59.8% were born in Aotearoa-New Zealand and 40.2% were born overseas (Ministry of Information & Communication, Government of Tonga, 2018).

Fiji

Fiji, officially known as the Republic of Fiji, is made up of 322 islands with over 500 small islets. About 110 of these are inhabited with the two biggest islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu containing 87% of the Fijian population. In 2013, Aotearoa-New Zealand was home to 14,445 Fijians of whom 39.9% were born in Aotearoa-New Zealand and 60.2% were born overseas. The population of Fiji in 2013 was 912,241 (MFAT, n.d.).

Tokelau

Tokelau has continued to be a dependent protectorate under Aotearoa-New Zealand since 1925. Like Niue, the territory of Tokelau is made up of three coral atolls, Fakaofu, Nukunono and Atafu. They have a constitutional relationship based on a self-governing nation with free association with Aotearoa-New Zealand under the Tokelau Islands Act of 1948. An administrator is appointed to a three-year term by Aotearoa-New Zealand's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade with Tokelau receiving NZAID funding (Huntsman & Kalolo 1996).

The population of Tokelau has reduced over time due to migration with residents seeking further opportunities predominantly in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In 2013 7,176 Tokelauans lived in Aotearoa-New Zealand with approximately 1,400 living in Tokelau.

The South Pacific Nations of Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Cook Islands, Niue, Tuvalu, and Tokelau have lived as neighboring countries for many years. Their common interactions to date have existed through the pre-colonial connections of migration amongst and within their own countries where similar values, beliefs, and cultural protocols were practiced, but also their post-colonial connections through the influence of visits by missionaries and trade vessels. Yet the migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand, located approximately 1,800 kilometers south of these Pacific countries, would be seen to be the most different of all the journeys, bringing more challenging circumstances for those Pacific people who were chosen to migrate.

The South Pacific Islands and Their Connections with Aotearoa-New Zealand

Aotearoa-New Zealand's relationship with the Pacific Islands became a significant event in the history of the Pacific nations. Geographically, Aotearoa-New Zealand is part of the South Pacific Region. As a developed country, Aotearoa-New Zealand has experienced economic prosperity; is one of the closest developed neighbors to the South Pacific Islands; and has the largest Polynesian populated city, Auckland. This is because of forty years of migration from the Pacific nations and increasing birth rates with one of five residents residing in Auckland City being of Pacific ethnicity (Macpherson, 2004). At the time of the 2013 census, Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand numbered 295,941 people or 7.4% of the total population, making Pacific the fourth largest ethnic group in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

The Cook Islands and Niue became Aotearoa-New Zealand's first Pacific colonies in 1901, making them protectorates under the Aotearoa-New Zealand administration. Prior to 1962, Samoa was also under Aotearoa-New Zealand's administration until becoming an independent state. In 1962, Samoa signed a Treaty of Friendship with Aotearoa-New Zealand. This Treaty contains seven articles that emphasise the closeness of the relationship and recognises "friendship, confidence, and a mutual endeavor to obtain for their people's fuller opportunities for social progress" (Kerslake, 2010, p. xii).

According to the Waitangi Tribunal (2014), the settlement of the indigenous Māori who arrived from East Polynesia, occurred in the late 13th century. European discovery of Aotearoa-New Zealand occurred in the 1600s with the discoverer Abel Tasman followed later by James Cook. By the 1830s, the inhabitants of Aotearoa-New Zealand consisted of approximately 125,000 Māori and 2000 settlers. Despite European pressure to purchase land from Māori for farm and housing, settlers did not understand Māori land tenure processes and concepts of law. By 1831, a petition signed by 13 north Māori Chiefs was sent to King George IV requesting protection and recognition of special trade and missionary contracts with Britain. By 1833, James Busby was appointed as a British resident to act as go-between Māori and European.

By 1840, on the invitation to Waitangi, Busby invited the Confederation of the United Tribes of Aotearoa to sign a declaration which Māori chiefs saw as their independence. By 1839, a total of 52 Māori chiefs had signed. However, the British interpretation of the declaration was

that it would give them legal rights as citizens. By 1852, the settler population had grown from 2000 to 28,000. Today the Treaty and its interpretation have become challenging due to the two versions. The following 150 years would see a massive increase in population from Britain and the United Kingdom. This would see the demise of the Māori population as land was purchased by settlers under dubious methods.

Colonial Influences in the Pacific

The Pacific Islands have been severely impacted by colonial influences in the 18th and 19th century. The pre-colonial era of leadership was based on tradition and gerontocracy. Colonialism changed the way leadership was allocated to people in the Pacific, becoming more in favour of males and less in favour of females. What was once a birthright in a traditional sense was stripped away upon colonial rule and influence (Mara, 2006a).

European Christian missionaries also contributed to colonialism with influence on the position of leadership of Pacific women. In today's world a shift to empowering women into leadership roles is occurring across the world. Evidence of this in the Pacific is found in the election of women to political and local government roles, as well as the allocation of high chief roles to women in a range of village settings (Mara, 2006b). Other examples include the appointment of Pacific women to spiritual roles as church ministers and leaders. For example, in 2000, Fei Tau'ale'ausumaii published nine stories of Pacific women being ordained in the Ministry of Presbyterian Church. The stories highlight the significant benefits of having women ordained, including ordained women Ministers having the power to empower themselves; promoting theology of social justice for all women and providing spiritual growth of Pacific communities; and the presence of Pacific women Ministers in hierarchies that have been male dominated through Victorian values and beliefs (Tau'ale'ausumaii, 2000; Mara, 2006a).

Pacific people' Migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand

As earlier stated, the migration of people from the Pacific to many parts of the world has been apparent since the 1900s. Pacific people' migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand has been documented back to 1935 when it was recorded 988 Pacific people were living in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Ten years later, the population had doubled to 2,159 (Macpherson & Anae, 2008). However, it is the period from the 1950s onwards which has been most significant as

post-World War II employment and a booming economy created opportunities for people of the Pacific to migrate to Aotearoa-New Zealand to work.

Migration from the Pacific gathered pace in the 1960s as word spread swiftly through the Pacific states and villages of the opportunities Aotearoa-New Zealand was presenting to the Pacific. At this time, Aotearoa-New Zealand's immigration policy was focused on attracting immigrants from the United Kingdom and Western Europe.

However, the proximity of the Pacific nations and their historical ties with Aotearoa-New Zealand meant that many Pacific people were able to enter the country either as permanent or temporary migrants (Bedford, 2012).

This temporary migration was supported by Aotearoa-New Zealand's colonial role in the Pacific region. Aotearoa-New Zealand administered the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau from the early 20th century and although the Cook and Niue later gained independence, people from each of these groups retained Aotearoa-New Zealand citizenship and therefore unrestricted rights of entry and permanent residence.

Western Samoa was also administered by Aotearoa-New Zealand under a League of Nations mandate granted after World War I and, following independence in 1962, this relationship was recognised in an official quota system allowing for 1,000 or more immigrants per year. Tonga and Fiji had political and economic links to Aotearoa-New Zealand but no formal colonial relationship, so migrants from these countries had no special rights of permanent entry and had to apply for visas to enter (Rolfe, 2007).

Economic Downturn: The Impact on Pacific people

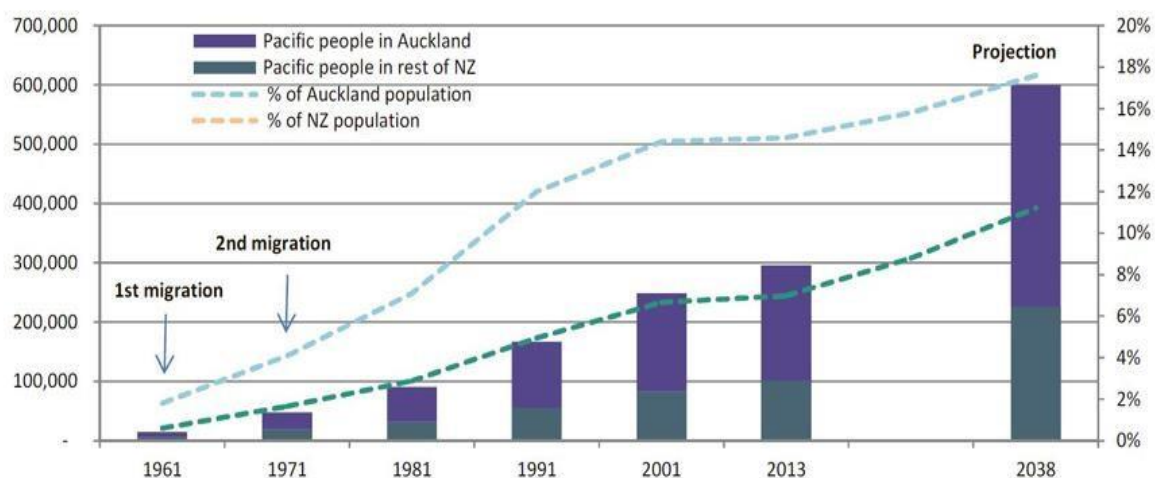
Pacific Island immigration in the 1970s resulted in a net increase of almost 26,000 immigrants from Western Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, Niue, and Tokelau from 1972 to 1978 (Mitchell, 2010). Prior to 1970, Aotearoa-New Zealand's immigration policy was based on the perceived ability for immigrants to be assimilated into Aotearoa-New Zealand society. Judgements about this were made according to race; for example, the potential economic contribution of immigrants would be measured through skill levels, age, and number of dependents. Pacific people underwent certain pre-immigration assessments to ascertain their eligibility to migrate to Aotearoa-New Zealand.

The economic impact of the oil crisis in 1973 led to a review of the immigration policies to deter migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand for the purposes of employment opportunities. Pacific people were starting to experience negative reaction to their presence as they were perceived to be taking the jobs of Aotearoa-New Zealanders. Pacific people were blamed for law-and-order problems and degrading conditions, such as overcrowding, in which Pacific people lived.

In 1974, under a Labour-led government, measures were put in place to deport over-stayers back to the Pacific Islands. One of those measures was to carry out dawn raids on Pacific migrants whether they were Aotearoa-New Zealand citizens or not. Therefore, the National government reviewed the Immigration Act during a time when the industrialised world was closing its doors to migrant workers (Spoonley, 2011). The dawn raids will be discussed later in this chapter.

By 2006, the Pacific population had soared to 266,000 which represented 6.9% of the Aotearoa-New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) and 295,541 (7.4%) by 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Two important findings of the 2013 census were: 1) that the increasing Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific population made up 62.3% of the Pacific population, and 2) that Pacific people have the proportionately largest youthful population, with 54.9% of Pacific people being younger than 25 years of age (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

Figure 2: Number and Proportion of Pacific people in Auckland and Aotearoa-New Zealand, 1961 to 2013



By 2017, Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand made up 8% (344,400) of the nation's population (4.4 million) and is projected to reach 480,000 by 2026 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Most of the Pacific population is made up of people from the Cook Islands, Tonga, Fiji, Niue, Samoa, and Tokelau (Statistics NZ, 2010). This reflects the main Pacific groups represented in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public service (State Services Commission, 2014), although there is growing awareness of other Pacific categories including Micronesian and Melanesian groups, for example, from Kiribati and Tuvalu.

The Pacific population is projected to be 10% of the overall population in Aotearoa-New Zealand by 2026 (Statistics NZ, 2014). The population will then be more represented by the Aotearoa-New Zealand born-Pacific group. Understanding such projections can support better knowledge of the implications of this population growth. Conversely, a focus on the country's history provides context for when and how Aotearoa-New Zealand's relationship with Pacific people developed. This contributes to understanding how migration impacts on cultural practices of leadership, both for those Pacific people who migrated, and for their offspring.

The proportion of the population of Pacific Island descent continues to grow rapidly, and the percentage of those who are Aotearoa-New Zealand-born continues to grow as highlighted in Table 1 which shows the projected Pacific population will increase to half a million by 2038. Not only are Pacific people bound by blood ties and connections through intermarriage, but they also share Pacific links through organisations in education, sports, clubs, and churches. Additionally, they share bonds through travel from the earliest days of exploration and migration to the now-common visits to each other's countries for holidays, education, and sporting and cultural exchanges. The close personal and family connections in this part of the world distinguishes Aotearoa-New Zealand from other countries that seek engagement in the region. Aotearoa-New Zealand's engagement is based on a unique and intimate understanding of the region (Spoonley, 1996).

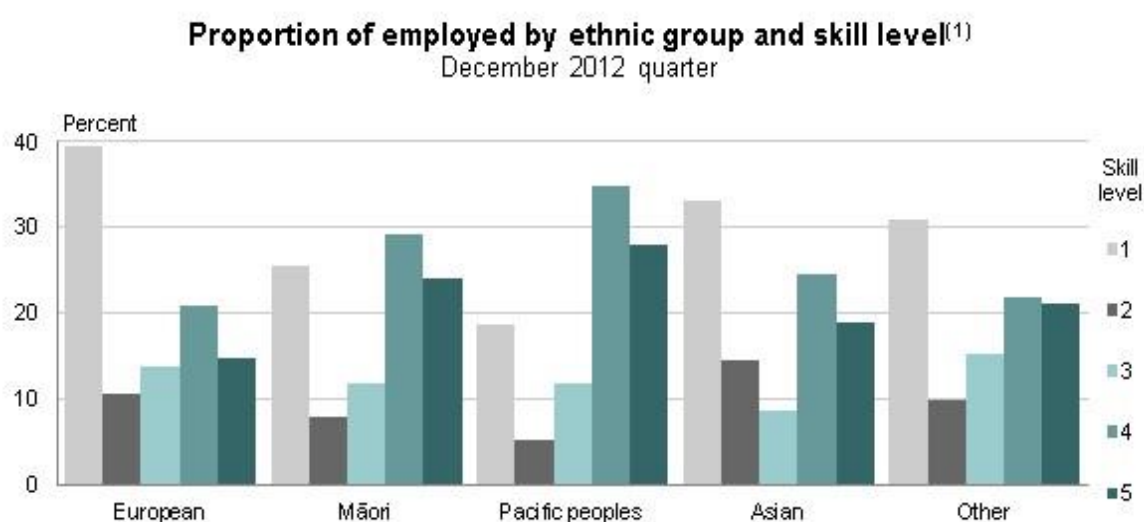
Pacific migration has been consistent for the past 70 years with projected population growth reinforcing the critical role Pacific people will play in Aotearoa-New Zealand in the future. Pacific people have retained their identity, spirituality, cultural beliefs, and protocols, although history shows this has been met with resistance from non-Pacific Aotearoa-New Zealanders (Macpherson, 2008). This has presented some challenges as the Aotearoa-New Zealand Government considers mechanisms to support Pacific people's livelihoods and to ensure they are part of an inclusive society.

This section has discussed the relevance of Pacific people's population growth since the mass migration in the 1950s and 1960s. The harshness of their experiences is further explored through a discussion of the impact of their migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand and through some of the historical challenges they have faced.

The status of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand

In the Aotearoa-New Zealand workforce, Pacific people, in the 1950s and 1960s, were in demand because of their willingness to take on jobs vacated by the local workforce. These jobs were mainly in the manufacturing industry such as general hand, cleaners, and laborers (see figure 3 below). In Aotearoa-New Zealand, labour was so short that employers paid agencies fifty dollars a head more for each Pacific worker they could recruit (Brosnan, 1989, p. 9; Gibson, 1983, p. 39). In some cases, this resulted in Pacific people being exploited due to language difficulties limiting their understanding of their rights. They experienced considerable pressure to work in compromising conditions, so they were able to fulfil their obligations to their families in the Islands by sending money to their homeland and balancing this expectation with providing for their growing families in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

Figure 3: Proportion of employed by ethnic group and skill level in Aotearoa-New Zealand Dec 2012
Source: Stats NZ



1. Job skill levels are based on the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations. An occupation is assigned to one of five skill levels, with highly skilled assigned to skill level 1 and lower skilled jobs to skill level 5.

Source: Statistics New Zealand

In the 1950s and 1960s, Pacific people had migrated to Aotearoa-New Zealand with limited financial and social capital (Macpherson & Anae, 2008). They experienced specific forms of discrimination and social exclusion by Aotearoa-New Zealand society because they appeared different in their nationality, appearance, and customs (Grainger, 2008). It was evident that communication was a barrier for Pacific people who were learning to speak English as a second language. Pacific people were expected to learn to speak the English language quickly to adapt and assimilate into Aotearoa-New Zealand society (Tiatia, 1998).

The terms “Pacific Islanders” and “the Pacific Islands community” have been in general and official use in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Macpherson, 1996, p. 127). However, this pan-Pacific approach to recognising Pacific people has not always been met with satisfaction by those who are represented (Gray, 2001). In fact, the very concept of “Pacific Islander” has been challenged.

Macpherson’s (1996) explanation was in terms of the Eurocentric worldview of the concept of being Pacific; the Pacific was represented as a region, and little was said about the uniqueness and diversity of history, language, and culture. Since this time, the pan-Pacific identity has grown to be the catalyst for government investment for initiatives, services, and programmes, some of which have either achieved or failed the aspirations the population they were meant to serve (Salesa, 2017).

Salesa (2017) claims that the impact of historical changes and colonisation has seen a shift away from a sense of identity whereby Pacific people born in Aotearoa-New Zealand are less likely than their parents to speak a Pacific language, be partnered with someone of the same ethnic group, to own their own home, to go to church regularly, and if they do attend are more likely to attend multi-denominational or fundamentalist Christian churches (Salesa, 2017, p. 6). Language was once a pre-requisite to identifying oneself as Pacific; however, whilst migrant support services were established to teach new Pacific migrants the way of life in Aotearoa-New Zealand, including providing English as a second language classes, today these establishments are being used to teach Pacific people born in Aotearoa-New Zealand about how to retain their culture, language, and identity (Salesa, 2017).

Historical Challenges Experienced by Pacific people

In 1918, Aotearoa-New Zealand authorities allowed the Aotearoa-New Zealand trading ship *Talune*, carrying passengers infected with the deadly virus Influenza, to dock in Apia, the capital of Samoa. As the flu spread, some twenty-two per cent of the Samoan population died. It is judged to be one of the worst epidemics recorded in the world and was preventable.

In December 1929, the Aotearoa-New Zealand Police, as part of its administration of Samoa, killed at least nine people during a peaceful protest at the Aotearoa-New Zealand administration office in Apia. One of those killed was the Chieftain leader Tupua Tamasese Lealofioaana III (Smith, 2018; New Zealand Herald, 2002). This incident became known as the Mau massacre. Such historical events have left an imprint on many of the older Pacific people's population.

In the mid-1970s, the National government led by Robert Muldoon came to power and was determined to address "the immigration issue". This resulted in what has come to be known as The Dawn Raids, early morning raids on Pacific households to find overstayers. Samoans experienced the extremity of this racism and discrimination. Despite two thirds of overstayers in Aotearoa-New Zealand being British or North American, the dawn raids were targeted at Pacific Islanders, and particularly at Samoans. Overstayers, once found, would be deported back to Samoa; however, despite having legal immigration status to remain in Aotearoa-New Zealand many Samoans were detained and held by police authorities against their will (Anae 2010, Iuli & Tamu, 2015; Mallon et al., 2012; Smith, 2018). Since then, attempts have been made to rectify the racial discrimination experienced by Samoans during the dawn raids; this is evidenced in a public apology made almost 30 years later by the then Prime Minister of Aotearoa-New Zealand, the Right Honorable Helen Clark, during a visit to Samoa (New Zealand Herald, 2002).

The issues surrounding the validity of Samoans living in Aotearoa-New Zealand continued as the Government did not accept a Privy Council decision granting Aotearoa-New Zealand citizenship to Western Samoans born since 1924. Samoans felt betrayed by the Aotearoa-New Zealand government which rushed an act, the Samoan Citizenship Bill, granting Aotearoa-New Zealand citizenship to Samoans who were living in Aotearoa-New Zealand on 14 September 1982.

These four historical incidences – the Talune and the resulting influenza epidemic, the Dawn Raids, the Mau massacre, and the Samoan Citizenship Bill – are examples of the tensions and discriminatory practices made on behalf of the Aotearoa-New Zealand government (Anae, 2010, Iuli & Tamu, 2015; Mallon et al, 2012; Smith, 2018). As will be discussed, the results of these experiences are the emergence of strong leadership and advocacy in the Pacific community as they resist harsh and unfair treatment.

Socio-economic Status of Pacific people

Pacific people have experienced a turbulent introduction to life in Aotearoa-New Zealand since the 1950s and 1960s. The result has seen an over-representation of Pacific people in unemployment, health disparity, crime, and poor educational outcomes (Marriott & Sim, 2015). An inclusion of societal statistics in this chapter helps position the challenges Pacific people have faced since early migration.

In 2001, at 14.6%, Pacific people were over-represented for convictions for violence-related offending. Twenty six percent of Pacific young people left school with no qualifications in the same year. Life expectancy for Pacific people in the 1980s was 65 years in comparison to non-Māori who had a life expectancy of 75 years (Statistics NZ, 2006).

Economically, Pacific people have always faced considerable difficulties in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Their skills are not always suited to the demands of the Aotearoa-New Zealand labour market, and they have been over-represented among the unemployed, lower-skilled workers, and low-income earners. These difficulties were accentuated by the restructuring of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which had a disproportionately negative effect on Pacific people, many of whom worked in industries and occupations that bore the brunt of job losses (Statistics NZ, 2002).

Pacific people' labour force participation rate fell from 70% to 54% between 1987-1999. In 2001, the rate slightly recovered to 61%. However, this rate continued to be lower than that of the total population (Statistics NZ, 2014). These figures clearly show that Pacific people were experiencing significant economic challenges in Aotearoa-New Zealand society and that this would eventually lead to the Government focus on improving outcomes for Pacific people.

A profile status report produced by the Ministry of Social Development in 2016 reinforced the challenges Pacific people continued to face in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Critical data produced

by a range of government agencies and departments suggest Pacific people continue to experience significant inequalities that would place the responsibility for improving Pacific people' wellbeing in the hands of the Government and the public sector.

In 2016, the median income for Pacific people was \$19,700 compared to European \$30,900, Māori \$22,500, Asian \$20,100, and nationally \$28,500. Pacific people' median incomes dropped in comparison to the national average in 2006, being \$3,900 lower, then to \$8,800 lower in 2013. This indicates that the gap between the national median income and Pacific people' median incomes continue to widen over time (Ministry of Social Development, 2016).

Between March 2015 and 2016, jobseeker support recipients of Pacific descent rose slightly by 2.4% compared to Māori 3.5% and European 5% (Ministry of Social Development, 2016). Pacific people who were sole parent benefit recipients rose by 4.4% compared to a reduction in uptake of the sole parent benefit of Māori by 4.5% and 13.4% for European (Ministry of Social Development, 2016). Pacific people in receipt of the Supported Living Payment rose by 5.4% compared with a slight increase for Māori by 1.0% but fell for European by 3.7% (Ministry of Social Development, 2016).

Over the three years from 2012-2014, 28% of Pacific children lived in poor households compared to 33% for Māori and 16% for European (Simpson, et al., 2015). In 2013, home ownership for Pacific people was 18.5%, compared with Māori at 28.2%, Asians at 34.8%, and Europeans at 56.8%.

From a health perspective, Pacific people experience shorter life expectancy than the total Aotearoa-New Zealand population. Life expectancy is 78.7 years for Pacific women and 74.5 years for Pacific men, compared with 83.2 years for women and 79.5 years for men in the total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). Pacific people experience 25% higher hospital admissions associated with household crowding, compared to Māori 17%, and European 5%. Forty-five percent of Pacific children aged 0-16 years, experience household crowding compared with 28% for Māori and 8% for European children (Baker et al., 2013).

In the Pacific 2012 youth survey, students were twenty times more likely, than non-Pacific students, to report living in an overcrowded home (more than two people per bedroom) and four times as likely to have someone in their home who slept in a room that was not a bedroom (Fa'alili-Fidow et al., 2016).

In relation to the obesity of population groups, 66.7% of Pacific adults were classified as obese compared with 29.9% of the total population (Ministry of Social Development, 2016). In 2015, one in ten adult offenders sentenced in court was a Pacific offender. In 2016, Pacific people made up 13.2% of criminals incarcerated in Aotearoa-New Zealand prisons (Department of Corrections, 2016).

Even so, Pacific people have made a noticeable contribution to Aotearoa-New Zealand economy. In 2018, a report published by the Aotearoa-New Zealand Treasury Department reflected the growing impact of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand in accordance with the Treasury's Living Standards Framework (2017). Pacific individuals and businesses contributed \$8 billion to the Aotearoa-New Zealand Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Pacific spending in households contributed \$10.4 billion, and there were approximately 1,500 Pacific business employers and 500 non-for-profit organisations with assets totaling \$8.3 billion. For Pacific people, financial success is not the only indicator of wealth and success. Success also is seen to be in the form of education, safety, happiness, knowledge, family, and faith (Treasury, 2018).

However, while religion remains a key commitment for Pacific people as Pacific churches in Aotearoa-New Zealand continue to serve as a catalyst for Pacific communities to connect, retain their cultural identity, and to worship. Pacific churches have continued to support those in need; however, the changing demographic and population have tended to see a reduction in church participation (Treasury, 2018). This suggests that Pacific people are adapting their practices over time as subsequent generations attune to life in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Nevertheless, adapting to the Aotearoa-New Zealand way of life has proved to be difficult for new Pacific migrants, particularly as they begin to raise their Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific children. In 1994, Schoeffel et al., conducted a study called "Pacific Islands Polynesian Attitudes to Child Training and Discipline in New Zealand: Some Policy Implications for Social Welfare and Education". The study took place in Otara, South Auckland and engaged twenty-five Pacific Island families for the purpose of investigating cultural attitudes regarding the socialisation and discipline of children. The study set out to explore the life experiences of a group of Pacific Island parents and grandparents born and socialised in the Pacific Islands and their Aotearoa-New Zealand-born children and grandchildren. The aim of the study was to record the values and attitudes of Pacific Island families.

In the study, parents expressed concern about how cultural values and norms were to be maintained and translated into a new multi-cultural setting. The context for Pacific-born parents was having grown up in a rural setting where familial relationships and day-to-day connections were maintained with people they were related or connected to through communities, and where there were shared values, customs, and beliefs. However, Aotearoa-New Zealand-born children formed connections and relationships with children of different ethnic backgrounds. For Pacific-born parents, their strongly held view was that their children would value the importance of obedience to parents and elders and conform to religious and cultural values that reinforced the expected roles and behaviours. These were the values that Pacific-born parents had been raised with and the expectation was that their Aotearoa-New Zealand-born children would follow their teachings (Schoeffel et al., 1994). The study concluded that various Pacific Island families viewed child raising and discipline in contrast to those of European New Zealand descent. However, children of Pacific descent born in Aotearoa-New Zealand faced additional challenges of being raised in a multi-cultural setting with exposure to different cultures and a high expectation to conform to Pacific cultural norms.

It seemed that the thinking and wider public values underlying the legislative changes were not generally understood in the Pacific Islands communities, and the responses of their spokespersons indicated that the cultural values of the various Pacific Islands communities about the family, child raising, child discipline, and how "parenting skills" should be defined were at variance with those of European New Zealanders.

The findings of this study are of some relevance for evaluating the policy significance of recent negative reports by the Education Review office on several South Auckland secondary schools in which most students are of Pacific Islands ethnicity. If the socialisation practices of Pacific Islands families, as suggested, contribute to difficulties that their children have with interactive teaching techniques, this may suggest that considerably more emphasis needs to be placed on developing the interactive learning abilities of Pacific Islands Polynesian children in primary and junior secondary schools (Education Review Office, 2012).

From this overview, it is evident that Pacific people have experienced significant hardship in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The role of Pacific leadership in the public service is to ensure the lived experiences of Pacific people who have experienced significant challenges in terms of housing, income, unemployment, low educational achievement is addressed by the Aotearoa-New Zealand government and public sector. If Pacific leaders are unsupported to deliver on

their objectives and the expectations of the communities, the challenges Pacific people face will remain unchanged. This section highlights that there has been little change in the past that signals improvement for Pacific people, and that this could be an indicator of the lack of Pacific capacity to ensure the system is responsive.

Establishment of the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs

As a response to the growing Pacific population, the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs was established in 1990 and headed by Pacific Island public servant Apii Rongo-Raea. The role of the Ministry was to provide policy advice. However, the restructuring of the Māori Affairs Department in 1989 would be a cornerstone to the way the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs managed its affairs in the future. The Māori Affairs Department transitioned to the Iwi Transition Authority which resulted in limited Pacific resources held by Māori Affairs being transitioned to the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs. The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs created three regional operation division offices throughout Aotearoa-New Zealand which provided Pacific-led programmes. The transition of limited resources held by Māori Affairs confused the policy role of the Ministry which resulted in the Ministry creating Operations Division which led to regional offices being established that would provide Pacific based community development programmes. This resulted in the Ministry being responsible for an additional role as service provider which to some extent confused their role as policy provider. Eventually the limited resources to deliver on both policy and service provider responsibilities took its toll as limited resources did not support the successful execution of either role, resulting in the closure of the operational division offices. The Ministry would retain its policy role (Anae et al, 1997). Until 1990, the Ministry would experience a devaluing of its role as senior public servants and politicians viewed the Ministry as ineffective. Therefore, the Ministry was excluded from critical decision-making processes where Pacific people' perspectives would hold a legitimate interest (Macpherson & Anae, 2008).

By the mid-1990s, the Ministry was at risk of being disestablished following a review of its structure and performance which highlighted issues and concerns, consistent with the perspectives from the mainstream policy sector, that the Ministry was ineffective. The review resulted in the Ministry being downsized, with offices in Hastings, Tokoroa, and Porirua being closed. Programme capacity was transferred to mainstream ministries. In the meantime, a new CEO was sought and appointed in the mid-1990s (Macpherson & Anae, 2008).

Fuimaono Les McCarthy, who had previous leadership success in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Police, was appointed as CEO for the Ministry. McCarthy led a new approach that would significantly change the way the Ministry operated by creating a plan based on the vision of Pacific Island people in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In doing this the Ministry would reinvent the way it operated so government agencies could receive competent policy advice by the Ministry based on the perspectives of Pacific people (Macpherson & Anae, 2008).

History of Pacific Women Leadership in the Pacific

Historically, Pacific women leaders have played key leadership roles at the highest level within their own countries. This was before colonisation had arrived at the Pacific shores. To understand the significant role Pacific women played across the Pacific nations, is to delve into the history of Pacific women. There are many powerful women who influenced Samoan history. *E au le inailau a tama'ita'I, ae le au le inailau a ali'i* is a cultural description that was born out of the story of Samoan woman warrior, Sina, who challenged and defeated Chief Leleisi'uao and the fraternity of men in a competition to thatch a fale (Samoan house) with rocks. Another woman warrior, Nafanua, led and won wars against chiefly families within Samoa. The titles won were then bestowed on Samoa's first Taa'ifa, Queen Salamasina, who became the supreme ruler of Samoa for 40 years. The paramount titles were then passed on to her successors, Fofaivaose, Taufau, and Sina who were all women (Finau, 2017; Pacific Cooperation Foundation, 2018; Schoffel, 1987; Tominiko 2012).

The Cook Islands also have histories that depict the strength of Cook Island women leaders. On the Island of Rarotonga, four of the six paramount Ariki (Chiefs) are women. Five of the six holders of the Pa Ariki title have been held by women (Pacific Cooperation Foundation, 2018; Tominiko, 2012).

In Fiji, one of the three top ranked chiefly titles, Roko Tui Dreketi, is held by a woman, Roko Tui Dreketi Teimumu Tuisawau-Kepa, who was a former politician. This has led to women of Fiji succeeding to become district and village chiefs (Pacific Cooperation Foundation, 2018; Tominiko, 2012).

Tu'i Kano-Ku-polu is the highest ranked title in all of Tonga. The first Tonga woman to hold the title was Tu'i Kano-ku-polu' Mohe'ofu in the late 18th century, and the last was Queen

Salote who ruled Tonga for most of the twentieth century (Pacific Cooperation Foundation, 2018; Tominiko, 2012).

In Hawaii, the first ruler of Oahu in the 1350s was Queen Ku-kani-loko who was succeeded by her daughter Kala-i-manuia. On the island of Huaine in French Polynesia, Huaine had the biggest influence of women leadership with six of ten of its monarchs being women. Queen Pomare, of the Pomare family in Tahiti, ruled from 1827-1877 over half a century. Authority of these kingdoms was lost after the French takeover in the latter part of the 1800s (Tominiko, 2012).

The history of Pacific monarchs, chieftain roles, and leaders across the Pacific not only assists the understanding of how important a role Pacific women played pre-colonial times, but the examples also create pathways for future Pacific women to take up leadership roles, providing encouragement in the face of adversity.

Pacific Women Representation in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

For Pacific women, migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand occurred most predominantly in the 1950s and 1960s when opportunities for work flourished. In my own personal story as a daughter of migrant parents, my mother, who was the middle child of 12 children, was selected by her father to migrate to Aotearoa-New Zealand so that she could begin the process of setting up a home base for her brothers and sisters to migrate. Despite having brothers who could adequately carry out the critical role that was bestowed upon her, she was seen to be both the strongest willed and strongest physically to persevere through the unknown territory of migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand.

The need for Pacific representation in Aotearoa-New Zealand grew because of the painful experiences of the 1970s Dawn Raid era in which Pacific people experienced racism from the State. This resulted in a period which saw the momentum of Pacific advocacy increase through the political efforts of the Labour Party, the Hotel, Hospital, and Restaurant Workers Union, and the newly-founded PACIFICA – Pacific Allied (Women’s) Council Inspires Faith in Ideals Concerning All Incorporated – an organisation of Pacific women leaders (Pacific Cooperation Foundation, 2018). Eleitino Paddy Walker, one of the founders of PACIFICA Inc, had been elected as Auckland’s first Pacific City Councillor in 1973, with Jasmine Underhill following in 1976 when she was elected as first Pacific City Councillor and eventually deputy mayor of

Porirua City Council. This set the scene for other Pacific men and women to follow suit in local government, especially in Auckland, Manukau, and Porirua.

Whilst there was a surge of Pacific women's participation in local body politics, there continued to be a gap in national politics until 1999 when the first Pacific Island woman, Luamanuvao Winnie Laban, was elected to Parliament, first holding the Mana electorate seat, and then becoming the first Pacific woman to hold a government ministerial portfolio in 2007.

In 2018, Luamanuvao was honoured with a Dame Companion of The New Zealand Order of Merit (DNZM) for her services to education and the Pacific community (NZ Herald, 2018). On celebrating 125 years of Women's Suffrage in 2018, four Pacific women government MPs were acknowledged by the Right Honourable Prime Minister of Aotearoa-New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern. Those Ministers make up the largest ever cohort of Pacific women government MPs in the history of Aotearoa-New Zealand politics (Pacific Cooperation Foundation, 2018).

Responding to the Challenges faced by Women Leaders.

Pacific women leaders often face significant challenges that at times have been met with racism and discrimination. Pacific leaders in Aotearoa-New Zealand have successfully promoted future Pacific leaders to take up leadership roles across three generations of Pacific women in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

On the global platform, women's issues are being taken more seriously, beginning with the establishment of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination (CEDAW), adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1970s, focused on the need to address significant inequality for women and, in 1979, CEDAW proposed 30 articles that define discrimination against women (United Nations, 1979).

The decade 1976 to 1985 was declared the Decade for Women. This decade would be focused on countries improving outcomes for women. 143 of 195 countries guaranteed equality between men and women by committing resources to support women in member countries to receive support including study grants, policy support, and programmes and services to support communities of women in member countries. An example is the allocation of resources by the Australian government to improve social and economic opportunities of women living in the Pacific.

In the Aotearoa-New Zealand Education sector, Pacific women began to address the invisibility of Pacific women in the sector and in leadership roles (Fairbairn-Dunlop 1984; Laufiso, 1988; Mara, 1993; Leavasa-Tautolo, 1994).

In 2015, the establishment of the Super Diverse Women (SDW) was formed to empower and inspire diverse women throughout Australasia. The network was responsible for developing a survey amongst diverse women that led to the establishment of a Diversity Matrix. The key findings confirmed that it is harder for visually different women in every sphere of life, whether they are Māori women indigenous to this country or new migrants not born in Aotearoa-New Zealand to gain leadership roles in the business and public sectors (Chen, 2015)

Significance of This Study

This thesis explores the barriers to delivering successful public sector intervention to improve the outcomes for Pacific communities and how Pacific leadership structures and models might be used to achieve this goal.

In the 1980s, the challenges experienced by Pacific new migrants had led to the Aotearoa-New Zealand government taking formal measures to address the growing inequality of Pacific people. The targeted Pacific nations' migrants identified by the Government were from Samoa, Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Tonga, Fiji, and Tuvalu. There is a core group of government departments in Aotearoa-New Zealand that has historically resourced Pacific leadership roles as a means of addressing inequalities for Pacific people: the Ministries of Health, Education, Social Development, Justice, Housing, Pacific Island Affairs, and the Labour Department (Ministry for Pacific Island Affairs, 2006). The purpose of the Pacific leadership roles in these departments is to contribute a Pacific perspective to policy and to service development and delivery to improve outcomes for Pacific people. Social determinants of health and inequalities are explicitly linked and contribute to the lack of advancement of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Over the past thirty years there has been an array of activity targeting Pacific communities, from research programmes to the development of race-based policy, the birth of "By Pacific for Pacific" services and focused inequity funding. Despite this investment, however, little to no change has occurred for Pacific people in the above areas and in some cases, there has been

an increase in negative statistics. Clearly, there is a need to take stock of what has been tried to understand what needs to be attempted to improve this situation.

Special characteristics are significant in identifying potential Pacific leadership, and thus succession planning. Macpherson (1997) raises the idea of gerontocracy which asserts that leadership comes with age, hereditary aristocracy, through to chieftain. However, many Aotearoa-New Zealand-born people of Pacific descent have been exposed to the principles of meritocracy and democracy; meritocracy being the test of what positive difference you make to the development of your community, and democracy through the teachings of good governance through secondary and tertiary education (Macpherson, 1997).

Cultural systems of leadership, protocols, beliefs, history, and language are identified as the enablers to ensure Pacific identity remains intact for future generations. Pacific new migrants' cultural knowledge is contextualised within what they knew of their home environment prior to their departure and is reliant on knowledge transferred from their Pacific family members in their homeland. Therefore, clarifying problems that need to be resolved for Pacific people across a range of settings has been problematic given the wide-ranging views and theories held by Pacific people themselves, as well as those of the public service and academics. It is possible that, for the past 40 years, the public sector has continued to reinforce the demise of Pacific people without really knowing how bad the problem is.

Pacific people in leadership roles within public service agencies have been doing their best to meet the needs of Pacific people but are struggling to understand how to improve outcomes. What must be apparent is that successful Pacific leadership in the public sector relies heavily on the commitment by government at several levels to resource, support, and mandate these representative bureaucracy roles.

There are now four generations of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand; and, with a growing population, it is timely to consider what leadership in the Pacific context means for future Aotearoa-New Zealand-born generations. As a female Pacific leader in this country, I have come to appreciate that Pacific leaders are walking a tightrope juggling expectations of the public sector and the expectations of their Pacific communities and families, often caught in the crossfire of misunderstanding and conflicting constructs. This thesis, then, considers how Pacific leadership can be done differently, making it easier for future Pacific leaders to lead.

As successive governments continue to find new and innovative ways of addressing inequalities, this research is intended to contribute to information on the roles and responsibilities of Pacific public servants who have a responsibility to provide advice, advocacy, and input into key policy – particularly policy developed to address the ongoing status quo of poor living standards, incarceration, poor health and low educational achievement which continues to hamper the development of Pacific people as equals in Aotearoa-New Zealand society (Ministry for Pacific Island Affairs, 1987).

Pacific public sector leaders' experiences are a critical focus for this study. Pacific leaders have never been silent on the challenges they face in having to work within the public sector. Those experiences have created the opportunity to explore those challenges in depth. In identifying the barriers to delivering successful public sector intervention to improve the outcomes for Pacific communities, this thesis also explores new Pacific leadership models which could be developed for the public sector to enhance its service responsiveness to the Pacific population.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a description of where Pacific people originate from and their relationship to Aotearoa-New Zealand. For Pacific people, migration was seen to be an opportunity to enhance the socio-economic status for both Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand and those in the Pacific Islands. The literature provides examples of the ways in which Pacific countries such as Samoa were treated unfairly and unequally by Aotearoa-New Zealand's multiple administrations, reflecting the lack of value placed on the new migrants from the Pacific, despite Pacific people being invited to fill Aotearoa-New Zealand's gaps in the workforce.

This chapter concludes that Pacific people experienced harsh conditions upon arrival in Aotearoa-New Zealand and that this has had a detrimental effect inter-generationally on the lives of Pacific people. Despite the population increasing, little has changed for Pacific people in terms of high unemployment, low educational achievement, pay inequalities, high incarceration rates, and health and social inequalities. The cost of inequalities to the economy of Aotearoa-New Zealand is significant but is symptomatic of the ways in which Pacific people have been treated. Despite this, Pacific people have persevered and built families, owned homes, built businesses, and contributed to sporting success, to the arts, and to political leadership. However, while some Pacific people have managed to achieve success, this remains

a small minority compared to the growing inequality that continues for most Pacific people living in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

For the past three decades, the Aotearoa-New Zealand government has invested in initiatives and programmes designed to address this growing inequality. the Government has also invested in Pacific leadership to support the public sector to represent the perspectives of Pacific people. Given the small improvement in negative outcomes for Pacific people, the Government will need to review the way in which Pacific perspectives and insights are embedded in policy settings. Thus, there are implications for the Public Sector as the employer of Pacific leaders, explored further in this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE: LEADERSHIP

Pacific people understand leadership as a negotiation between Pacific and Western ideas. This negotiation is performed contextually. However, young Pacific people are also redefining leadership for themselves and a way they are doing this is by combining their Pacific and Western understandings of leadership.

Grace Faletutulu, MA Applied, 2016

The question that people in the field of leadership often ask is: what is leadership? Many theorists believe there is a good explanation for what leadership means or what it is to be a good leader. However, in defining the concept of leadership, the picture is not always clear. For some people, leadership can motivate others, provide results, and can also be inspirational, while others may consider leadership to be democratic, strategic, and bureaucratic.

The research question for this study is “What are the experiences of Pacific leaders who are in Pacific public sector roles in Aotearoa-New Zealand?” The purpose of this study is to better understand the barriers and challenges faced by Pacific leaders working in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. This study also explores successful public sector interventions designed to improve the outcomes for Pacific communities whilst identifying the various leadership structures and models that support this success, through a Pacific lens. Pacific leaders in the public sector have acted as a conduit between the Government sector and Pacific community; therefore, this study aims to understand the challenges Pacific people face when in a leadership role within the public sector and their relationships with the Pacific communities they serve. The study aims to identify ways in which Pacific outcomes can be improved through better utilisation of the role of the Pacific leader.

This chapter will discuss definitions of Leadership, present leadership theory and consider power within leadership theory. The chapter will also focus on Followership and consider authentic leadership theory. The influences on leaders and their leadership will be explored. leadership challenges are presented considering race-based theories such as Intersectionality. The chapter covers building pacific leadership in relation to tools that could support pacific leaders to develop.

Definitions of Leadership

The term leadership has been in existence for centuries across the world but has been refined over time as theorists, practitioners, and researchers continue to redefine how leadership is based on international, regional, and local experiences. Leadership can be explained in a range of contexts and theories; however, according to leadership researchers, there is no one clear and agreed definition (Bass, 2008; Paea, 2009; Rost, 1991; Smith, Montago, & Kuzmenko, 2004a). According to Fisher (1985) and Chowdhury (2014) leadership is a social phenomenon that has been the subject of extensive and significant research over time, yet it is still not well understood due to the wide-ranging variables that encompass the entire social process.

Definition theories and contexts range from the ability to influence and inspire actions in leadership potential, to leadership being a social process of actions between people (Parry, 1998; Sanga & Walker, 2005). Aligned to my study is the definition of leadership as a process that seeks solutions to complex public problems with the aim of achieving common good for people, resources, and organisations (Crosby & Bryson, 2005a).

For leadership to be enacted, leaders need followers, to work together towards a common goal. According to Murrell (1997) leadership is a collective process which involves multiple people at different levels. While Burns (1978) takes a view of leadership as bringing people to work together according to certain motives and values, he does so by reinforcing that transformational leadership will influence followers using charismatic approaches in their leadership style. Greenleaf (1973) discusses the idea of servant leadership; that one wants to first serve which then results in an aspiration to lead. He identifies leadership attributes and skills such as listening, being persuasive, having sound knowledge and intuition, the ability to use language, and being outcomes-focused. Servant leadership is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Parry (1998), and Sanga and Walker (2005) support these definitions by seeing leadership as a process of action which depends on people and the nature of their interactions with each other. Cole (2005) and Chowdhury (2014) similarly define leadership as a “dynamic” process where one person influences other people towards the attainment of a common goal. The leadership

literature supports the idea that leadership is about bringing people who are believers and supports of a goal together to achieve a common purpose.

According to Maxwell (2013), leadership occurs when “one life influences another” (p. 1). Maxwell further elaborates that leadership is marked by ongoing growth which will lead to transforming organisations. According to Brene (2018), a contemporary approach to leadership is needed while considering an empathetic approach to leading during a world that is faced with intractable challenges and a high demand for innovation.

According to Harper et al. (2015), to understand the concept of leadership, it is important to firstly understand the difference between a leader and leadership. A leader is a person or individual who leads or commands a group, organisation, or country. Examples of a leader include a captain, prime minister, president, or school principal. The communication of the leader modifies the attitudes and behaviours of followers to meet organisational needs (Harper et al., 2015).

These definitions reinforce the notion that leadership is constantly being redefined by the experiences of those in leadership roles and those who are in receipt of it. Leaders are not leaders without followers. Followers play a critical role in determining the outcome of the leader’s leadership.

Leader Theory.

According to Adler (2006), and Follet and Mayor (2009), leadership theory considers the shift between scientific approaches and human relations. An example of a human relational approach is located within a socio psychological construct. According to Jones (1998), social psychology can be defined as the study of social influence. Influence is considered a key component of leadership (Cialdini & Griskevicius, 2010). Social influence is “where one person’s attitudes, cognitions or behaviours are changed through the doing of others (Cialdini & Griskevicius, 2010, p. 385).

The notion of influence tends to focus on the individual. In the case of charismatic leadership, theorists highlight the need for further research on personality concepts, constructs, and theories (Avolio et al., 2005; Bass, 1985; Bolden, Hawkins, Gosling & Taylor, 2011). Personality, behaviour, cognition, motivation, adult development, and social processes are key influences in the leadership literature (Avolio et al., 2005; Bass, 2008; Yuki, 2012). Leadership

can also occur within a group. This is particularly relevant to group-based motivation which encourages leadership amongst minority group influence. It is this influence that has an impact on political social movements and social influence (Gaffney & Hogg, 2014).

As explained by Weinberger (2009) and Yuki (1999), the scientific study of leadership became popular in the 20th century and since then many studies have continued to explore the effectiveness of leaders and leadership. The theorists claim that there is no comprehensive theory and meaning of leadership, hence it becomes difficult to determine how a leader should act and behave in a leadership role. According to Grojean, Resick, Dickson and Smith (2004, p. 224) leadership cannot be denied in terms of its role in achieving the goals and objectives of an organisation. It is a critical factor in creating a platform for people to be part of the organisation's vision and mission.

According to Lee (2008), leadership styles in Western countries may not be acceptable to non-Western countries and, conversely, leadership styles from other regions, such as Asian and Pacific, may not be accepted by Western countries. Therefore, in this globalised world, it is important to delve deeper into understanding what makes leaders different across different continents, countries, and regions. Related to this, according to Bush (2013), how a leader can provide direction to their followers determines the level of influence they can hold over an individual or group to undertake specific tasks towards a common goal (Bush, 2013). This point is relevant as the study focuses on Pacific leadership and thus delves into what difference Pacific leadership can make to achieving better outcomes for Pacific people as opposed to Western theory which has been challenged to make a difference for Pacific people.

Leadership Theory

Leadership theories within Aotearoa-New Zealand which emphasise leadership as being visionary, transformational, and charismatic are widely accepted (Bass, 2008; Fletcher, 2008; Jackson & Parry, 2011). Leadership is highly influential (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Coleman et al., 2002; Konzes & Posner, 2007), and as organisations consider the need for leaders to perform, the intensity of impact and connection with followers increases with the opportunity to unleash enhanced performance (Bass, 1985; Bass & Riggio, 2006; Conger, 1988).

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed relevant theory as it relates to the leader. This section will consider definitions as this relates to leadership theory. According to Adler (2006), and Follet

and Mayor (2009), leadership theory is considered in the context of social influence and how in the relationship between humans, leadership is created. According to Jones (1998), social psychology can be defined as the study of social influence. Influence is considered a key component of leadership (Cialdini & Griskevicius, 2010). Social influence is “where one person’s attitudes, cognitions or behaviours are changed through the doing of others” (Cialdini & Griskevicius, 2010, p. 385). By leaders and followers coming together to form leadership, there are certain values and beliefs that are in place. The alignment of these values and beliefs can determine how leaders and followers behave with each other.

Transformational and Transactional Leadership.

According to Weihrich et al. (2008), leadership is one of the key aspects of management because leadership is a catalyst to the wellbeing of organisations. Major corporates have profited from leadership, great nations have been successfully developed based on effective and efficient leadership (Robbins & Counter, 2007). The success of nations is a result of leaders in organisations making things happen; therefore “leadership is a process of influencing groups to achieve goals” (Odumeru & Ifeanyi, 2013).

Two of the most prominent leadership theories are transformational and transactional leadership theories (Odumeru & Ifeanyi, 2013; Warrilow, 2012; Howell & Avolio, 1993; Hargis, Wyatt & Piotrowski, 2001).

Theorists are divided in their views as to whether transactional and transformational theories are conceptually different. Yet theorists agree that transformational leadership augments transactional leadership, thus enhancing transformational leadership to make a more significant difference when applied within an organisational context resulting in increased levels of organisational performance (Bass & Avolio, 1996; Howell & Avolio 1993; Lowe et al, 1996). However, Dittmar (2016) explains that transformational and transactional leadership should be seen as having an important role across the full range of the leadership continuum.

Transformational Leadership.

One of the pioneers of the concept of transformational and transactional leadership was James McGregor Burns. He defined transformational leadership as “an ongoing process by which leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of morality and motivation” (Burns,

1978, p. 20). Transformational leaders offer a purpose that transcends short-term goals and focuses on higher order intrinsic needs (Burns, 1978).

Following on from the work of Burns, Bernard Bass who believed transformational leadership was centered on how a leader influences followers and the need for the follower to trust, admire, and respect the transformational leader. Bass identified three ways in which a leader transforms followers: 1) Increasing awareness of task importance and value, 2) Encouraging a focus on team goals as opposed to their own interest, and 3) Activating higher-order needs (Bass, 1990). Bass built on Burns' concepts of transformational leadership by inventing the four 'I's' of leadership, Idealised influence, where followers want to emulate leaders' beliefs and values based on the role-modelling of the leader; Inspirational motivation where people and individuals who can be inspired by certain behaviours of the inspirational and passionate leader: Intellectual stimulation, a behavior within transformational leadership where the leader recognizes people have something to say and can contribute ideas to solve problems or help the organization grow; and Individualised consideration, where the leader is very interested in the people within the organization, understanding their skills and positioning people where their skills are best served based on the talent they bring to the organisation (Dittmar, 2016; Northhouse, 2013). Warrilow, (2012) supports the idea that concepts of leadership similarly describe transformational leadership styles as being charismatic and idealistic; inspirational and motivational; intellectually stimulating and focused on personal and individual attention of its followers.

According to Odumeru & Ifeanyi (2013), transformational leadership has its challenges, such as the potential for abuse as transformational leaders can manipulate their followers. Workers can become overworked and exploited, placing high amounts of pressure on followers to conform. Transformational leaders require a continuous feedback loop to ensure the objectives of the organisation are being met and ensure their workers are on track to achieve the organisation's objectives; this takes additional time to integrate this process, and leaders can lose power if followers disagree with decisions or the direction taken by transformational leaders (Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1996; Hargis, Wyatt & Piotrowski, 2001; Hay, 2012; Lowe, Kroeck & Sivasubramaniam, 1996; Warrilow, 2012; Yuki, 1999).

Transactional Leadership.

According to Burns (1978), transactional leadership occurs when one person initiates contact with others for the purpose of an exchange of valued things, whereas in transformational

leadership one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality.

Bass, Avolio and Atwater (1996) define transactional leadership as promoting efficiency using the chain of command to reduce risk. The leader is more than likely to be risk adverse which results in tightening of procedures and closer monitoring of staff performance. Approaches include being results orientated through the application of rules and regulations. Workers are rewarded when performance is satisfactory to the transaction leader, as motivation for workers to be efficient in achieving their tasks; passive management is when leaders' rules and guidelines are simple and strict with rigid directives and systematic approaches that clearly provide workers with the guidance they need (Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1996; Hargis, Wyatt & Piotrowski, 2001; Hay, 2012; Lowe, Kroeck & Sivasubramaniam, 1996).

Transactional leadership also has its challenges (Bass, Avolio & Atwater (1996), Dittmar, 2016; Northouse, Odumeru & Ifeanyi, 2013). It tends to be hands-off. Although transactional leadership is not as popular as transformational leadership, because of its transaction-type activity, it can be effective during situations where there is an emergency or an immediate response is needed (Dittmar, 2016).

Another type of leadership that is categorized under the transactional leadership theory is authoritarian leadership where all decision-making is contained with the power the leader holds. The intention of authoritarian leadership is to retain control, obedience, and compliance; workers can be threatened by some form of punishment for non-compliance. Authoritarian leadership has known to increase stress levels due to the expectation to work harder and faster. Authoritarian leaders are known to be emotionally detached from their workers and highly task orientated.

Transactional leadership differs from transformational leadership; however, they may be both required in the same organisation depending on the situation at hand.

A comparison of Transformational and Transactional leadership.

Transformational leaders are less likely to intervene when problems arise supporting their staff to use their initiative and collectivity to problem-solve, whereas transactional leaders are more likely to become directly involved with problems when they arise.

Transactional leadership structures are more suited to hierarchical systems which reinforce change of command whereas transformation leadership works well in linear management structures where leadership is located close to where workers are based.

Transformational leadership approaches support collaboration, whereas transactional leadership appeal more to self-interest. Transformational leaders reinforce motivation by building insight and creating feedback loops within their systems; whereas transactional leaders are not concerned with self-interest where workers are solely responsible for achieving their objectives and outcomes.

Both transformational and transactional leadership approaches are designed to respond to the specific needs of an organisation. Both types of leadership can be present in the same organisation at the same time depending on the situation and the leadership type that is needed to serve the needs of the organisations aims and goals (Lowe et al, 1996).

Servant Leadership.

Servant leadership is strongly associated with transformational leadership because of its attributes being closely aligned with transformational traits. Greenleaf (1973) considered Servant leadership as being ethical in nature. The attributes (discussed further below) associated with servant leadership include listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualisation, foresight, and stewardship, which all contribute to growth of people and the building of communities.

Northhouse (2013) conducted a thorough analysis of servant leadership approaches through a range of theorists' interpretations (Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006; Laub 1999; Sendjaya, Sarros & Santora, 2008). Their common view along with Northhouse (2013) highlight that there are strengths and challenges to servant leadership including connotations associated with the term "servant" which is perceived to reduce the value of servant leadership approach due to the focus being on the action of serving as opposed to the attributes associated with actions when applying servant leadership behaviour.

However according to Bass et al. (1996), authoritarian leadership can be effective in the context of servant leadership if used under correct circumstances. The intent of servant leadership is to also support the need to build organisational vision by achieving the dreams and aspirations of

the community being served (Bass et al, 1996; Tichy & Ulrich, 1984); this strengthens the association between transformational and servant leadership.

Servant and Authentic leadership share similar characteristics with transformational leadership. These are discussed here as possible leadership styles which resonate with Pacific leadership experiences. A well-known Samoan proverb links the duty of service to how one becomes a leader. According to Tamasese (2005), the Samoan proverb of “o le ala I le pule o le tautua” which translates to mean the pathway to leader is through service. The proverb describes a dedication of service to family, community, and church to gain the honour of leadership. Service is a selfless act, it is an act of putting others first (Ianuali, 2017).

Servant and authentic leadership theories have an ethical component that is largely based on the leader’s self and conceptual awareness, knowledge, and self-discipline in the leadership role (Northouse, 2013). Walumbwa et al. (2008) considers authentic leadership as being embedded in the leader’s affirmative qualities and strong ethics. Avolio and Gardner (2005) define authentic leadership as something that can be nurtured in a leader as leadership develops over time.

One of the key differences between servant and authentic leadership approaches is that unlike servant leadership, authentic leadership does not face the challenge of the actual term “servant” and its negative connotations.

According to McLeod (2008), leadership entails both process in the form of structures, and procedures and properties; specifically, qualities and characteristics. The characteristics of Greenleaf’s (1973) include a genuine and receptive approach to listening to the other is reinforced to ensure a deep commitment to others’ perspectives and contributions to the subject matter. Genuine listening also encompasses hearing one’s own inner voice coupled with periods of reflection.

Empathy is considered as a trait of a servant leader who understands and empathises with others. This relates to the need to accept and recognise people for their special and unique abilities and contribution. An empathetic leader assumes good intentions of workers and does not reject them even though there may be occasions where a servant leader refuses to accept certain behaviours and performance because workers may disagree with certain decisions.

The characteristic of healing is explained by Greenleaf (1973) as the powerful ability to heal broken relationships because of emotional suffering. Healing events can also help better understand how to avoid incidences where relationships are at risk of being broken.

Greenleaf highlights the need for servant leaders to be self-aware as well as being aware of the environment they operate in.

Persuasion is another characteristic of servant leadership according to Greenleaf (1973), who explains that there should be a reliance on persuasion as a form of influence as opposed to positional authority in making decisions. Servant leaders will use the ability to convince others rather than coerce colleagues, to seek consensus from within the group.

Servant leadership includes conceptualisation as an important characteristic. Identifying problems requires the ability for leadership, both governance and operational, to think beyond the status of an organisation. This will support leaders to be able to project potential needs, outcomes, or risk to the organisation. Conceptual leadership belongs to both governance and management leadership roles; however, it is important to ensure role clarification as this can lead to governance becoming more involved in operational decisions.

Greenleaf (1973) explores the attribute of foresight. He claims that foresight supports the leader to understand the learnings from the past, and how these learnings influence the realities of current and future scenarios.

Servant leaders are stewards, committed to the growth and development of people, recognizing their critical contribution as workers. This can range from taking a professional development approach, which may include identifying resources that can support staff to undertake studies, to taking a personal interest in ensuring staff are involved in decision-making.

The idea that Servant leadership has a role in building community invites leaders to consider means for building community capacity; this could include understanding how businesses and other institutions have a social role within their communities. According to Greenleaf (1977; 2002):

All that is needed to rebuild community as a viable life form for large numbers of people is for enough servant-leaders to show the way, not by mass movements, but by each servant-leader

demonstrating his or her unlimited liability for a quite specific community-related group. (Greenleaf, 1977; p. 53)

Building Trust Through Servant Leadership.

There is a strong association between Servant leadership and building trust. This is a key focus area of this study as it relates to the challenges Pacific public sector leaders face as they are employed by the public service. According to Greenleaf (1977), trust contributes to improving organisational in part the basis for improving. Research to date confirms that leadership, values, and trust are associated with improved work productivity (Reinke, 2004).

According to Daley and Vasu (1998; p. 62), “Trust establishes the framework for productivity. Trust creates an environment that encourages cooperation and allows employees to concentrate their attention on the task”. When workers feel there is a high level of trust between employee and employer, this is linked to job satisfaction (Daley & Vasu, 1998). When trust is enhanced, the environment creates opportunities for individuals to accurately identify and solve problems (Zand, 1972), increases the ability to negotiate for better outcomes (Butler, 1999), and enhances efficiency and use of initiative and flexibility (Sako, 1998), and organisational learning (Dodgson, 1993).

Building a trusting environment goes beyond the responsibility of the individual as it relies on the need for building communities of trust (Reinke, 2004). Building community is one of Greenleaf’s servant leadership principles. Fairholm and Fairholm (2000) discuss the need for organisations to build harmonious and collaborative teams through the instilling of trust principles by creating a culture that fosters a unique vision and set of principles that leads to followers understanding of what is expected of them (Luke, 1998). Schein (1996) suggests this is not an easy task as it takes time to eliminate dysfunction and undesirable behaviour and to a develop culture of strength and virtue.

According to Bennis (1993, p. 166), to build a trusting environment three things need to occur: 1) gaining trust; 2) expressing the vision clearly so that all not only understand but agree; and 3) persuading participation. Kotter (1992) suggest that to initiate a more trusting environment is to understand that building trusting leadership is more about culture than structure. Their studies reflect that organisation with strong cultures, based on shared values, outperform other firms by a huge margin (Fairholm & Fairholm, 2000, p. 2).

This study considers the environment in which Pacific public sector leaders aim to improve the status of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Pacific leaders rely on internal relationships, based on trust and transparency with colleagues to achieve the aspirations for Pacific people.

Theories on Power Within Leadership

Leaders possess power that allow them to lead followers. This study considers the types of power utilised in the public sector. According to French and Raven (1959), there are five bases of power: legitimate, reward, coercive, expert, and referent. A sixth base of power was later added: information power.

The different positions of power relate to how a leader leads and how a manager manages; it is dependent on how they adapt their leadership style and approach. Legitimate power is best used to describe the power held by presidents, managers, and team leaders appointed or elected to their leadership position. These roles usually come with titles and have proven delegation. Leadership responses such as reward relate to when a leader can take or give to their employee in a way that acknowledges whether the subordinate has performed well or not (Datta, 2014; Williams et al, 2003). Theories of reward also relate to when a leader enacts a response to the way subordinates have performed.

Coercion can result when the subordinate has not performed well and can involve direct threats to make them comply which could lead to a rebellion within the group. An example of coercion is present in the dynamic modes of leadership that exist in countries with a strict regime in political power (Datta, 2014; Williams, 2014). In an organisational context, coercion can result in disharmony within the organisational culture which has an impact on productivity as employees feel disgruntled and unmotivated. A group can influence leadership by the way they identify an expert leader. They can exercise their knowledge and skills by placing the leader into a strong position to lead a group of followers who seek their wisdom and knowledge. Referent power relates to the ability for leadership to gain trust of their followers. Reverent power it not what leaders can command of their followers, as it is earned over time by gaining trust. Information power was an addition to the original five power bases of French and Raven's (1959) theory.

Leaders can adapt their leadership style according to how their followers respond to their leadership approach. Williams et al. (2003) elaborates that in the case where the followers may

be ethnically diverse from the leader, the leader's approach should consider and understand the relevant cultural models of leadership.

The Ethical Leader.

Ethnical leaders such as Pacific leaders are sought after by the public service to provide specific knowledge that will contribute to the policy outcomes of the Government. One of the basic qualities of a leader is a combination of ethical and emotional intelligence, a quality that allows leaders to put themselves in the place of others, understand their concerns, and solve problems.

The study of ethical leadership is becoming more relevant, particularly as research focuses on why organisations have failed, and the role leadership has played in their demise. According to Moss (2002), as organisations have been crippled because they have not achieved outcomes for those who are impoverished or who are facing significant disparity, re-examination is required of the strategic direction and how ethical leadership can address risks to avoid a similar demise.

Mackie, Taylor, Finegold, Darr, and Singer (2006) reinforce that one of the greatest needs in the world is for charismatic leaders. According to Plinio, Young, and Lavery (2010), one of the most serious problems facing organisations is impoverished ethical behaviour and a lack of ethical leadership. Furthermore, the authors note that if trust in leadership is not present then trust is compromised.

Defining Ethical Leadership

Ethical leaders are those who focus on how their decisions impact on others. They use their power to serve the greater good as opposed to serving their own needs and objectives. Cumbo's (2009) definition of ethical leadership relates to leaders who live by their own values and at the same time motivate others by influencing them based on those values. According to Manz and Sims (1993), ethical leadership is defined as the values of acting with integrity, being fair, having fun, and acting socially responsible. Fin (1998) states that ethical leadership will reduce the risk of harm and ensure the positive outcomes can be maximised. Greenleaf (1977), a leader in the servant leadership theory, states that, "Service to followers is the primary responsibility of leaders and the essence of ethical leadership" (p. 20).

Other than displaying ethical behaviour, a further responsibility of ethical leaders is that their leadership will be critical in addressing conflict and showing their followers the right way (Heifetz, 2006). Sandel (2009) considers three approaches to ethical leadership, being utilitarianism theory where the leader maximises support to their followers; libertarianism theory where the leader protects the freedom of their followers; and Kant's ethical theory based on promoting the right way to do things regardless of what consequences may arise.

Integrity is held by many theorists to be one of the essential leadership traits and is strongly associated with ethical leadership theory. According to Frank (2002), ethical leadership thrives when leaders examine their own character, and their inner character is developed because of personal dilemmas, career setbacks, errors in judgement, and failures. Ward (2007) supports this theory, arguing that knowing the leader's true self is an ethical task where leaders develop spiritually, in contrast to ethical leadership being developed in a scientific manner. Lewis (1944) considers that ethical leadership must be learned with the knowledge being applied to everyday life.

Malphurs (2004) reinforces that a leader grows through their actions and experience that is practiced in their role as leader, refining and learning from how to do things better for their followers who are keenly watching what the leader does as opposed to what they say. According to King (2008), there are eight common behaviours of ethical leadership: honesty, loyalty, dedication to purpose, benevolence, social justice, strength of character, humility, and patience (p.719): as such, based on these behaviours, ethics derives from a place of faith.

The purpose of Pacific leaders within the public service is to enable policy changes that will support improved outcomes for Pacific people. In my view the approach required to achieve improved outcomes will rely on an ethical approach in the way in which decisions are made by leaders who hold the power to role-model ethical behaviour but also to make ethical decisions.

Followership

According to Ricketson's (2008) exploration of the relationships of leadership styles and dimensions of courageous followership, leaders and followers are bound together in emotional relationships that are interdependent. However, in a highly changing world that is becoming more technologically savvy, leaders are no longer the sole keeper of knowledge as information

has become more readily available (Kellerman, 2009). This results in the lines between leader and follower becoming more distorted as followers know as much as leaders at any given time due to the speed of which information is available. As leaders possess characteristics of leadership, so do followers. Chaleff (1995) explores the concept of followership by highlighting five characteristics: assuming responsibility; serving; challenging; participating in transformation; and taking moral action. Although these characteristics are assigned to the role of follower, they are like those of a leader with the difference being that the follower plays a subordinate role.

According to Binney, Wilke, and Williams (2009), leadership and followership are processes that create working relationships. Those relationships form the basis of cooperation between the leader and follower. The follower may also have relationships with other subordinates in different contexts (Martin 2013, Winston 2012). According to Chaleff (1995), Kelley (1992), and Kellerman (2009), mutual trust is the basis of the relationship between a leader and followers. The establishment of trust ensures that the leader and follower can build their relationship on a solid foundation, with mutual trust being a key enabler of the relationship.

For leaders, influencing their followers in a way that is ethical presents some considerations in the way the leader interacts with the follower. According to Marcy, Gentry, and McKinnon (2008), organisational trust between leaders and followers is a growing concern. A contributing factor to this is when there is a disconnect between what leaders say they will do and the reality of their actions. Moreno (2010) reinforces that ethical leadership is achievable through influencing the followers by being consistent with proper actions and ensuring there is a moral approach to all that is done. Another way of influencing followers from an ethical leadership perspective is to utilise narrative storytelling, life experiences, metaphors, and proverbs (Ward, 2005); this ensures that informal as well as formal approaches to reasoning are being utilised. Nekoranec (2009) reinforces that ethical leader must personalise the values being reinforced through their leadership and that this will contribute to win-win outcomes. Kaptein, Huberts, Avelino and Lasthuizen (2005) suggest that to self-measure the effectiveness of their leadership is to gain the greatest insight into the impact their leadership has on their followers; leaders may want to engage their staff in surveying to consider ways their leadership can be enhanced.

This study considers Pacific leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. The public sector is predominantly governed by Western theories in the way the public sector runs its

business. This can present challenges for Pacific leaders as they attempt to integrate cultural ways of leadership into the spaces they hold in the public sector.

Authentic Leadership

According to Hannah et al. (2011), authentic leadership occurs when a leader practices their beliefs in a moral approach to leadership; when leaders display authentic values followers are more encouraged to follow. An authentic leader is more likely to “openly and objectively analyse information before making decisions (Hannah et al., 2011, p. 562). A further characteristic held by the authentic leader/follower is the courage to challenge the leader when his or her decision is wrong (Chaleff, 1995).

Emotional Intelligence is a theory aligned to authentic leadership theory. It is a set of interrelated skills that provide the ability for the leader to “perceive accurately and appraise expression, emotion and emotional knowledge; regulate emotions and to promote emotional and intellectual growth (Mayer & Salovey, 1997; p. 10).

According to Goldman (1998), emotional intelligence consists of four domains: self-awareness; self-management; social awareness; and relationship management. Wolff (2005) explores further the domain of relationship management as consisting of leaders who develop others, are change catalysts, and encourage teamwork and collaboration.

Authentic leadership is needed to address issues for Pacific communities, as challenging the status quo is required to support and improve Pacific outcomes. Transparency is encouraged through authentic leadership approaches as information and decisions are more openly analysed amongst the stakeholders. While this is the ideal, Pacific experts are engaged in the policy process as they hold specialised knowledge that will bring a Pacific worldview to the policy setting. The need to challenge can see the leader or follower expressing emotions through their leadership process. Authentic leaders can recognise and regulate their emotions to display appropriate levels of emotional intelligence. The knowledge Pacific leaders hold in addition to policy and governance knowledge, is cultural knowledge. Cultural knowledge is learnt through the understanding of oneself. This supports the Pacific leader to provide an authentic account of the Pacific worldview (Peus, Wesche, Streicher, Braun & Grey, 2011). In sharing and deliberating on their Pacific perspectives, leaders will possess a mix of emotional

and cognitive skills (Thor & Johnson, 2011) built from the knowledge of cultural protocols and norms.

The purpose of having Pacific leaders in the public sector is to encourage and support the sector to take a strong moralistic approach to ensuring Pacific people's outcomes are addressed. Pacific leaders must be of courageous character as they will need to respond openly and objectively, which may create challenges to establish relationships with key people in power.

The Influences on Leaders and Their Leadership

Where Leaders Lead.

Leaders lead in different environments which may alter the way in which they lead. It is possible that leaders may need to lead groups with similar characteristics but in different locations which may affect their leadership style. Leaders may play dual roles in leading in the operations of an organisation or this may occur in participating on a governance Board.

To understand what leadership is, it is important to understand where leadership practices occur. According to Jackson and Parry (2011), the place where leadership happens shapes how leadership is understood within a given context. Understanding where leadership occurs relates to the ideas of culture and the connectedness of population groups to a place that supports their identity, emotional attachment, and sense of belonging (Collinge et al., 2010).

Agnew (2011) discusses the distinction between two "locations", proposing the idea that location represents where a particular place is, and that "local" defines the material setting for social relations to be created in. Agnew then defines a "sense of place" as being the emotional attachment people have to a place (Jackson & Parry, 2011; p.105). From an indigenous and/or migrant perspective, place has important connotations for how people place a stake in the ground in terms of being grounded in their identity, behaviours, and cultural practices.

Given Agnew's claims, representation of leadership from communities where there is an emotional attachment is important. The knowledge of those communities being led is important and should be a consideration when identifying how views and perspectives of groups are represented, for example, in a public service setting. Castell (2000) proposes the existence of privileged spaces where global dominant networks are represented; he refers to this as "spaces

of flow”, whereas “spaces of places” represents those populations who are excluded due to not being part of the global networks.

According to Murray and Overtoun (2005) and Harm de Blij (2009), geography is becoming more important in the context of leadership as globally and locally there is a recognition of the need to seriously consider how the location where leadership occurs is becoming more relevant in the leadership space.

Through migration, Pacific people born in the Pacific have become displaced from where the authentic place of where traditional knowledge and practices originated from. Despite this, Pacific migrants have held on to their cultural capital by ensuring language and knowledge is passed on to their Aotearoa-New Zealand-born children. The places such as Pacific churches and community groups have been instrumental in ensuring Pacific culture thrives in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Behaviour Theory

While there is extensive literature on the behavioural traits in leaders, there is a scarcity of research on how to better understand the relationship behaviour and personality traits. Theorists highlight the idea that there is a need for further research on leader personality, concepts, and constructs (Avolio et al, 2005; Bass, 1985; Bolden et al, 2011). Exploring further understanding in personality, behaviour, cognition, motivation, and social processes are key influences on the body of leadership literature (Avolio et al, 2005; Bass et al, 2006; Yuki, 2012).

Social Psychology in the context of leadership is “an attempt to understand and explain how the thoughts, feelings, behaviour of individuals are influenced by the actual imagined or implied presence of other human beings” (Allport, 1954, p. 3).

Behavioural theory, according to Allport (1954), derives from the attitudes and thoughts of leaders. According to behavioural theorists, how leaders lead can often influence followers (Allport, 1954; Hodges, 2017; Guadagno & Cialdini, 2009). Leaders and followers aspire to achieve goals that will support sustainable development and growth; therefore, the thoughts of leaders influence their own behaviours (Harper, 2012, Malik et al, 2016).

Clarifying the different roles and responsibilities within an organisation can support the need for an organised approach towards achieving common goals. There is significant evidence to

support the need to understand the difference between a manager and a leader (Datta, 2014). Understanding the traits of a manager compared to those of a leader starts with understanding what their prospective goals are for the organisation. The personality styles between a leader and manager tend to be different in that a leader will display a strong sense of charisma and imagination to lead people, they are often comfortable with taking risks, while a manager requires a lot of rationality for making decisions as their focus is often on resources, goals, and structures (Harper, 2015). Leaders tend to be more participative, consultative, and transformational in nature, whereas the manager is more task-orientated, able to delegate, dictate, and is more authoritarian because their role is to plan, control, and direct the procedures towards an outcome (Harper, 2015).

According to Harper (2015), the role of the leader is to be more strategic and visionary, challenging the status quo, particularly if there is a non-achievement of outcome. They are likely to want to do the right thing by designing change. A manager will be concerned with promoting change, consolidating, and building the organisation through planning and budgeting. In contrast to a leader, they tend to reflect on the status quo (Harper, 2015).

While it could be assumed that certain personality traits are linked to the behaviours of successful leaders (and managers), there is limited literature that focuses on a non-Western understanding. The inter-relationship between behaviour and personality traits within a Pacific context is further discussed later in this chapter.

Pacific leaders bring into their roles leadership traits that are based on the environments they have been raised within such as extended family, church, and community spaces. These environments reinforce collectivity, reciprocity, and respect which are discussed in the next chapter in more depth, and at times can be in contradiction to the behaviours present in the public sector.

Governance Theory.

This section discusses the range of definitions of governance and management. Despite huge efforts to define what governance is, there continues to be confusion as to what constitutes governance (Kohler-Koch & Rittenberger, 2006). Therefore, the definitions of governance and management are wide ranging, but these attempt to cover global, international, national, and local definitions (Aminuzzaman, 2010; p. 19).

Theorists have defined governance as a process that steers, commands, provides directives, and develops policies (Roseneau & Czempiel, 1992). Governance can be considered in the context of globalisation where governance structures become mechanisms of control that consider histories, goals, structures, and processes (Roseneau, 2001).

Engaging citizens and communities in the act of identifying solutions is critical to understanding how communities view what services and programmes could be adapted into their communities. Graham et al. (2003) consider the power and responsibilities exercised and how citizens and other stakeholders are engaged to have their say. Kooiman (2002) defines governance as a critical function that must support the public and private engagement in the process of problem-solving, whereas Welin (2003) highlights the range of multi-organisational actors who must be engaged in the wealth or poverty of any nation.

According to Schillemans (2011), governance links with the concept of accountability and focuses on the accountability process (Schillemans, 2011). However, governance can damage the integrity of leadership processes, in that political influence and bureaucratic control can be blamed for conditions of massive poverty, corruption, economic failure, political instability, and violation of human rights (Jreisat, 2004). Farazmand (2012) defines governance in three ways, the good, the bad and the ugly.

The challenges experienced by governance led to theorists considering the need to define “good governance”. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) – an intergovernmental economic organisation with 36 member countries, founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade – defines good governance as essential to sustaining an environment; it fosters strong and equitable development with sound policies and political accountability (United Nations Development Programme, 1997). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1997 defined good governance as equal participation of all citizens in decision-making, ensuring transparent accountability and equitable decision-making.

However,, despite the focus on improving governance performance, governance theorist Farazmand (2012) concludes that the focus of good governance is still focused globally and internationally as opposed to having a more domestic focus; this means that there is a lack of understanding of how a global and internal approach to governance real impact on local and domestic communities has to ensure genuine help for people at a local level. Farazmand

supports the concept of “sound governance”. It is Farazmand’s view that sound governance represents the need to ensure institutional and constitutional frameworks consider civil society so that citizens are engaged and were able to participate inclusively in decision-making processes (Farazmand, 2012).

Aotearoa-New Zealand is ranked highly on the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), which assesses performance on six dimensions of governance: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption (Gregory, 2013).

If, however, effectiveness of governance was based on the outcomes of public achievement, then measuring the effectiveness of governance structures based on how equitable measures are achieved could raise questions about its effectiveness in addressing poverty in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Poverty has become a significant focus for New Zealand’s political administration, with a new coalition government formed between the Labour, Greens, and New Zealand First parties in 2018. Significant poverty has occurred in Aotearoa-New Zealand with unemployment, homelessness, and a housing crisis being high on the priority list for the new coalition. The coalition’s blueprint, which is their high-level plan, includes a focus on these three key priority areas to “Building a productive, sustainable and inclusive economy'. There are commitments to grow and share Aotearoa-New Zealand's prosperity; deliver responsible governance with a broader measure of success; support thriving and sustainable regions; and transition to a clean, green, and carbon-neutral Aotearoa-New Zealand (NZ Government, 2018).

The 2017 election in Aotearoa-New Zealand resulted in eight Pacific members of Parliament being elected from the Labour Party list. This is a significant achievement for Pacific communities as it presents a solid proportion of the Aotearoa-New Zealand House but highlights that Pacific communities continue to have a strong-hold on the political agenda in New Zealand. This is likely to be because Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand understand the political environment and how having a strong-hold of Pacific leadership will eventually improve their socio-economic status.

Governance plays a pivotal role in the lives of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand because the reliance is on Pacific leaders to represent the worldview and perspectives of Pacific people

across governance boards. This study considers the experiences of Pacific leaders who have a range of experiences including sitting on governance boards representing Pacific perspectives.

Ethnic Leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector.

In Aotearoa-New Zealand, the Māori term Pakeha is adopted to represent New Zealanders of European descent (Addy, 2008). The term is used to “make visible” the invisible “race” of white New Zealanders. Aotearoa-New Zealand and parts of the Pacific have had similar experiences of white privilege and colonial history over time. According to Spoonley (1993), oppression is present in Aotearoa-New Zealand and is highlighted in the issues of society today as the indigenous people of Aotearoa are alienated from resources and traditions. Consedine and Consedine (2005) explain:

In New Zealand white privilege evolved in colonial times where structures were put in place that were designed to meet the needs of Pakeha settlers. Immigration, assimilation, and integration policies directly benefited Pakeha and marginalised Māori, yet these systemic structural benefits remain “invisible” to most Pakeha. (p. 200)

The colonial history of Aotearoa-New Zealand illustrates the harsh nature of take-over by the white settlers in that there was only one law and language that were perceived to matter, one way to make decisions and one way to organise education, healthcare, and justice systems (Addy 2008); this was known as “the white way” (Consedine & Consedine, 2005, p. 209). In all aspects of life Māori were expected to learn the Pakeha way, but Pakeha did not expect to learn the Māori way (Addy, 2008).

A range of theorists examine the possibilities of approaches to addressing white privilege. Waldegrave (1998) suggests that although white privilege is, in some respects, seen to be unintentional, the dominance of Pakeha values and norms allow the continued process of colonisation. He argues that teachers and theorists (p. 412) have a role and responsibility to influence and avoid replicating existing societal attitudes and power imbalances. Kincheloe, Steinberg Rodrigueaz and Chennault (1998) and Lago (2006) suggest that an initial step to address the implications of white privilege silence, is to shift thinking from denial to ownership, which is seen to be a huge challenge, particularly in cases where bias is unconscious.

Part of the focus for discussion on how decisions are made in the public service, and by whom, is to assist in better understanding the context behind who is making the decisions for Pacific

communities. Pacific leadership roles are charged with the responsibility, by their Pacific communities and employers, of adding a cultural lens to decisions being made. But once information is transferred or integrated, there remains the risk of decisions being diluted by a cultural lens other than Pacific.

Furthermore, despite the existence of Pacific strategies across government agencies in New Zealand, the question lies as to how effective these plans have been and where the true problem lies in not achieving more positive outcomes for Pacific people.

Part of the problem is acknowledged to be the application of non-Pacific attitudes to addressing inequalities (Medical Council of New Zealand, 2010). Attitudes towards addressing inequalities for Pacific people can determine whether those inequalities continue to exist or not. This is where the problem lies for Pacific leaders and their teams, as they do not have sufficient capacity to gain mileage in ensuring that a Pacific perspective is driven through a policy setting. Pacific people have little choice but to rely on their non-Pacific colleagues for support to achieve outcomes. Rothenberg (2005) describes white privilege as “the other side of racism”.

Understanding the root cause of inequality requires digging deeper into the causes of inequalities which is why it is important to discuss the concepts of white privilege, unconscious bias, and implicit bias in the context of this study.

There are a range of definitions that explain what white privilege is. These include the unearned advantages of having light skin (Dyer, 1997; Lago, 2006; Sue, 2006; Tuckwell, 2002; 2006). According to Consedine and Consedine (2005), racism assumes that one culture has the right, power, and authority to define “normality”. Dyer (1997) and Macintosh (2006) highlight that in the context of white privilege whiteness is considered neutral and normative, whereas “Raced” people are sought to speak only for their race and not for people in general. According to Akaatsu (2002) and Dyer (2005), the dominant position of white privilege relates to the numerous unearned privileges and advantages that are so ingrained in white culture it is invisible and unfelt by those who benefit from them. One way or opportunity to address the challenges of behaviours in leadership is to think about and acknowledge how a space can be created for addressing cultural racism and inequities present in society.

According to Tate and Page (2018), unconscious bias has historically been considered as verbal acts of “unwitting racism”; today unconscious bias is defined more explicitly as judgements

without realising that biases can be influenced by background, cultural environment, and experiences. Thus, those who are judging and assessing may not be aware of their views and opinions towards others.

According to Saul's (2013) work on implicit bias and stereotypical behaviour, implicit bias is defined as unconscious biases that affect the way we perceive, evaluate, or interact with people from the groups that our biases target (p. 40).

This study considers the environment Pacific leaders work within. Pacific leaders work within environments where implicit bias and stereotypical judgements are made upon Pacific people. Pacific leaders have had to find ways to deal with the behaviour as it is at times unconscious bias. This has implications for how safe Pacific people feel within the public sector environment.

Leadership Challenges

The Effects of Institutional Discrimination

Racism is a dynamic phenomenon that leads to racial and ethnic disparities and variations in outcomes within minority groups (Anderson, 1989; Clark et al., 1999; Mays et al., 2007; Paradies, 2006; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). According to Brondolo et al. (2009), racist actions or behaviour occur on a weekly basis for some groups.

Ethnic maltreatment can include behaviour that results in exclusion, workplace discrimination, stigmatisation, and physical threat and harassment (Brondolo et al., 2005; Contrada et al., 2001). Eliminating racism and its effects requires interventions at all levels, from families and communities to government agencies and politicians (Brondolo et al., 2009).

Social Exclusion and Leadership

Social exclusion includes a range of interactions which aim to ignore people of different ethnicities or race (De Lima, 2003). Stigmatisation can be in the form of verbal and non-verbal behaviour. This can be directed at a person from a different ethnic group or race where a message that is communicated demeans the targeted person; for example, by communicating the idea that the person is lazy or stupid because they belong to a particular racial or ethnic group (Brondolo et al., 2009). Structural or workplace discrimination can include lowered expectations of people of a particular race or ethnicity, which can then lead to discouragement

in promoting or hiring a person because of their race or ethnicity (Brondolo et al., 2009). This can lead to occupational segregation where entry level or low paid roles are taken up predominantly by those of a particular race or ethnicity. These discriminatory acts can appear overtly, where racial bias is made explicit, or covertly where racial bias is not direct but implicit (Taylor & Grundy, 1996).

Racism and Discrimination in Aotearoa-New Zealand

When addressing the stress factor associated with racism, several models have described the way racism impacts on health impairment (Anderson, 1989; Clark et al., 1999; Harrell et al., 1998; Krieger, 1999; Mays et al., 2007; Outlaw, 1993; Williams et al., 2003). These models consider the effects of racism on individuals based on ethnic-related behaviour. The environmental conditions are important for understanding how individuals may not have access to coping resources because of their socio-economic context. An example of this is a potential lack of access to appropriate counselling support via primary and social service providers who would be able to accommodate for the individual's worldview and language.

Individuals who have been targeted with racist behaviour can experience emotional consequences of painful feelings such as anger, nervousness, sadness, and hopelessness. These emotions can have an impact on other relationships surrounding the individual, extending to family and friends who may require additional coping efforts and support (Mays et al., 2007). There is a need for people of ethnic minority cultures to develop a range of racism-related effective coping strategies, but it has been acknowledged that this would be difficult to achieve (Cheng, 2003). Dealing with both individual and organisational covert and overt episodes of racism may require two different approaches that are systemic in nature but also rely on organisational leadership at the highest level.

A study undertaken by Harris et al. (2018) considered racism in Aotearoa-New Zealand over time using national survey data. The results revealed that Asians, Māori, and Pacific people reported the highest incidence of racism with Europeans reporting the lowest rates. Asians born overseas experienced a higher level of racism than those born in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The study concluded that racism among non-European groups continues with potential negative effects on ethnic health inequities (Harris et al., 2018).

Numerous attempts have been made by government administration to address the needs of ethnic minorities in the labour market both nationally and internationally. According to the

United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 2 (1) (c) declares that:

Each State party shall take effective measures to review governmental, national, and local policies and to amend, rescind or nullify any laws and regulations which have the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination wherever it exists.

In 2010, the Business Aotearoa-New Zealand Chief Executive Phil O-Reilly was quoted as saying: “If Māori and Pacific people do not succeed in the next twenty years, Aotearoa-New Zealand will fail as a nation. It’s that simple” (Macdonald & Welham, 2010).

In 2006, the State Services Commission reported on the failure to meet diversity objectives set out in the 2001 Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) Policy. These objectives were aimed at eliminating all forms of unfair discrimination within employment and were to be achieved through the delivery of programmes that would support access to equal opportunities. This would support better access to work, offer greater career opportunities, encourage participation of designated groups and all employees, promote procedural fairness integrated in human resources strategies systems, and improve overall practices and employment of EEO groups in the workplace (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

Recruitment procedures determine who and how people are engaged in a process when being considered for a role within an organisation. The Human Rights Commission (2012) reported that recruiters are likely to appoint people like themselves. Literature prepared by the State Services Commission found that the Social Psychology literature emphasises the tendency for a dominant group to appoint and listen to people more like themselves, often being unaware of their bias (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

Good practice to promote diversity includes a combination of factors including mentoring, training for management, organisational diversity review, and ongoing monitoring, leadership, and resourcing by ensuring policy is designed with diverse groups in mind (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

Systemic Racism

Came & Humphries (2014) in their paper “Mopping up Institutional Racism” focus on how institutional racism manifests within the public health policy and funding processes. Came and

Humphries discuss the moral integrity of Managers as a conduit to social transformation which considers actions by corporate citizens to wipe out institutionalised practices.

Came and Humphries highlight several key points in their paper: 1) the location of critical race theory as it relates to the context of institutional racism; and 2) a multi-level anti-racism intervention framework informed by systems theory. Came & Humphries explore the policymaking and funding practices in depth as they identify policy sites of racism under the headings of first, second, third, fourth and fifth sites of racism (Came and Humphries, 2014).

The first site of racism is tyranny of the majority: this explores the experiences of Came's research participants who describe their minority position being the only Māori person around the policy table advocating for a focus on inequalities, thus a single voice.

The second site of racism is incomplete evidence. Came refers to the explicit exclusion and misuse of indigenous evidence which continues to be regarded as less reliable than Western or bio-medical evidence; this can include inaccurate collection processes of data that misinform the truth about a population group.

The third site of racism, cultural and political competence, occurs when mono-cultural practices are seen to be acceptable with a lack of capacity or guidance available to Crown policy makers who are trained in Western contexts.

The fourth site of racism is flawed consultation process. According to Came and Humphries (2014) flawed consultation processes relate to when the public service does not acknowledge cultural protocols when organising consultation with community groups, or when those with lived experience of the topic are not engaged in the consultation ensuring feedback is specific and informed.

The fifth site of racism relates to exists within the policy sign-off process, relates to the dilution of decision-making processes in which Māori perspectives are excluded, undermined, and seen to be insignificant.

Came & Humphries (2014) explain the context of dilution of indigenous input until the policy has little reference to indigenous realities. From a funding perspective, historical contracts are not accessible to Māori providers (Bloomfield & Logan, 2003). Mainstream providers are not being monitored for their service delivery, in some situations, to the same extent as Māori

providers, or monitored for equity. Thus, in terms of the second site of racism, the service specifications are monocultural in their context.

Pacific leaders working in government policy and funding institutions will be familiar with the policy and funding systems in government agencies. It is the policy and funding systems that determine where resources are allocated; therefore, that is where significant power exists in decision-making. Pacific leaders are part of the system but may not have access to the level of knowledge needed to understand these systems, so they are not easily able to navigate and ensure resources are allocated in favour of Pacific people and their communities.

Theory of Intersectionality

According to Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality is defined as the intersection of multiple acts of discrimination and oppression. The acts form overlapping characteristics that can then become multiple forms of discrimination. The analogy Crenshaw uses to illustrate her theory on intersectionality is that of intersecting roads. Examples of discriminatory and/or oppressive acts include forms of racism including, but not exclusive to, institutional, habitual, and structural racism, occupational segregation, and sexism. Crenshaw highlights that the intersection creates double disadvantage or double discrimination for African American women living in the United States of America. The theory further explores how anti-feminist and racist laws and policies have decreased the visibility of violence against women of colour in the USA. Crenshaw refers to this as political intersectionality.

An example of political intersectionality in Aotearoa-New Zealand relates to the lobbying for pay equity; the focus is broadly on women in Aotearoa-New Zealand being given pay equity in accordance with what white men earn for the same work.

However, as highlighted in the data presented by the State Services Commission (which is discussed later in this study), there are also pay equity issues between what European women, Pacific, Asian, and Māori women are paid. Intersectionality, therefore, is relevant to Pacific people's experiences in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Framing Pacific people's experiences within the constructs of intersectionality is valid as Crenshaw's (1989) definition of intersectionality accurately describes the complex challenges for Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand where acts of racism and discrimination intersect.

The Challenges Faced by the Pacific Workforce.

The concept of motivation in the context of leadership has been the focus of many theorists. For any public service, having a healthy and satisfied workforce is essential to good performance, commitment to the organisational goals, and low absenteeism (Castaing, 2006; Grant, 2008; Vandemabeele, 2009; Van den Broeck et al., 2008).

Wellbeing of the workforce has both positive and negative connotations in that outcome such as job satisfaction and happiness highlight positive responses (Bakker & Demerouti, 2006), whereas burnout and overload that are a consequence of high work pressure and emotional demands are symptomatic of low wellbeing (Grant & Campbell, 2007; Maslach et al., 2001).

Scott (2001) claims that employee attitudes are not only determined by employees' beliefs, values, and experiences, they are determined by their environment. Hasenfield (1972) makes the distinction between two theories: people-changing and people-processing. People processing organisations aim to classify or redistribute, whereas people-changing organisations tend to need more intense contact that is aimed at changing behaviour.

According to Vandemabeele (2009), Crewson (1997), and Wright and Pandey (2010), the more one is motivated to serve society the more one feels satisfied with the job and the more one is committed to the organisation. According to DiIulio (1994) and Steen and Rugers (2011), motivation to serve society and sacrifice oneself can cause a negative effect on wellbeing because employees go beyond the call of duty and may place significant pressure on the resources, they have available to them.

According to Blau (1960) and Buchanan (1975), leaders can be motivated to serve when their values are aligned within the environment, they lead in. Leaders can be faced with barriers when administrative expectations are counter-productive to the way leaders want to lead. Unrealistic workload expectation and red tape are examples of the barriers leaders may experience that prevent them from being effective leaders (Glauque et al., 2013; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, 2012; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007).

This study considers the barriers Pacific leaders in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector work within. Not having sufficient resources to achieve the aims and objectives for Pacific people can result in Pacific communities continuing to experience poor outcomes.

Building Leadership

Initiatives to build Pacific leadership are needed. Apprenticeships and mentoring are two ways that this could be achieved.

Apprenticeships

According to a range of theorists, apprenticeships appeal to individuals who want to consider developing their skills (The Guardian, 2010; Wolf, 2011) with generally high levels of interest by people who see apprenticeships as an option to fulfil their developmental needs (Diamond et al 2010; Tue et al 2011).

According to Fuller and Davey (2019), participation of apprenticeship can reflect a low uptake of minority ethnic groups because confidence levels may not support active participation in apprenticeships or that criteria is unachievable. Anderson et al. (2010) considers that the way to improve the participation of disadvantaged groups in apprenticeships is to design flexible programmes that have been proven to increase participation amongst disengaged groups.

The employer plays a vital role in the apprenticeship process. Larger organisations in the UK are more commonly engaged in apprenticeships due to the infrastructural support that can be provided by larger staffing numbers that support the apprentices (Shury et al., 2011; UKCES 2010;) although smaller organisations have been known to engage in apprenticeship schemes to help build the workforce, particularly in times of high demand.

Other benefits for employers of having apprentices include the opportunity to instill the values and culture of the organisation, develop the skills of the future workforce, and build the future skill set needs of the business (Elston & James, 2011; Gambin et al., 2011).

Past research also explores the barriers to gaining apprenticeships. According to Elston and James (2011), employers often report that they do not need the level of skills provided through apprenticeships. Other reasons given include the cost of supporting an apprenticeship, the administrative burden, time spent on supervising apprenticeships, and the time that the apprentice spends away from the workplace. Theorists believe the quality and value of the apprenticeship programmes are critical to its success, and that this can differ from one organisation to the next (Grindrod & Murray, 2011; James, 2010; Keep & James, 2011).

Apprenticeships usually have an end period where the apprentice needs to consider their next steps. Beyond apprenticeships, further study or higher education or successful recruitment into full-time employment can be options at the end of an apprenticeship (Gambin et al., 2012). Research suggests that progression beyond the apprenticeship is well sign-posted and apprentices' awareness of those signposts is supported.

Term and conditions of apprenticeships relating to paying the wages have been examined in research. Apprenticeship income surveys have been carried out by Elston and James, (2011); Lawton and Norris, (2010); Fog and Phelps (2008), and Tu et al. (2012). The evidence discovered a difference across agencies in the way of average pay levels and terms of employers' views on conditions. The evidence also identified a gender-related pay gap where there was a large representation of women apprentices who were undertaking their apprenticeships in lower paying sectors. Where there was a cost-benefit analysis undertaken, evidence suggests that there are positive returns for both the apprentice, in the form of enhanced experience and opportunities to grow and extend their knowledge, and for employers where the returns have been an investment in contributing to the industry growth, experience, and knowledge (Gambin et al., 2012).

Mentoring

Chu's (2000) PhD examines Mentoring for Leadership in Pacific education strategy. Chu's study focuses on mentoring as a way of successfully facilitating Pacific students' leadership development. Chu's study highlights various constructs of leadership themes including transformation, authentic and servant leadership styles as being relevant in the context of Pacific leadership approaches. Chu's research is focused on leadership development for Pacific people in the tertiary education sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Chu employs an Appreciate Inquiry approach utilising four cases studies.

Chapter Summary

This study considers Pacific leadership and the challenges faced by Pacific leaders in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. The Leadership chapter focused on Western theories of Leadership. The definitions of leadership are wide-ranging, there are many contexts and theories. The chapter discussed how leadership influences followers to achieve common goals and is a dynamic process of action and explored leader attributes, behaviours, and traits and

how these influence followers who have similar beliefs and values as the leaders they follow. The power involved in leadership was considered, as was how power can vary depending on the type of leadership being displayed by the leader. Ethical leadership theory showed where ethical leaders possess personal integrity that influences followers. Theories of transformational and transactional leadership were explored with a focus on servant leadership. Where leaders explore the importance of having a localised approach to leadership, this approach was also shown to influence how leaders lead their communities to respond with solutions to issues. The chapter considered differences between leadership in governance and leadership in management. The theory of intersectionality was presented to describe the multiple challenges faced by Pacific people, where the socio-economic challenges intersect. Finally, the chapter considered how leadership can be built through various mechanisms such as mentoring and apprenticeship.

CHAPTER FOUR: PACIFIC LEADERSHIP

“Globally young people are claiming leadership in climate change consciousness and activism, and we have already seen young Pacific people emerge as key global leaders. The Pacific voice is powerful, articulate and authentic: when people are quite closely connected to their means of production – to the fisheries, to the gardens that sustain their lives – they notice and understand climate change in ways that are really profound”.

(Damon Salesa, Pro-vice Chancellor, Associate Professor of Pacific Studies, University of Auckland, 2021).

Pacific leaders in the public sector have acted as conduit between the sector and Pacific community. The research question for this study is “What are the experiences of Pacific leaders who are in Pacific public sector roles in Aotearoa-New Zealand?” The study aims to understand the challenges Pacific people face when in a leadership role within the public sector and their relationships with the Pacific communities they serve. The study aims to identify ways in which Pacific outcomes can be improved through better utilisation of the role of Pacific leadership.

This chapter focuses on Pacific leaders and leadership. The chapter begins by focusing on culture and leadership, and the attributes and characteristics of Pacific leaders and consideration of chieftainship. The focus then shifts to Pacific leadership theory in relation to how Pacific leaders learn to be leaders, the vision for Pacific leaders and where leadership occurs, as well as a focus on how Pacific people are supported to be leaders through their cultural upbringing. I also share my own experiences of being raised in Pacific environments such as family and church. The research then considers where leadership occurs, as in governance and the Aotearoa-New Zealand government. The final section considers the challenges for Pacific leaders and leadership.

Culture and Leadership

There are several ways to consider culture in the context of leadership theory. In this section, I consider culture as it applies to non-traditional, non-Western theories. Pacific leadership theory is discussed later in this section.

Leadership diversity is a new focus for leadership theory. Wilkinson and Pickett (2007) elaborate on leadership and diversity by acknowledging the role diversity plays in ensuring the perspectives of people who experience inequities and social stigma – either more, less or the same as other population groups – and how these issues are considered within the policy setting.

Cultural identification constitutes the ways in which people identify their unique heritage, place of birth, or place of belonging. There is strong evidence to support the vital role culture plays within the leadership paradigm, locally, nationally, and globally (Ah Chong & Thomas, 1997; Bass, 1985; Hofstede, 1980; Owusu, 2012; & Trompeneer et al., 1997).

Bass (1985), Hofstede (1980), House (2004), and Trompeneer (1997) highlight the need for organisations to focus on the importance of understanding the cross-cultural values of their business partners and employees, to maximise the interaction between the leader and those who are being led. They all focus on the need to empower the transactions between cultural paradigms so that leadership becomes an effective process. There are subtle variations between their models.

Of all the studies examined by Hofstede (1980), House (2004), and Trompeneer (1997), there is lack of evidence in relation to how their models, paradigms, and thinking are contextualised for the Pacific. Links can, however, be made to the works carried out by Sanga (2004), Paea (2009), and Macpherson (2004) who reinforce how important it is to acknowledge culture within leadership. Den, Hartog, and Dickson (2004), Guthney and Jackson (2011), and Jackson and Parry (2011) also support the idea of looking at leadership from a culturally based perspective.

Western leadership theory tends to dominate the stage in relation to defining and understanding the many strands of leadership. Jackson and Parry (2011) believe that leadership is overtly seen through the context of westernisation, which limits the ability for leadership to be considered within a cross cultural context. Ciulla (1993) suggests the focus should be on how leadership can be understood rather than what leadership is.

The literature reinforces the notion that diversity is an important consideration in the context of leadership (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999; Kirton, 2003; Nkomo & Cox Jr, 1999; Smith, 2012). Harms, Guohong, and Huaiyu (2012) consider attributes of leadership and find that cultural perspectives influence actual performance and attribution of successful performance. Bass

(1996) claims that transformational leadership can be applicable across all cultures, although the behaviours might be different.

Dickson et al. (2012) note that the meaning of leadership varies across cultures, with similar cultures having similar meanings and more dissimilar cultures having more divergent views on leadership. This theory supports the common traits of leadership across the Pacific nations and the minimal commonalities between Pacific and Western approaches to leadership.

Attributes and Characteristics of Pacific Leaders

In Aotearoa-New Zealand, Pacific leaders are often reminded of the traditional proverb which has been used widely by other non-Samoan ethnic groups, “Ole ala i le pule ole tautua” “The path to leadership is through service” (Allardice, 1985; Tamasese et al., 2005). The significance of this proverb illustrates the emphasis on the journey to leading successfully being based on the ability to serve the people. Within my own journey of being mentored by the Pacific elders, I was constantly reminded of this proverb. I understood this to mean that if you are being encouraged by your Pacific community to lead, then you do this through serving your family and community.

To do this successfully, there are several attributes and characteristics required of a Pacific leader. Key among these is understanding and demonstration of respect and reciprocity, oratorical ability, and knowledge of your genealogy.

Respect

Paea’s (2009) study reflects the value Pacific public servants place on “Va” as an important leadership process. Pacific writers Lilomaiaava-Doktor (2009), Wendt (1999), Robinson (2010), and Chu, Abella, and Paurini (2013) define Va as representing an in-depth understanding and respect that is shown by one Pacific person to another through the connections of the “space” between people and things. When the Va is not respected or reciprocated it can result in disharmony within a relationship.

The concept of Va brings rich understanding to how Pacific people view their environments as part of relationship building is based on the concept of Va. Pacific people practice the concept of Va naturally and in everyday settings. Yet when placed within a western environment, the

concept of Va may be misunderstood and lead to the disruption of relationships between western leaders and Pacific people.

Paea's (2009) research on the Leadership Processes of Pacific Public Servants in Aotearoa-New Zealand considered: What are the leadership processes currently employed by Pacific public servants in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Service? This study also explored participants' views on the effect of Pacific cultural backgrounds and organisational contexts on their current experience of leadership processes. The Pacific participants in her study understood leadership as a social process of collective influence within a specific context. Participants identified that participating, networking, and relationship building, learning about leadership from cultural contexts, and practicing Va were important leadership processes for their performance in the organisations they worked in. This study also found that the organisation's key roles and leadership values which are embedded in Pacific cultures shaped participants' experiences of the leadership processes. The findings also highlighted some factors which contribute to and constrain the Pacific public servant's leadership processes. This emphasises the need for diverse policies to encompass leadership development (Paea, 2009).

Reciprocity

Reciprocity for Pacific people is the act of sharing responsibilities to achieve different needs, whether at family or community levels (Gershon, 2007; Spickard et al., 2002; Tamasese et al., 2010). An example can be seen in Samoan people living in Aotearoa-New Zealand and the United States. Migration is described as a collective activity that builds a collective approach to sustainable growth for the family. This activity requires Samoans living abroad to be responsible for taking care of themselves, their Samoan connections overseas, and families back home in Samoa (Lilomaiva Doktor, 2009).

Reciprocity underpins Pacific worldviews and cultural practices (Tamasese et al., 2010; Taufe'ulungaki, 2001). "Fa'alavelave" is a process of collective resourcing to support families who experience bereavement or for celebration. "Fa'a" means "to make" and "lavelave" means "tangle"; therefore, fa'alavelave is something that entangles someone to a special occasion like a wedding or funeral (Wendt, 2004). The family leader's ability to encourage a collective approach to financial offering towards fa'alavelave is dependent on their ability to unify the family. If successful, the family will be rewarded with credibility for providing a worthy contribution. This also reflects on the ability of the leader to lead their family.

Oratory

A prerequisite for Pacific leadership roles is effective communication. Pacific oratory is an important skill amongst various Pacific nation groups. For Samoa, the hierarchical levels of “Matai-ship” acknowledge the importance of certain skilled “matai” holding the honour of “tulafale”, a matai who has speaking rights, where one is able to speak the dialect with confidence as passed down from the ancestors. Having knowledge, wisdom, and experience are also strong attributes for Pacific leadership (Anae, 2010; Macpherson et al., 2000a; Le Tagaloa, 2008).

Identity

Identity is an important focus in the context of Pacific culture. Knowing who you are, where you come from and who you represent is a key factor of leadership in the Pacific. In a village setting, the Matai system of leadership is based on prospective leaders showing their commitment to the growth of their village by providing a range of services. An example of these actions is providing knowledge of history and genealogy. There is a ritual within the village that involves Matai selecting suitable individuals to take up the role of Matai. A ranking system identifies how these individuals are selected for certain roles (Macpherson, 2004). Consideration is given to the applicant who can best recite the genealogy of the village where the matai title is bestowed.

Leadership in the Pacific/Samoan community comes with age and hereditary aristocracy through to chieftaincy, as opposed to Pacific people born in Aotearoa-New Zealand-born who are more than likely to have been exposed to the principles of meritocracy which is defined as being allocated leadership status based on the merits of your service and work (Macpherson, 1997).

According to Perrott (2007), the effects of intermarriage between second and third generation Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Samoans and non-Samoans, and most likely Pacific and non-Pacific partners, are changing the face of Pacific communities in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Perrott’s article recognises the growing diversity amongst descendants of Pacific migrants in Aotearoa-New Zealand. While the face of Pacific communities is diversifying, there are implications for authentic cultural identity and the intergenerational transfer of knowledge.

Tiatia's (2012) study based on Samoan identity resulted in her applying the term "Masking" to the participants' practice of concealing their true feelings. Tiatia (2012) also draws on Tupuola's (1998) research with Samoan female study participants who discussed how they complied with aiga (family) expectations even though they did not necessarily agree with the decisions. In relation to identity, then, the literature reveals that Pacific leaders are accountable to their family; chieftain roles are allocated based on individuals' knowledge of genealogy, the history of the village, and how they have served their families; and service within leadership roles is linked to obedience because leaders must comply with the expectation of the elders within their families.

Chieftain Leadership

According to Macpherson (2008), the presence of Pacific cultural approaches has existed for many years in the form of rituals and practices which have been passed down from generation to generation. Pacific leadership considers a cultural context that is based on tradition. The origins of Pacific leadership derive from the traditions of chieftain practices across the South Pacific. According to Le Tagaloa (1996) and Macpherson, Spoonley, and Anae (2000b), Pacific leadership is based on lineage, genealogy, and status. Leadership in the Pacific can differ from country to country. In most Pacific countries, hierarchical leadership roles are identified by cultural terms. Pacific nations such as Samoa, the Cook Islands, Tokelau, and Niue have been given the responsibility of Chieftainship to lead their families, villages, and districts through natural genealogical processes (Anae, 2010).

Within the Pacific context of leadership, traditional chieftainship is based on genealogical ranking and lineage (Ah Chong & Thomas, 1997; Sahlins, 1963). The responsibility of holding a chiefly title requires the ability to be the equal distributor of wealth, and in doing so to ensure that the obligation to consult with those whom they are responsible is fulfilled (Ah Chong & Thomas, 1997; Le Tagaloa, 1996).

A chief holds considerable power and with this comes the gifting of services and offerings from members of the extended family. This reflects the "respect" through the practice of "giving" by followers (Ah Chong & Thomas, 1997). However, chieftain genealogical lineage is not the only leadership model that existed in the pre-colonial era in the Pacific. The religious influence of missionaries led to the birth of Pacific Island Christian churches, with the first

Pacific church in Aotearoa-New Zealand being opened in Newton, Auckland in 1947 (Macpherson, 2012).

While titles can be given to both Samoan men and women, according to Tcherkezoff (2000; pp 117), only 10% of Samoan matai are women. However, this number is increasing over time as Samoan women aspire to achieve matai status. The matai system operates at a local level with decision-making power expended through village and district councils known as fonofono. Matai will display values such as respect for elders and those in highly ranked positions including religious leaders as well as holding the responsibility of providing day-to-day necessities of life for their families (Tcherkezoff, 2000;116). According to Va'a (2000; p. 157-158) matai also hold the role of influencing and reinforcing local rules and regulations, and in the case of wrongdoers, must be seen to be allocating harsh punishment to those who do not abide by the local and district rules.

Pacific Leadership Theory

Pacific leadership can be considered multi-dimensional in the various components represented by values and beliefs, attributes, skills, knowledge and experience, and behaviour and performance. What is true for Pacific leadership is that constant themes arise around the role Pacific values play; respect, care, and generosity are intrinsic to being a Pacific leader. What is unanimous across the literature available is, that for a Pacific leader, values underpin the leadership approach as they are displayed in one's thoughts and actions (Aiono & Crocombe, 1992; Chu, 2009; Sanga & Walker, 2005).

How Pacific Leaders Learn to be Leaders

Some time has passed since the major migration of Pacific people in the 1950s and 60s. At least four generations of Pacific people reside in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and New Zealand is now the home of most Pacific people who are born in New Zealand (Ministry for Pacific people, 2016). The early migrants' hopes and aspirations for their offspring can now be seen in the achievements of the Pacific population.

Despite this, Pacific people continue to become the focus of government policy as the growth in poverty continues to marginalise Pacific communities. The question for today and for future Pacific leaders is, what is a Pacific leader and how do they become Pacific leaders.

The values of loyalty, trust, respect, service, as well as Roles and Responsibilities, underpin the environment in which Pacific children are raised. Roles and responsibilities are allocated depending on the rank or birth order of siblings. As children grow older, they are given more responsibilities. These responsibilities to provide are not only for the nuclear families; at times, the provision of service can also be for the extended family or even the wider village. Older siblings are often looked upon to take responsibility of their younger siblings at an early stage in their lives.

For Pacific people, the role of a leader can never be turned off. It is fluid, continuous, and expansive. A leader is followed and can be a follower in given any situation. A Pacific leader must have the ability to be able to read what is not said and to act appropriately; they need to anticipate by monitoring activity to ensure the smooth running of processes.

A Pacific leader must be courageous and can be expected to compromise the very things that are dear to them for the wider good. A Pacific leader will accept there are sacrifices to make for the wider family and community. A Pacific leader values cultural history (hindsight) understands the current context (insight) and uses past and current knowledge to better understand what the future looks like (foresight). A Pacific leader has oratory skills that stop people in their tracks; their tone, and the language used, commands attention and respect from those who follow.

Knowledge management literature is very engaged with the problem of knowledge transfer/flows. In 2007, Ali Yakhlef, a Professor at Stockholm University, wrote a paper on “Knowledge transfer as the transformation of context”. The paper highlights the significance of the way in which knowledge is transferred from the knowledge holder to the knowledge recipient. Yakhlef (2007) outlines that the process of transfer can occur within the process of negotiation and bargaining, and he suggests that, contrary to knowledge being considered as fixed and unaffected by local changes, knowledge constantly changes depending on the changing context of the environment.

Yakhlef (2007) discusses the notion “stickiness”, which he describes as being shorthand for how hard it is to transfer some knowledge from the group of people that “created it”, to another group of people who want the knowledge. The problem is avoiding having the knowledge diminish to just “information” in the process of the “transfer”. Yakhlef (2007) raises the question of whether knowledge transfer, in the context of globalised business, can be done

better by changing the mind-set of the recipients of the knowledge in some way so it can be better absorbed. Further, it is argued that knowledge transfer is a two-way process as knowledge can be transferred, interpreted, and transferred back. The concept of knowledge transfer is relevant in the intergenerational transfer of information being explored in my proposed research. Knowledge transfer highlights how information is processed between Pacific and non-Pacific leaders, bureaucrats, Pacific new migrants, and Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific people.

This study considers Pacific leadership, and the way leaders use their learnings from various environments such as community, church, and family. Leaders have a role to share and gift knowledge to future generations. Transferring knowledge from a Pacific-born perspective to a New Zealand-born perspective requires a shift in thinking and context.

The Vision for Pacific people and Where Leadership Occurs

Pacific people' vision for their communities involves a deep appreciation and understanding of cultural roots. Today's Pacific leaders are negotiating the space between the knowledge that has been passed down to them from their ancestors and the Western environment in which they have been raised (Faletutulu, 2016).

When Pacific people arrived at Aotearoa-New Zealand, they were determined and motivated to succeed because others depended on them (Tamasese, Parsons, King, & Waldegrave, 2010). Pacific people' achievements and gains have been directed in three different areas: 1) the Pacific families and communities in New Zealand; 2) distributions (such as remittances) made to Pacific families in the Pacific Islands; and 3) contributions to the social, economic, and cultural growth of Aotearoa-New Zealand (Tamasese, et al., 2010).

The retention of Pacific culture and identity has motivated Pacific new migrants to build and support infrastructure that will house language development, cultural practices, and Christianity. Churches and aoga amata (Samoan preschool) have been built, managed, and operated by Pacific-born leaders and have been instrumental in achieving the vision for new Pacific migrants (Tamasese, et al., 2010).

Pacific Leadership Starts at Home

Shared knowledge and understandings of Pacific culture and knowledge have been passed down from within the family unit by parents and grandparents (Tupuola, 1993). Pacific extended family has also played a pivotal role in teaching and supporting the young Pacific generation to become leaders (Pene, 2009). Life at home and church has been the basis for learning as the younger Pacific generation continue to observe and imitate beliefs and values (Faletutulu, 2016). Pacific parents establish systems and processes that demonstrate to their children how they should behave (Santrock, 2011). This has been the case in both home life and church life.

During the settlement of the migration in the 50s and 60s, Pacific population numbers were scarce compared to today. Therefore, while church life became a space where Pacific parishioners would workshop Christianity, it also became a hub for revitalising and instilling in the younger generation the importance of their identity and culture (Hunkin, 2012).

As a child I recall the importance of Christianity in the form of preparing for church services where the whole family were engaged in roles and responsibilities to ensure attending church services went smoothly. Christianity was prioritised to the point that regular church prayer was conducted each evening for one hour in many Pacific households. It was through this regularity that I learnt to say the Lord's prayer in the Samoan language.

Attending church services in Pacific families involves the immediate and extended families (Suaalii-Sauni, Samu, Dunbar, Pulford & Wheeler, 2012). Furthermore, roles and responsibilities have been extended for those who are the offspring of the church ministers or church secretaries as these children are expected to behave in a dignified way, thus role modelling a good standard of behaviour (Muaiava, 2015).

Pacific parents hold high expectations for their children to achieve (Okagaki, 2001). At annual church events such as White Sunday¹. This was a regular practice in my family as we were

¹ – a celebration of childhood where children recite spiritual readings and biblical re-enactments in front of large numbers of parishioners and family members who would travel from afar to hear the recitals – children receive gifts and special privileges on having completed their recitals successfully, thus bringing pride to their immediate and nuclear families.

growing up, and I believe that such regular practice has contributed to the oratory skills of many Pacific people.

The literature supports the idea that leadership in the context of Pacific people is a fluid process that optimises opportunities for Pacific young people to take on leadership roles. Clearly, this process of leadership development starts at home.

Where Pacific Leaders Lead

To understand what leadership is, it is important to understand where it occurs. For Pacific people, leadership practices have originated from environments that reflect their cultural identity. In the context of this study, I discuss how leadership practices in one country are transported through migration to a new country. The importance for new migrants and Pacific people born in Aotearoa-New Zealand to hold on to their cultural identity, values, and protocols is necessary to ensure the knowledge is passed on to future generations. Leadership practices are critical for understanding how people's differing perspectives are considered when designing services and programmes.

According to Jackson and Parry (2011), the place where leadership happens shapes how it is understood within a given context. The place where leadership occurs can be where ideas of culture and connectedness to a place that supports Pacific people' identity, emotional attachment, and sense of belonging (Collinge et al., 2010). Agnew (2011) discusses the idea that "location" represents where a particular place is, and "local" defines the material setting for social relations to be created in. Further to this, Agnew defines "sense of place" as being the emotional attachment people have to a place. Therefore, from an indigenous and/or migrant perspective, place has important implications for how people are grounded in their identity, behaviour, and cultural practices. Given all of this, representation of leadership from communities where there is knowledge of and emotional attachment to a place is an important consideration.

According to Castells (1996), the existence of privileged spaces where global dominant networks are represented are known as "spaces of flow". Spaces of flow can represent the mainstream of society where most situations occur and are accepted as the norm. Castells (1996) also refers to "spaces of places" that represent those populations which are excluded for not being part of the global networks.

According to Murray and Overtoun (2005) and Harm de Blij (2009), geography is becoming more important at the global and local level with the proviso that place is becoming more relevant in the leadership space. Locality development is a concept that is being embraced by central governments in Aotearoa-New Zealand which see the value of empowering communities in places where they have a sense of connectedness. Grint and Holt (2011) are supportive of how leadership can focus on place because the definition of problems between communities is clearly articulated and defined. The problems are considered in the context of understanding communities from several standpoints; for example, understanding how communities experience the problems they experience, the agencies and organisations who hold the power to operate in these communities, the local knowledge within the community, and what opportunities exist. The problems that exist between communities can be symptomatic of how local populations are better resourced than other less fortunate local populations, which can result in certain community groups' needs being seen as less important than those of other communities.

Pacific leadership models have migrated to Aotearoa-New Zealand with cultural knowledge being modelled with Pacific people born in New Zealand to ensure cultural heritage is maintained. The section will discuss leadership in governance and Pacific leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector.

The tuakana and teina relationships is part of traditional Maori society which depicts the relationship between an older siblings / cousin to a younger siblings / cousin (Reilly, 2020). Tuakana and Teina relationships existed in Polynesia in ancient times as far back as 3000bp when eastern Polynesia which encompassed countries such as Tonga, Samoa and Fiji (Anae, 2021). Tuakana and Teina relationships is often heard at Marae on the Paepae as the basis of the relationship between Maori and Pacific people. It is this connection between Tagata Whenua and Pacific people that is sacred and often acknowledged during special events. The Tuakana-Teina relationship brings collaboration and connections through sharing information between generations and relationships.

Pacific Leadership in Governance

While Pacific leadership roles exist within the operational realm of the public sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, they also exist within statutory and advisory boards. These roles present an opportunity for agencies to hear from specialists in a particular area. Pacific

governance and advisory group members play an important role in ensuring Pacific people's experiences are integrated into the policy setting.

As Pacific leaders in the public sector have experienced challenges in their roles, so have Pacific governance and advisory group members. This presents an even greater challenge to ensure Pacific outcomes are successful because the structures and systems in place are not equipped to ensure Pacific representatives are supported.

A study conducted by Heather Came in 2019 titled "Māori and Pacific leaders' experiences of government health advisory groups in Aotearoa-New Zealand" highlight the inequalities in the health system advisory groups. These inequalities were represented by the experiences of eight Māori and Pacific Health advisory leaders who were appointed to health advisory groups.

The participants in Came's study express concerns that their knowledge and experiences are undervalued; that they experience racist and tokenistic behaviour; that it takes significant effort on their part to gain credibility and be heard; and that they feel their inputs are marginalised. They believe that Pacific leaders face barriers in having their voices and the voices of the communities they represent heard; these community representatives become stressed and burn out at the prospect of failing the wellbeing of the communities they serve knowing their communities will also challenge and question their effectiveness.

Pacific Leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Government

The 2017 election in Aotearoa-New Zealand resulted in eight Pacific members being elected from the Labour Party list and in the 2020 election, an additional five Pacific Members were elected to parliament making the total of 13 Pacific members of parliament. This was a significant achievement for Pacific communities as it presents a solid proportion of Pacific in the Aotearoa-New Zealand House of representatives and highlights that Pacific communities have a strong hold on the political agenda in Aotearoa-New Zealand. This is likely because Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand understand the political environment, and the benefits of collective impact that come from supporting Pacific leaders that can hold the numerous responsibilities to eventually improve the socio-economic status of Pacific people.

Challenges for Pacific Leader/Leadership

Challenges for Pacific Leaders and Cross-cultural Expectations

As with any minority group, Pacific leaders are likely to face extra challenges related to cross-cultural expectations. Some of these are identified by Tupuola (1998) and Tiatia's (2012) studies into feelings and actions relating to identity issues (see above).

Pacific leaders to some extent will be obedient to the expectations of their communities. Tiatia (2012) and Tupuola (1998) raise the idea that young Pacific people are conditioned to accept and are obedient to authority as part of their child rearing.

I fit your plans and schemes for the future.

You cannot see the real me.

My face is masked with pretense and obedience, and my smiles tell you that I care,

I have no other choice. (Thaman, 1974, p. 13)

Challenges for Pacific Women as Pacific Leaders

Whilst traditionally leadership has been dominated by male adults (McLeod, 2008), Pacific women, both in Aotearoa-New Zealand and the Pacific, are now taking up the responsibility of chieftain roles within their communities (Anae, 2007). Pacific leadership involves serving your family, church, and communities (Anae, 2010; Le Tagaloa, 2008; Lilomaiava-Doctor, 2009; Macpherson, 2004; Mila, 2010; Tamasese et al, 2005).

According to Griffen (2006), colonisation had a significant impact on Pacific Island countries starting in the 1800s when the first missionaries arrived in the Pacific. The introduction of Christianity resulted in profound changes to the Pacific way of life, particularly regarding the way Pacific people dressed, married, and raised their children. This also led to changes in the way land ownership operated, and in the way social relations, and traditional leadership structures in the way hierarchies were organised. Colonisation favored the empowerment of the status of men and the lowering of the status of women (Griffen, 2006). As a result, colonisation led to Pacific societies shifting their focus away from previously recognised systems where men, women, and the wider community were recognised owners of the land.

The demise of Pacific women in a traditional Pacific context would have implications for all Pacific women across future generations. This would become evident in laws affecting labour relations, land and inheritance, marriage, and customs in Pacific society changing to favor men and cause a gender imbalance. Laws introduced during this period in the 1800s, remain in place and are the subject of Pacific woman's' rights groups advocating for equal rights (Griffen, 2006).

Pacific women leaders in New Zealand today are giving birth to a change in the way Pacific women are perceived in the Pacific culture. As far back as the 17th and 18th centuries, examples of Pacific women holding chieftain roles were to be found across the Pacific. In Samoa, the first female chieftain title holder was Salamasina. This was through birthright. Over time in the Pacific, women have gradually become title holders, but it has taken some time as male dominated chieftain circles have denied women the right to hold chieftain titles. Chieftain titles are associated with land titles and holdings. If Pacific women were excluded from holding titles, they were exempt from making decisions about land as well.

According to Tamasese (2010), the journey taken in search of a better life has come at a tremendous cost for Pacific parents. Pacific women made significant sacrifices in Aotearoa-New Zealand. For many who migrated to Aotearoa-New Zealand, economic survival has meant that many of them have had to work two to three low-paying jobs to cater not only for their immediate family's needs, but the needs of the extended families in the islands and the church. Working as cleaners in empty buildings is a common story for many young Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific, "...cleaning the toilets of the Palagi" (NZ Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, p. 584). One significant reason for this work was so they could afford to pay for their children's education. Pacific parents' investment in their children's educational success was a way of ensuring that history would not repeat itself, that their children would not end up working in factories as cleaners like they did. Little did they know that their first-generation Aotearoa-New Zealand-born offspring would experience their own challenges of assimilation into Aotearoa-New Zealand society. Conformity in the educational system at times did not agree or align with the cultural values and expectations of their parents and families when they went home or attended church (Tiatia, 2008).

Mara (2006b) highlights the significant presence of Pacific women in the early childhood sector. This was seen to be an avenue where Pacific languages and cultures could be promoted and prompted an increase in Pacific migrants fulfilling the educational obligations to become

qualified Early Childhood educators which led to the establishment of the A'oga Amata (Samoan preschool).

History tells us that Pacific women have had a significant role to play in the leadership of their families, communities, villages, and organisations. There has been a global shift acknowledging the role women play and injustices experienced because of colonial rule (Mara, 2006b). The increased presence of Pacific members in parliament, specifically Pacific women MPs – not only in Aotearoa-New Zealand, but across the Pacific – is a strong signal that Pacific women are taking their rightful place in these critical leadership roles and positions of power.

Challenges for Pacific Young People and Their Understanding of Pacific Leadership

The Aotearoa-New Zealand government's key political advisor on Pacific people reports that, in 2013, 46.1% of Pacific people were aged 20 years or younger (Ministry Pacific Island Affairs, 2006). With a projection that the Pacific population will reach 10.9% in 2038, this reflects a growing youthful Pacific population (Ministry Pacific Island Affairs, 2006). This projection has significant implications for Pacific leadership in the future. Pacific leaders are important as they place emphasis on the Pacific worldview, they are the holders of critical cultural knowledge, and they can represent and negotiate with critical stakeholders and provide mentoring and support for young Pacific people (Faletutulu, 2016).

Tiatia (2008) further discusses the resentment young Aotearoa-New Zealand Samoan people have about aspects of Fa'asamoa (Samoan way of life) where they mask their feelings for fear of reprimand and punishment. Similarly, according to Paea's study (2009), Pacific public sector leaders resented the fact that at times they have to compromise their traditional values because they need to find ways to make gains in favour of the Pacific communities they represent.

Challenges for Pacific Leaders Employed in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Service

The Aotearoa-New Zealand public service is responsible and accountable for the delivery of the Government's key goals. This includes ensuring all Aotearoa-New Zealanders experience a devolution of funding to Crown entities and non-government organisations who then deliver on the priorities of the Government. As part of the public service's accountability, there is an expectation that governance and management structures are in place to ensure appropriate representation and robust measures to address inequalities for population groups.

Governance and management structures can be in the form of advisory groups that may play a different role to that of a governance group. The experiences for ethnic leaders, such as Māori and Pacific, is similar whether they sit on governance boards or advisory groups (Came, 2014). Pacific leaders face barriers in having their voices and the voices of the communities they represent heard and, therefore, representatives become stressed and burnt out at the prospect of failing the wellbeing of the communities they serve as their communities will also challenge and question their effectiveness (Came, 2014).

This study considers Pacific leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector and the role Pacific people are assigned with the responsibility of providing a Pacific perspective to the work of the Government agencies. This section has highlighted the challenges experienced by Pacific leaders based on available literature. Contextualising the challenges experienced by Pacific leaders will be an important focus for this study. Metaphors have been utilised by theorists to illustrate what is important to Pacific people.

Metaphor of Pacific Leadership in Aotearoa-New Zealand

Metaphors are commonly used to explain events in life to enhance human understanding (Danesi & Mollica, 2008). Different cultures have used metaphors to describe their worldviews, so their readers have a deeper understanding of lived experiences (Costa, 2001).

Metaphors are used to communicate human discourse. There are advantages to utilising metaphors in research to express deeper understanding; they can provide ways of “expressing complex information, reveal hidden assumptions and unarticulated beliefs” (Johansson-Fua et al, 2012; p. 243). Metaphors can be used to support retention of complicated concepts and relationships, stimulate creative thinking and innovation problem-solving (Casaken 2007; Garner, 2005; Gray 2007; Ortory 1993; Tomkins & Lawley, 2006).

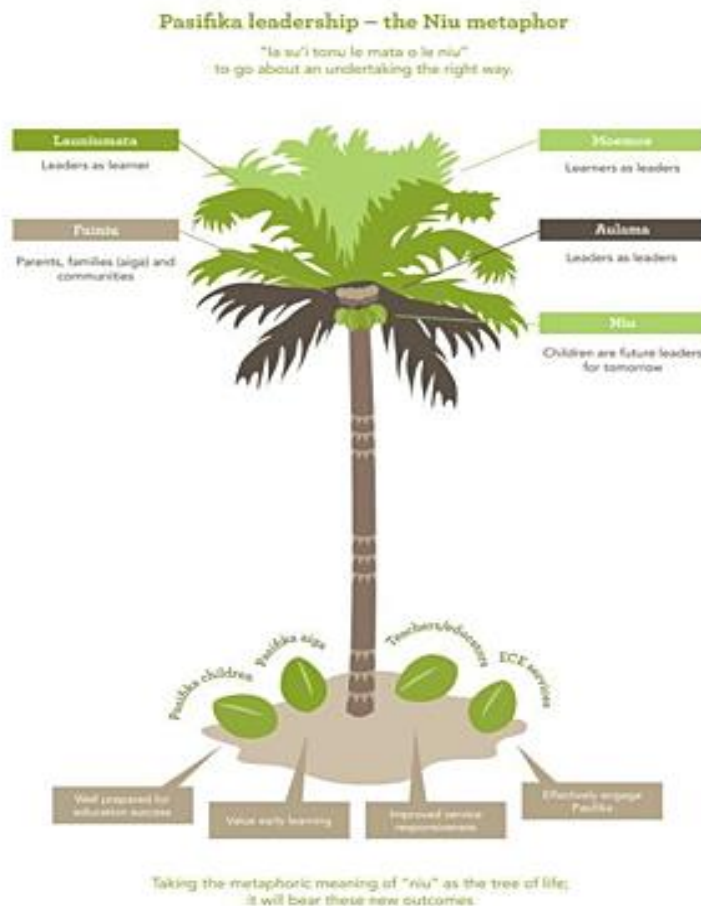
Pacific researchers have used metaphors to illustrate the philosophical constructs of Pacific worldviews that Western theories are unable to do, such as ‘Niu (Coconut)’, ‘Fonofale (meeting house)’ and ‘Te Vaka Atafaga’ (canoe).

Pacific Niu Metaphor

It is important for non-Pacific practitioners, policy makers and leaders to understand and accept that Western descriptions of leadership do not always acknowledge the importance of cultural

world views (Anae, 2010). Pacific researchers are strengthening this knowledge in the academic setting. An example of how the ‘Niu’ is used to enhance cultural understanding of Pacific leadership is used in the following diagram:

Figure 4: Pacific Leadership – The Niu Metaphor (Source: 2015)



In 2011, a group of Pacific scholars bough together by the need to create a space for a series of workshops in Fiji and Tonga aimed at “Creating Mentorship Metaphors from a Pacific Island Perspective”. The workshops formed part of a larger ongoing leadership initiative sponsored by several local, regional, and international organisations across the Pacific. The purpose of the workshops was to create multi-disciplinary cohort of leaders who would create an adaptable mentorship model that would fit their unique Pacific contexts (Johansson-Fua, 2011; p 243. The ‘Niu’ was developed to discuss and explain the importance of a cultural metaphor to describe the different phases and elements of Pacific leadership.

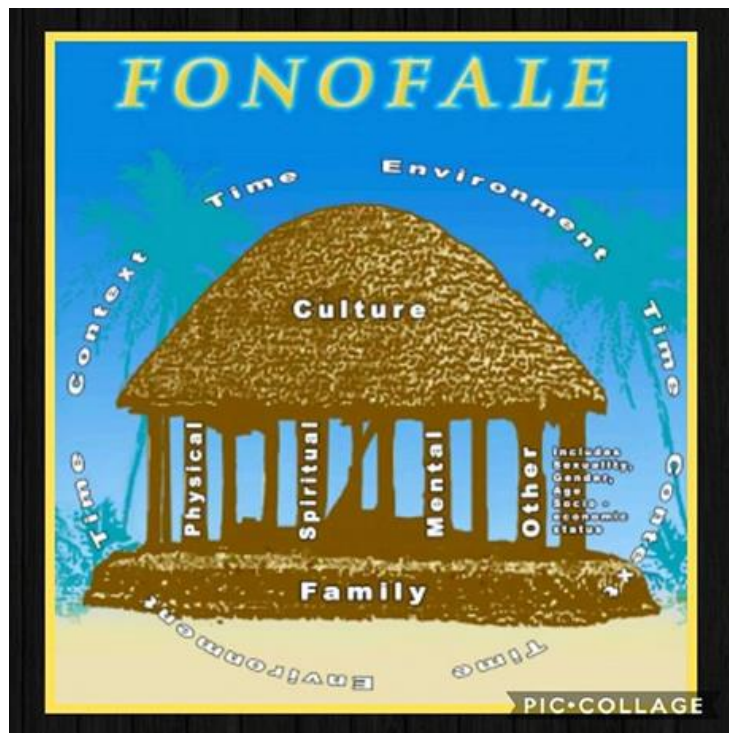
Similarly in Fijian culture, the Niu is used in the Fijian proverb of “lutu na nuilutu ki vuna” meaning “coconut fruits will fall around the coconut palm”. The metaphor describes the

process of the dried coconut fruit's process to becoming a vara (seeding) which will provide the elements to promote germination and fertile soil for replanting (Johansson-Fua, 2012; p. 244). Like Samoa, all parts of the Niu are used for weaving baskets, medicine, food fans and roofing. This metaphor used in a mentoring context discusses the idea that mentoring takes time and that fruition or the bearing of fruits from your efforts may not be immediate but that the eventual outcome will be worthwhile to the mentor and mentoree. The metaphor highlights the need for consistency and patience.

Fonofale Model

In 1985, Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann, a nurse lecturer for Manuwatu Polytechnic originally designed the concept of the Fonofale Model. Since then, in 1994, when Endemann worked in collaboration with the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs to consult Pacific communities throughout New Zealand on the strategic direction for mental health services for Pacific people, the Fonofale model was further developed. The first published appearance of the Fonofale Model occurred in 1995 (Pulotu-Endemann, 2011). The Fonofale model highlighted the need for better understanding of Pacific people's determinants of health and was developed as a Pacific Island model of health for the use in a New Zealand context. The Fonofale is the metaphor used to encapsulate the values and beliefs of Pacific people. The concept of Fonofale highlights the importance of family, culture, physical wellbeing and spirituality in the context of time and the environment as fundamental to the wellbeing of Pacific people.

Figure 5: The Fonofale Metaphor



Source: (Pulotu-Endemann, 2011)

The Fonofale has links to properties of the Niu, that like Tonga and other Pacific Island countries, are utilised to build essential housing for Pacific families. The model is dynamic and is used as an interactive tool to assist policy makers of the importance of understanding the Pacific worldview. Endemann considers the family (foundation) strength and unity as the foundation that upholds the physical, spiritual, mental, and other virtues (pou) that house the various Pacific Island cultures (roof). Endemann's model is widely disseminated across the New Zealand public sector as a way of informing government policy that impacts on Pacific people (Endemann, 2011).

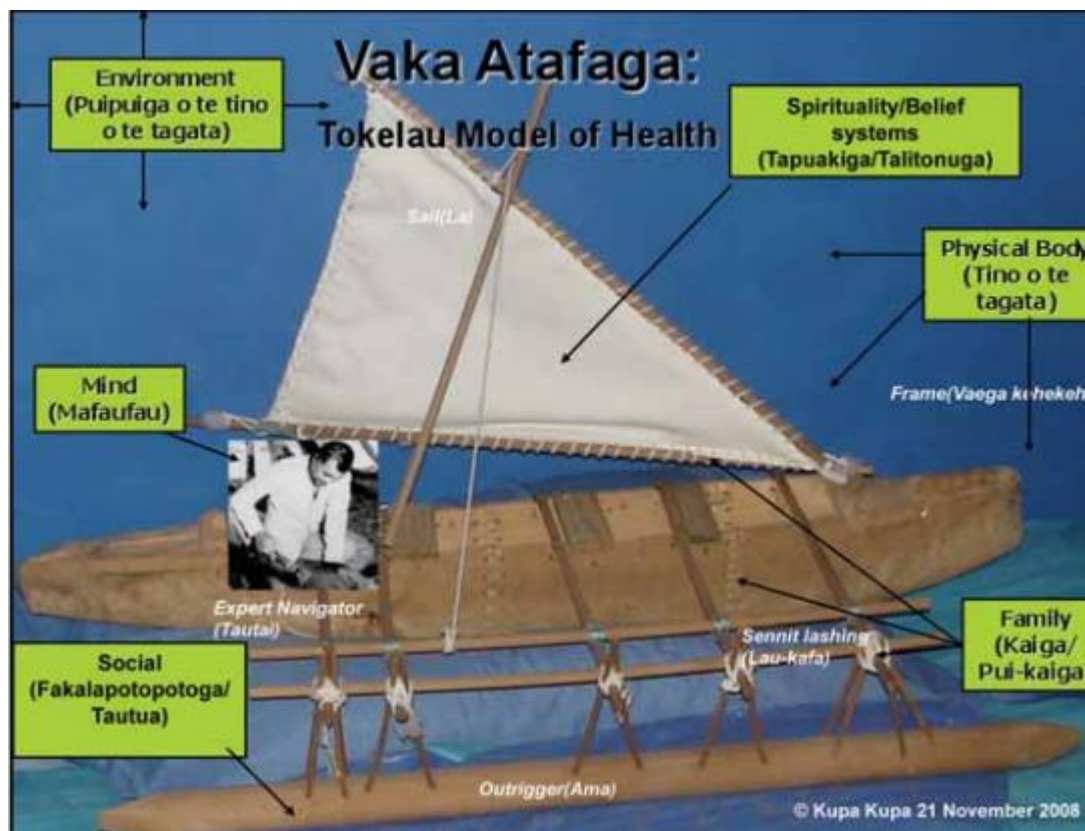
Key government agencies have utilised and adopted the Fonofale metaphor to support Pacific focused policy when developing policy and establishing services aimed at supporting Pacific people, their communities and families. Endemann's experience as a clinical mental health nurse has resulted in the Fonofale model being significantly adopted across the New Zealand health sector.

Te Vaka Atafaga

Tokelau community's presence in New Zealand continues to grow with approximately 7000 Tokelau people living in New Zealand. The increase in population in New Zealand means that models of care must consider the worldview of Tokelau people. For this reason, Tokelauan theorists have developed metaphors and models. One of the well acknowledged metaphors is the Te Vaka Atafaga which was developed by a Tokelau mental health clinician Kupa Kupa.

In 2009, Kupa published his paper on Te Vaka Atafaga: A Tokelau Assessment Model of Supporting Holistic Mental Health Practice with Tokelau people in Aotearoa, New Zealand. The model was based on author's personal and professional journey over a twenty-year period utilising his community and clinical experience of working with Tokelau communities over 20 years (Kupa, 2009).

Figure 6: The Vaka Atafaga metaphor



Source: (Kupa, 2009)

The Te Vaka Atafaga metaphor considers similar themes as the Fonofale model where it depicts that importance of the environment, spirituality, family, social, physical body, and mind. The metaphor utilises the vaka (boat, vessel) to link the combination of cultural nuances

that support strong Tokelau wellbeing such as Fenua (natural environment), Te tino o te tangata (wellbeing through physical wellness), Mafaufau (strength of mind), Inati (system of sharing for the benefit of the Kaiga/family), Tapuakiga / Talitouga (ancient beliefs and Christianity), Kaiga (families and traditional sacred relationships between members).

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a platform for which Pacific leaders and leadership can be better understood. It has touched on what Pacific people value in terms of attributes and characteristics in their leaders and what are important considerations when supporting Pacific leaders and building Pacific leadership, as well as the importance of family and church environments to foster the growth of cultural knowledge. The final section considered the challenges faced by Pacific women, Pacific young people and Pacific leaders who work in the public service. This chapter places the emphasis on why Pacific leaders and leadership are needed to ensure cultural protocols are not at risk of compromising Pacific people' identities, values and beliefs and history. This chapter also emphasised the importance of metaphors to anchor and contextualise cultural meanings and understanding of Pacific people' experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE: PACIFIC PEOPLE AND THE AOTEAROA-NEW ZEALAND PUBLIC SECTOR

So why are we embarking on the biggest reforms to the statutory framework of our public service in more than 30 years? It's simple. We know we can do better. We know we can build a more modern, agile, and adaptive public service. And we know the importance of the constitutional role our public service has in supporting New Zealand's democratic form of government. So, we are affirming this role – for current and future generations of New Zealanders – in new legislation.

Rt. Hon. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern (Speech made at the Australia New Zealand School of Government Conference, 2019)

The Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector employs Pacific people in various levels of leadership roles to assist government agencies with improving poor outcomes being experienced by Pacific people. This chapter provides an understanding of the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector and the relationship with its Pacific employees, as understanding the platform within which Pacific public leaders work and Pacific communities operate assists in establishing the context that sits behind how decisions are made for Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Pacific leaders are conduits between the public sector and the Pacific communities and families they serve.

In the following discussion of Pacific people and the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector, a brief presentation of the structures of the Aotearoa-New Zealand government is set out. This is followed by an analysis of the policy-making process and institutions within Aotearoa-New Zealand, highlighting the role of the State Services Commission (now the Public Service Commission) and their quantitative analysis that explains the challenges currently faced by Pacific leaders within the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. Next is a section on past and current strategies that have been put in place to support the development of Pacific leaders. Then, a historical overview of the Equal Employment Opportunities sector programme provides an example of how a system level approach to improving diversity in the public sector has been part of Aotearoa-New Zealand's attempts to create equal opportunities. I also present

the strengths and challenges faced by the Ministry for Pacific people and their role in building Pacific leadership. This chapter concludes with a summary of the content of this chapter.

A range of literature has informed this chapter. Government and public sector reports, official information requests, and quantitative data has been accessed to present a picture for Pacific people and their experiences working in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector.

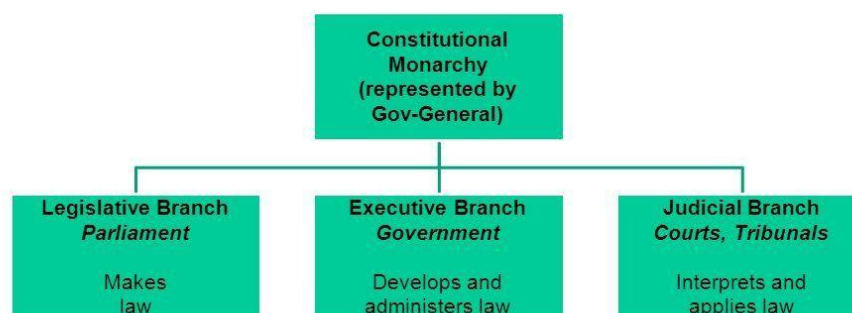
The Structures of the Aotearoa-New Zealand Government

The Aotearoa-New Zealand government is formed from a democratically elected House of Representatives. The Governor-General is appointed by the ruling monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, to carry out constitutional and ceremonial duties and has the responsibility to give royal assent to legislation in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

The government system is made up of three branches: Parliament, Executive, and the Judiciary. The four main functions of Parliament are to ensure the aspirations of the Aotearoa-New Zealand public are represented in Parliament, to ensure the passing of legislation (law) by which the country is governed, to scrutinise the activities of the Government, and provide approval for the responsible expenditure of public funds to the Government (State Services Commission, 2015a).

Figure 7: Elements of New Zealand's Systems of Government

Elements of New Zealand's System of Government



Crown copyright: State Services Commission,
February 2014

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Source: (State Services Commission, 2014).

Policy-making Institutions and Practices in Aotearoa-New Zealand

Pacific leadership can be understood in the context of the public sector and the public sector reforms that occurred in the 1990s with the introduction of New Public Management (NPM). The reforms began under the fourth Labour government between 1984 and 1990 when the Government acknowledged the need for more efficiencies in the operations of the public sector (Boston et al., 1996). For the reforms to occur, legislative changes resulted with the passing of the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986, State Services Act 1988, and the Public Sector Finance Act 1989, signaling the intention of the Government to support reform in the public sector (Boston et al., 1996; Duncan & Chapman, 2010).

The NPM era influenced a new approach in policy accountability and outcomes for the Aotearoa-New Zealand public. There were four clear objectives to the reforms: 1) The policy environment would now see a separation of policy advice and delivery of services to the public, the purpose being that advisors would be accountable to Ministers through the provision of contestable advice (Duncan & Chapman, 2010); pp 2) specialised policy agencies would be established to give decision-makers policy advice; 3) government strategies and measurable outcomes would be created in the Budget Policy Statement, an impact of the Fiscal Responsibility Act 1994 (Kibblewhite & Ussher, 2002); and 4) a focus on output classes that the Government ministers could now purchase from ministries, and the performance of these outputs, would be controlled through monitoring mechanisms such as the State of Service Performance. Output classes are defined as performance of measures within the context of a quantitative target of achievement or non-achievement (Boston et al., 1996).

Because of the reforms, the public sector grew more reliant on statistics as a means for justifying political focus or policy agenda (Boston et al., 1996; Cheyne, 2004; Eichbaum, 2005; Schick, 2001; Shaw & Eichbaum, 2008; Treasury, 1987). This supported the need for evidence-based policy to justify services and programmes that would work towards addressing the policy agenda for the Government. Evidence-based policy considers situations that are informed by rigorous scientific practice such as programmes that have undergone academic evaluation and scrutiny to determine the effectiveness of that programme (Marston & Watts, 2003).

The history of the public sector reforms is relevant to this study of Pacific public sector leaders because Pacific public sector leaders became representatives for Pacific people within the new NPM environment. Pacific leaders had a role in supporting organisations to decide on what

outputs needed to be negotiated to ensure the focus of service delivery would result in improved outcomes. Evidence based on the experiences of Pacific people within a given context needed to be developed and disseminated to ensure Pacific people's perspectives were embedded within the policy setting.

Underpinning the history of public sector policy development in Aotearoa-New Zealand is the role that the State Services Commission (State Services Commission or SSC) (now the Public Service Commission or PSC) has in ensuring that the public sector makes a difference for Aotearoa-New Zealand and Aotearoa-New Zealanders (State Services Commission, 2017). Reference is below made to the Commissioner as the head of the SSC and then the PSC, and to the Commission in terms of its roles.

The State Services Commission (now the Public Service Commission or PSC).

In 2020, the Labour-led New Zealand parliament passed the Public Service Act which replaces the former State Sector Act. The Public Service Act (2020) aims to support changes to ensure a modern, more joined-up and more citizen-focused public service. The State Services Commission was rebranded the Public Service Commission.

The office of Commissioner is central to Aotearoa-New Zealand's politically neutral, professional, and permanent public service. The Public Service Commission was first established in 1912 to employ all public servants, thus enabling the preservation of the political neutrality of the public service by protecting the public service from political interference.

The Commissioner's role is two-fold: as the holder of a statutory office, the Commissioner acts independently in a range of matters to do with the operation of the public service, state services, and the wider public service. As Chief Executive of the Commission, the Commissioner is responsible to the Minister of State Services (now the Minister for the Public Service) for the Commission's capability and performance (State Services Commission, 2004).

The Commissioner provides leadership and oversight of the state services to ensure the purpose of this State Service Act (now the Public Service Act) is carried out. The objectives of the role that are relevant to this study include:

- (a) Promoting the spirit of service to the community; and (b) Promoting the spirit of collaboration among agencies; and (c) Identifying and developing high-caliber

leaders; and (d) Overseeing workforce and personnel matters in the State services; (e) Advising on the design and capability of the State services; (f) Evaluating the performance of Public service Leaders, including the extent to which they carry out the purpose of this Act; and (g) Promoting a culture of stewardship in the State service. (State Services Commission, 2017; p. 2)

The Commissioner's core roles and responsibilities relate primarily to individual public service departments and their chief executives. The Commissioner appoints and employs public service chief executives, reviews their performance, and investigates and reports on matters relating to departmental performance. This is a critical point in the role of the Commission as its decisions have a significant impact in addressing inequalities for Pacific people (State Services Commission, 2013).

The Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector consists of around 2,900 agencies, separated into central government (known as the state sector) and local government. There are a wide range of central government agencies – in 2018 there were 32 public service departments, six non-public service departments, three Offices of Parliament, the Reserve Bank of Aotearoa-New Zealand, 20 District Health Boards, 27 tertiary education institutions, approximately 2,435 school boards of trustees, 76 other Crown entities, around 150 Crown entity subsidiaries, 56 Public Finance Act organisations, and 17 state-owned enterprises and mixed ownership companies. The public sector also includes 67 territorial authorities and 16 regional councils (State Services Commission, 2018).

The Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector employed approximately 353,500 people (known as public servants) as of 30 June 2016, about 14.4% of the country's total workforce. Local government had approximately 53,500 employees. Over the period from 2011-2016, the public sector workforce grew by 4.2%, compared to private sector growth of 14.1% (State Services Commission, 2017).

Building Public Sector Leadership

According to the Commission's Public Service Workforce Data report (2016), the Commission put in place a programme that is changing how the state sector identifies, develops, and uses leaders and talented people from the start of their careers to their most senior levels. The Talent Management Leadership Development (TMLD) programme provides tools and approaches to

help leaders and people reach their full potential by maximising potential leadership and talent across the public system.

The Commission is building leadership and talent across the sector by encouraging and supporting leaders to step into more challenging and complex roles, supporting the move away from a Wellington-centric view, encouraging diversity within the public service, and identifying talented people, developing them, and placing them where they are most needed (State Services Commission, 2016).

Strategic leadership represents the locating of stewardship, sponsorship, and ownership of the development of Pacific leaders in the public sector. Whilst leadership development has been appropriately placed within the context of the Commission, the programmes have not delved beyond a mainstream approach to leadership development. The diversity of Aotearoa-New Zealand, in particular Auckland City, calls for a review of the leadership programme as it relates to diversity. The role the Commission plays in the recruitment of public sector leaders, and the responsibility for performance management of chief executives, places the Commission in a critical role in supporting a Pacific leadership development framework (State Services Commission, 2017).

Increasing Ethnic Diversity

The Commission collects workforce data on staff in all 32 public service departments. The data has been published in the Human Resources Capability report annually since 2000. The report provides information about, and identifies characteristics in, five main areas of the public service: Workforce, Remuneration, Workplace, Career, and Diversity and Inclusion (State Services Commission, 2016). The report is a useful tool for shedding light on trends and areas that need to improve, and for informing public debate about important issues such as the representation of women, the number of women in senior leadership and chief executive roles, progress on gender pay, ethnic pay, and the recruitment of graduates (State Services Commission, 2016).

The lack of ethnic diversity in management is a key challenge for minority ethnic populations who need a voice to contextualise their experiences and ensure policy is informed by their worldviews. There are further ethnic differences in terms of public service occupations.

Pakeha² staff are over-represented as Managers and Policy Analysts. Māori and Pacific staff are well-represented as Inspectors and Regulatory Officers, and as social, health, and education workers, but less so in other professions. Pacific and Asian³ staff are highly represented as Contact Centre Workers, and Asian staff also as ICT Professionals and Technicians (State Services Commission, 2016). Commonwealth countries have provided the largest proportion of overseas-born public servants, led by the United Kingdom, Australia, and South Africa, followed by India, Fiji, and Samoa (State Services Commission, 2016)).

The ethnic pay gap in the public service is heavily influenced by the pay rates in occupations where people from the ethnic groups monitored are over-represented, such as inspectors and regulatory officers, contact centres and some social, health, and education workers. While ethnic diversity overall is increasing, the ethnic pay gap is not decreasing with Māori, Pacific, and Asian ethnicities under-represented in the top tiers of management and over-represented in lower paid occupations (Human Rights Commission, 2012). Reducing the ethnic pay gap – and getting more ethnic diversity into leadership roles – is a major priority for the Commission and the Commissioner will be working with public service chief executives to make improvements in this area.

The purpose of the next section is to better understand where Pacific leaders are employed across the public sector and how this compares with other majority and minority groups.

Leadership in the Public Sector

The senior management profile data collected by the Commission is based on a three-tier system that aims to achieve structural consistency across the public sector. A tier is a level or grade within the hierarchy of an organisation or system. This profile data recognises senior leadership roles in the context of size, geographical location, and corporate structure. All public sector organisations have a chief executive known as tier 1, while tier 2 management usually consists of those who report directly to the chief executives; in some organisations this level of management is known as the Executive Management Team.

² Pakeha. Spoonley (1991) defines the term as a political identity symbolising a commitment to bi-culturalism and the equitable sharing of power with Māori.

³ Asian. Butcher (2010) Asian people are defined as people who identify with one or more Asian ethnicities (whether Aotearoa-New Zealand-born or overseas-born).

Based on information collected by the Commission from 2010 to 2017, Pacific representation in senior leadership roles across the public service has remained relatively flat. Pacific people currently make up 7% of the total number of public servants, and 4% of managers ranging from Tier 1 to Tier 4. In 2016, this equated to 3,386 Pacific full-time employees and 205 Pacific managers. It is important to note that each department or agency may record human resource information differently which may mask the actual numbers of Pacific people working in the public sector.

The Commission's Human Resource Capacity Report 2016 analysis of ethnicity across public sector leadership roles is tabulated by government departments. The analysis focuses on Māori, Pacific, Asian, and other population groups. As this study examines the barriers, challenges, and potential solutions experienced by Pacific public sector leaders, I decided to focus on government departments where there is more of a mandate to address inequalities for Pacific people (State Services Commission, 2016). The relevant government departments are the Ministries of Social Development, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Department of Labour, Department of Corrections, and the Inland Revenue Department (State Services Commission, 2016).

According to the Commission (2017), Table 1 reflects that there had been minimal growth of Tier 2 and Tier 3 Pacific leaders in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector.

Table 1: Pacific people in Tier 2 and Tier 3 roles across the NZ public service 2016/2017

Breakdown of agency		
Organisation	2016	2017
Department of Corrections	18.0	30.0
Department of Internal Affairs	5.0	4.0
Inland Revenue Department	6.0	7.0
Ministry for Pacific people	8.0	7.0
Ministry of Primary Industries	6.0	11.0
Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment	13.0	13.0
Ministry of Education	11.0	12.0
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	9.0	9.0
Ministry of Health	10.8	6.8
Ministry of Justice	22.0	17.0
Ministry of Māori Development	4.0	4.0
Ministry of Social Development	86.0	79.9
Ministry for Vulnerable Children		14.0
Other agencies	7.0	9.0
Total	205.8	223.7

(Source: State Services Commission response to Official Information Request 8 March 2018)

However, in the context of “other managers”, Pacific managers make up a small percentage of tiers three and four Managers. There were challenges analysing this data given different agencies’ structures and that how the agencies recognise tier two, and tier three roles is different from one agency to another. The focus of this study recognises this challenge as a contributing factor to growing leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. The absence of Pacific leaders in top tier management roles reduces the chances and opportunities for Pacific leaders to achieve higher management positions.

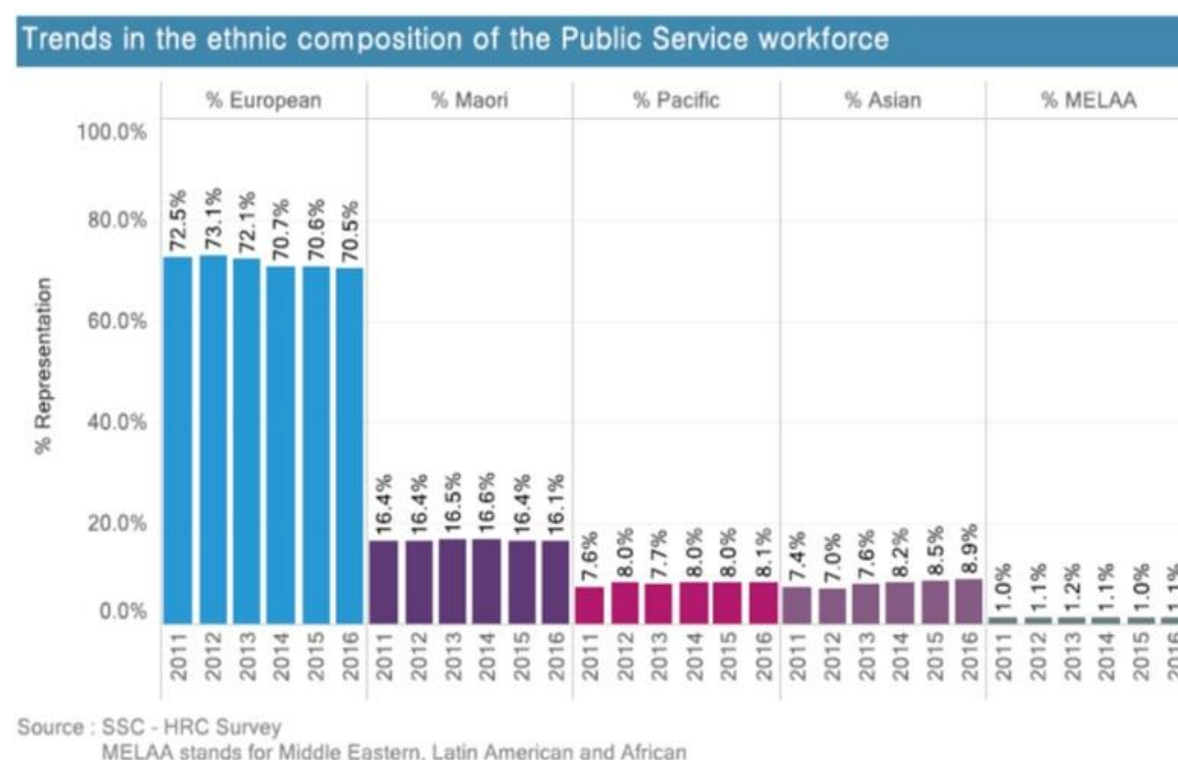
The classification of manager roles may also consider front line case manager roles; this requires further exploration. Although the table reflects little increase in Pacific people being employed in senior public sector roles, 7% is consistent with the proportion of the Pacific population in Aotearoa-New Zealand government: but, again, this is more likely to be due to overrepresentation in entry level or frontline roles. Government agencies such as Ministry of Health utilise the national population percentage to determine the level of national workforce requirements needed for the sector to adequately meet the needs of Pacific people (Ministry of Health, 2014).

The workforce data for Pacific needs further analysis. At the time of writing this thesis, the systems in most government agencies were not equipped to provide deeper analysis of Pacific ethnicity data due to the nature of how ethnicity data is collected. For example, for most district health boards, ethnicity data collection is optional.

Therefore, the ethnicity data collection processes across the Government sector need further assessment if the Pacific data is to provide a more accurate picture of where Pacific people are employed and the roles Pacific people work within. The data that does exist still provides analysis in inequalities; as an example, pay equity is able to be measured across the ethnicity data that is collected. Pay equity is discussed further later in this chapter.

The following data in Figure 1 reflects the ethnic workforce trends in the public service workforce from 2011 to 2016 (State Services Commission, 2016). This data clearly illustrates that the ethnic composition of the public service has been dominated by people of European descent, with a reduction of numbers from 72.5% in 2011 to 70.5% in 2016. Similarly, Māori experienced a slight reduction of 16.4% in 2011 to 16.1% in 2016. Over the same period, Pacific and Asian trends increased slightly, 7.6% to 8.1% for Pacific with an even more marked increase for Asian from 7.6% in 2011 to 8.1% in 2016 (State Services Commission, 2016).

Table 2: State Services Commission: Trends in the Ethnic Composition of the Public Service Workforce 2011-2016



The trends in Figure 1 reflect that the low numbers of Māori, Pacific, and Asian people have contributed to the lack of ethnic diversity in the public service. This is particularly concerning given the growing unemployment rate, particularly for Māori and Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Given the low uptake of Pacific people, the presence of Pacific people in higher tiered roles in the public service can be predicted to be low given the overall numbers of Pacific people employed in the public service. This study focuses on Pacific leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector and, as such, needs to consider the numbers of Pacific people in the public sector that will be available to take up public sector roles. Based on this data, it is unlikely that the number of leadership roles will be high.

Income disparity for Pacific people adds to the growing inequality of outcomes. The significant issue relates to Pacific people not having equal acknowledgement of undertaking the same roles and responsibilities as their counterparts. Most Māori and Pacific representative roles undertake similar objectives, therefore should be acknowledged equally as non-Māori and non-Pacific public sector leaders.

Table 3: Comparative Analysis – Top Tier Managers – average of annual income in \$ Salary (between Maori and Pacific. 2016/2017 (SSC, 2018)

Year of Survey Date	Ethnicity: Pacific	Ethnicity: Non Pacific	Ethnicity: Māori	Ethnicity: Non Māori
2016	138,837	193,709	170,887	194,777
2017	140,843	197,765	169,692	200,103

(Source: State Services Commission response to Official Information Request 8 March 2018)

Table 3, above, reflects that the gap between Māori and Pacific and non-Māori and non-Pacific is significantly wide but even wider for Pacific people. (Source: State Services Commission response to Official Information Request 8 March 2018)

Table 4: Comparative Analysis – Other Managers Māori/Pacific, (SSC, 2018)

Salary (between Pacific and Māori)				
Year of Survey Date	Ethnicity: Pacific	Ethnicity: Non Pacific	Ethnicity: Māori	Ethnicity: Non Māori
2016	90,463	112,497	100,607	113,459
2017	92,519	114,765	102,112	115,751

(Source: State Services Commission response to Official Information Request 8 March 2018)

Table 4 provides a further example of the pay gap between Asian, Māori, and Pacific which further supports the idea that Pacific people are the lowest paid occupation group in the public service (State Services Commission, 2016).

Table 5: Trend in Public Service Ethnic Pay Gaps: Public Service Workforce Data (SSC, 2016)

Trend in Public Service Ethnic Pay Gaps

Year	Asian Pay Gap	Maori Pay Gap	Pacific Pay Gap
2007	10.1%	11.5%	19.8%
2008	9.8%	11.7%	19.8%
2009	10.3%	11.3%	19.7%
2010	10.9%	11.4%	19.2%
2011	10.6%	11.5%	19.3%
2012	11.7%	11.3%	19.0%
2013	11.2%	11.2%	19.4%
2014	11.6%	10.4%	19.6%
2015	12.1%	11.0%	20.5%
2016	11.6%	11.0%	20.6%

(Source: State Services Commission; Public Service Workforce Data, 2016)

Pacific people continue to reflect the second to lowest population group employed by the public service. Although very slight, the numbers have continued to grow reflecting a growing Pacific population, whilst for European and Māori, the numbers have declined by 2.0% and 0.4% respectively. Pacific numbers have experienced an increase of 0.5%, and 1.5% for Asian who experienced the most significant increase. This reflects the general population demographics except for Māori whose population is experiencing a significant growth (State Services Commission, 2016).

Pacific leaders are under-represented in key government agencies where Pacific people's outcomes are poor. the Government and public sector must take a sterner approach to increasing the number of Pacific people in government and in leadership roles.

Public Sector Initiatives Aimed at Pacific people' Employment and Development.

Pacific people across the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector can access a wide range of professional development opportunities. In 2015, the 29 State Sector agencies monitored progress of Pacific public servants into senior management roles as part of its response to the Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) policy, and the Commission collects workforce data on staff in all 29 public service departments (SSC, 2016).

The following sections provide an overview of Pacific people in the public sector and public sector initiatives aimed at Pacific people's employment and development. The examples are not exhaustive as other government agencies may be supporting Pacific staff as well, and what has been described is based on responses from official information requests.

The Ministry of Social Development

For this doctoral study, the Ministry of Social Development (Ministry of Social Development) has been chosen as the main agent to illustrate the ongoing struggle for Pacific people in the public sector. Its precursor, the Department of Social Welfare, was an early pioneer of trying to address the challenges for Pacific people within the Department. This was led internally by a group of new Pacific graduates from Victoria University who were pioneers of Pacific people in the public service and were the first Aotearoa-New Zealand-born generation of their families (Tavita, 2018). Currently the Minister for Social Development is responsible for the Ministry of Social Development and for four Crown entities – the Office of the Children’s Commissioner, the Families Commission, the Aotearoa-New Zealand Artificial Limb Service, and the Social Workers Registration Board (State Services Commission, 2017).

In 2016, MSD employed 86 Full Time Equivalent (FTE) Pacific managers, which decreased to 79 in 2017. The number of Pacific managers captured all managers, including those in Tiers 2 and 3, in addition to other leadership roles at various levels of the organisation. Prior to 1 April 2017, the Ministry’s figures included Pacific managers within Child, Youth and Family (CYF - now known as Oranga Tamariki). From 1 April 2017, CYF ceased to exist, and staff moved to the new Ministry, Oranga Tamariki – Ministry for Children. The reduction in FTE positions considers the transfer of Manager roles from MSD to Oranga Tamariki.

MSD has several initiatives to support Pacific staff, given its diverse workforce, with two programmes to support Māori and Pacific staff who have been identified as future leaders or are in leadership roles within the organisation.

MSD Initiative supporting Pacific public Sector Leaders

In 2019, the Ministry of Social Development surveyed Pacific Staff about what the Ministry is doing well and what the Ministry could do better. The survey was developed into a strategy document titled “Pacific Strategy – This is Us” (MSD, 2019). This document provides a summary of feedback undertaken by Ministry of Social Development towards the development of their Pacific Strategy. The strategy has been in development since April 2018. The MSD acknowledged that a Pacific strategy had not existed and that a strategy would acknowledge the specific needs of ethnic Pacific people who worked for MSD. This strategy led to an action plan that considered the aspirations of staff, community, and providers. The strategy also led

to the development of a Pacific Strategy team that was in the senior levels of Ministry of Social Development.

The relevance of this document to my study relates to the common points raised by staff who responded to questions in relation to organisational capability; well-being; partnerships; and digital technology. Staff were also asked what they liked and did not like about the Ministry. Staff highlighted that MSD had become an employer where people did not mind that you spoke your own language and that you were able to celebrate your culture in your work environment. Staff outlined that they were aware that there were opportunities to further their development; however, it was not clear how to go about accessing these and, when they were accessed, the opportunities were at the manager's discretion, and could only happen if there was sufficient staff to hold the Pacific staff members workload (MSD, 2019).

Staff highlighted the challenges of working at MSD which included not being consulted about initiatives and that their opinions were not consistently sought. However, when these opportunities occurred, staff felt they came late in the stage which made them feel like they had been considered after non-Pacific staff had been considered as a priority. Staff felt that being lumped together as one Pacific group did not acknowledge the unique differences, empathy and understanding in language, protocol, culture, and etiquette by some of the managers; this was particularly noted when it came to cultural obligations.

Pacific staff noted that about organisational capability, traditional approaches to ensuring dissemination of information in Pacific languages were still relevant and needed, more career development pathways were needed, and cultural competency was needed to be improved across MSD. In relation to Wellbeing, MSD Pacific staff were concerned that resources were not up to date to assist them to carry out their functions; there was concern that front-line staff were overworked and worried about job security when innovation was rolled out and at times Pacific staff felt undervalued and that their leadership abilities were not always recognised.

In terms of partnerships, Pacific employees expressed concern that there was a lack of knowledge about what other agencies were doing for their Pacific communities and, at times, this may have caused some overlap and duplication of investments; more Pacific providers were needed to respond to the diverse nature of the Pacific community; and there was a lack of internal engagement and networking opportunities for Pacific staff to come together and share and strengthen their experiences.

Pacific staff also acknowledged the importance and relevance of upskilling staff to meet government departments' digital technology needs. Pacific staff did not believe that there was investment in digital platforms for Pacific services and emphasised that education and training on new products and services were needed to ensure MSD could cater for the complex future needs of the populations served.

Past and Current Leadership Development programmes

In 1994, the Department of Social Welfare published “Te Punga – Our Bicultural Strategy for the Nineties”. This built on the foundations of “Puao-te-ata-tu”, the 1986 Report of a Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (Department of Social Welfare, 1996). Pacific staff asked when a similar approach to Te Punga was planned to take account of Pacific staffs' needs and those of their people. At the time, the Department had quite large numbers of Pacific Island staff, particularly in the Auckland region.

In response to the request, General Managers and then Director General, Dame Margaret Bazley, met with Pacific Island staff throughout the country during the first half of 1995 at a series of fonotaga/meetings (Department of Social Welfare, 1996). The purpose of the discussions was to identify what strategies the Department of Social Welfare should adopt to improve employment conditions for Pacific staff and the relevance of services to Pacific people. The focus of the discussions was on the areas of management, staff matters, and sensitivity to customers (Department of Social Welfare, 1996).

Bazley's view was that creating this opportunity for Pacific people was meeting her responsibilities under the State Sector Act “good employer” provisions, which included the obligation in her role as Director General to ensure that staff from all ethnic groups were provided with equality of opportunity in advancing their career aspirations. At the time, Pacific people were disproportionately represented in the client base for both Income Support (now Work and Income Support) and the Children, Young Persons, and their Families (Department of Social Welfare, 1996).

Lali Pate Nafa – Pacific Workforce Strategy

In 1996, the Department of Social Welfare launched its first ever Pacific workforce strategy titled “Lali Pate Gafa” (Department of Social Welfare, 1996). The aim of the strategy was to improve workforce outcomes for Pacific workers from Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, and Tokelau. As part of the Director General's commitment, “Lali Pate Gafa” involved

extensive consultation with Pacific staff that highlighted the challenges for Pacific people working within the Department (ibid).

The strategy sought a commitment by all staff to ensure that policy development considered the needs and aspirations of Pacific Islands' people, that services were delivered in a sensitive way considering the cultural preferences of Pacific Islands' people, and that the Department transform itself so that Pacific Islands' staff could be themselves at work rather than “honorary palagi (European)” (ibid). The strategy was a compilation of sub-strategies presented as short-term (year 1) and medium-term (1-3 year) undertakings. The document was the first of its kind in the public sector (ibid).

At the time, the Department of Social Welfare was the Government department with the most contact with Pacific people as well as employing a high proportion of Pacific Island staff (Department of Social Welfare, 1996). The objectives of Lali Pate Gafa sought to reduce the barriers and challenges for Pacific employees through ensuring Pacific people' perspectives were a key part of policy development and service delivery, that Pacific staff had equal access to employment opportunities within the Department, and that cultural skills were utilised effectively and recognised. Examples of this included financial acknowledgement of staff who utilised their language skills to ensure Pacific people with English as a second language were able to understand the organisation's policies, that all staff were culturally aware and sensitive to Pacific people' needs, customs, and issues, and that there was active promotion of policies and practices which aimed to improve outcomes and greater well-being for Pacific people (Department of Social Welfare, 1996).

Te Aratiatia and Te Aka Matua (Ministry of Social Development)

Te Aratiatia Leadership Programme has been developed to prepare Māori and Pacific staff, who strongly identify with and are visible in their culture and have strong ancestral connections to their culture, for their first manager role. In the 2016/2017 financial year, 14 people graduated from this programme. Te Aka Matua supports Māori and Pacific leaders to complete their master's degree in Public Management – seven people commenced their studies in the 2016/2017 financial year.

Pacific Helava

The MSD Pacific collective, Pacific Helava, focusses on supporting the collective of Pacific staff who have blood ties to the indigenous group of Pacific Island nations. Pacific Helava

provides support to continuously build and strengthen the network, to promote awareness of Pacific people and Island nations within the MSD National Office, to share information on work-related Pacific items/issues, and to encourage more Pacific staff to make the transition into work at the National Office.

From the initial assessment utilising official information, it is evident that the Ministry of Social Development is leading the way in relation to employing Pacific people in senior management roles and providing supportive opportunities for Māori and Pacific staff to move into senior leadership roles. However, a tracer study or evaluation of these initiatives can confirm whether the investment in these programmes achieves a positive outcome for Pacific staff.

Tupu Tai Pacific Public Sector Internship programme (MBIE)

The Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment has supported an initiative that fostered the development of new and upcoming Pacific graduates in the public service. The Tupu Tai Pacific Public Sector Internship programme, now in its third year, has grown exponentially, from six internships offered across four agencies in 2016, to 18 internships across nine agencies in 2017. Its scope has also grown to include not only policy roles, but also project management and procurement roles. This reflects the broader opportunities in the public sector available to Pacific students and people (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2019).

The Ministry of Justice

The Ministry of Justice experienced a reduction of leaders of Pacific ethnicity from 22 in 2016 to 17 in 2017. According to the Ministry, these figures were not exclusive to Tiers 2 and 3 but were applicable across the wider Ministry. The Pacific leaders at the Ministry in 2016/2017 held roles in the following areas: Managers of Judicial Support, Legal and Research, Service Delivery, Team Leaders and Contract and Procurement Advisors, Cashflow, and Contracts. When asked what initiatives the Ministry has underway to support Pacific people into leadership roles, the response was:

Leadership capability is a high priority for the Ministry, and we have several options available to support our leaders at all levels of experience. The Ministry approach to leadership is underpinned by a culture of diversity, and inclusion and our programmes are designed to support all leaders regardless of ethnicity. (Justice Official Information Act response, N.D; p. 2)

The District Health Boards and Commission's Training Management Leadership Development Initiative

The Commission's commitment to building diverse leadership has led to the development of the Training Management Leadership Development (TMLD) programme. The programme is aimed at building future leadership across the public service, and a significant focus is placed on diversity given the diverse nature of the population in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The Ministry of Health is an example of a government department which has taken on TMLD in its service delivery.

The health sector is using TMLD throughout its 20 district health boards. A key goal for the Ministry of Health is addressing the ever-growing determinants of health experienced in population groups like Māori and Pacific. The Aotearoa-New Zealand Health Strategy makes it clear that, to be effective, there is a need to create one team rather than multiple teams working in siloes. The strategy highlights the need to offer pathways for developing leadership and talent that inspire and motivate people already working in the health system, as well as those considering health work as a career (Hall, 2018).

The Commission has worked with the wider public sector to come up with a shared understanding of what good leadership looks like. The Commission has developed a Leadership Success Profile (LSP) that supports the development of leadership with the right skills, values, and behaviours. The five dimensions include: Leadership character, Strategic Leader (the future), System Leadership (stewardship of the system), Talent Management (developing our people), and Delivery Management (making it happen). The LSP is a tool for the public sector to utilise when planning workforce needs.

According to the Commission, building Talent Management is a joined up and intentional approach to match people and roles where they can have the greatest impact, and grow their skills and their career aspirations. The Talent Management approach is part of the Leadership Success Profile and is used to initiate conversations and share their career aspirations.

Further development of TMLD in the health sector has led to the development of DHB guidelines to support implementation. The document is known as "A Shared Approach to Developing our People" developed by the Technical Advisory Services (TAS) for the DHBs. According to TAS (2018), in order make a difference to health equity, the DHBs need diverse people and perspectives to reflect the makeup of their community.

The diversity and inclusion lens pays attention to cognitive and cultural diversity, as well as ethnic and gender diversity. This means that in all aspects of the workforce, attention needs to focus on occupational segregation where different groups are over-represented at some levels and under-represented in others (TAS, 2018).

This is the case for Pacific people, where in DHBs they tend to be over-represented in entry level roles such as support workers, administration workers, and security orderlies. These tend to be the lowest paid roles (minimum wage), with the least opportunity to move into senior roles. This creates a dilemma for agencies implementing the TMLD programme as while most of the diverse workforce exist at entry level roles, the key focus needs to encourage opportunities for managers to consider looking beyond their own teams to consider what leadership potential exists within the frontline workforce.

Equal Employment Opportunities

The intention of the Equal Employment Opportunities Policy, better known as the EEO Policy, was to ensure all Aotearoa-New Zealanders had equal opportunities to employment within the Government sector. This section presents a review of the history of the equal employment legislation. The section also discusses the intent of EEO being the focus on improving the employment conditions for women, Māori, Pacific, people with disabilities, and minority groups.

Background to EEO

In 1984, the Aotearoa-New Zealand government issued a statement on equal employment opportunities that would require implementation of actions consistent with promoting EEO in the country. This led to legislation being passed to mandate the development and implementation of EEO plans and reporting of EEO progress across the Government sector. This fell within the report, “Framework for the Future: Equal Employment Opportunities in Aotearoa-New Zealand” (Mintrom & True, 2004).

The rationale for the EEO policy was part of the human rights rationale; however, there were also five other rationales for supporting EEO in Aotearoa-New Zealand: The Treaty of Waitangi, social changes and increasing diversity of Aotearoa-New Zealand’s society, the need to assure quality of service and firm performance, the imperative to pursue national economic

growth, and the gains that come to all from promoting an enabling society (Mintrom & True, 2004).

EEO Reporting in Aotearoa-New Zealand

EEO became a legislative requirement for core public service, the state sector, and local government departments. Although there was no requirement for EEO within the private sector, all employers were expected to meet their non-discriminatory statutory obligations under the Equal Pay Act 1972, the Aotearoa-New Zealand Bill of rights Act 1990, the Human Rights Act 1993, and the Employment Relations Act 2000 (Mintrom & True, 2004).

The performance of EEO was based on the assessment of several criteria which included: 1) Enabling legislation; 2) Coverage – hiring, training, promotion, termination; 3) Inclusiveness – who are identified as EEO groups; 4) Governance – where responsibility lies for creating and monitoring policy; 5) Leadership; (6) Infrastructure – resources devoted to the promotion of EEO; 7) Reporting requirements; 8) Measures of progress used; 9) EEO training efforts; 10) Stakeholder involvement in EEO policy-making; and 11) Evidence concerning the diffusion of EEO principles and practices across workplaces (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

Despite the requirement to report, several issues existed that meant the reporting was inadequate. These include the limited number of organisation's subject to the reporting requirement, the wide variation in the quality of reporting in the state sector, the lack of resources to systemise EEO reporting, and monitoring of the core public service (Mintrom & True, 2004).

In 2005, the Commission reviewed its EEO policy to 2010 in line with the findings and consultation with departments and EEO/diversity stakeholders. As a result, the Commissioner revised the Equality and Diversity policy which became an accessible one-page form; this continues the commitment to the four groups specified in the EEO policy (Māori, ethnic and minority groups, women, and people with disabilities), includes more focus on the positive impact equality and diversity can have on departmental performance, integrates equality and diversity into department planning and reporting, and uses a measurement method that reinforces the chief executive's accountability for progression of equality and diversity (State Services Commission, 2016).

EEO Progress in Aotearoa-New Zealand

By 2004 of the four EEO groups targeted, women had made the most advances towards equity in the labour force; however, progress was limited in terms of equality with women's equal participation rates continuing to be a far-off goal. As reliable data was not being collected on people with disabilities and their progress in the labour workforce, it was difficult at that time to measure the policy's effectiveness for this group. By 2004, despite small increases being made in Pacific people's progress of labour participation, it was not enough to prevent the widening gap of unemployment between Māori and Pacific, and non-Māori and non-Pacific (Mintrom & True, 2004).

While requiring EEO targets for the four focused groups – women, Māori, Pacific, and Disabled – the Commission played a minor role in advising what these targets should be. Some departments provided significant research on departmental employment data, while some departments examined their client base and business needs to ascertain what targets could be achieved (State Services Commission, 2004).

Māori representation ranged from 7% to 25%, while the Pacific targets ranged from 1% to 12%. Most departments set targets between 1 and 15% above the year 2000 targets, and four departments set targets above their year 2000 targets. Most departments set targets for Pacific people that were between 0.5% and 12% above their year 2000 targets. Five departments set targets below their year 2000 percentages.

Government department initiatives intended to achieve their targets ranged from incorporating targets into managers' performance contracts to providing study awards to existing staff, fostering EEO networks, and providing recruitment support to managers. Most departments, however, viewed targets purely as a compliance exercise (State Services Commission, 2004).

By 2003 of the 40 government departments that existed at the time, three were yet to set their targets; of the remaining 37 departments, 29 reported achieving the setting of targets or their targets being work in progress, indicating that 72% of government departments were taking EEO seriously (State Services Commission, 2004).

In the above sections, I have provided an overview of how government departments have attempted to respond to the growing Pacific population and the socio-economic issues they face. Within these departments specific resources, policies initiatives, monitoring and

evaluation of policy programmes had been devised. Much of the past strategies have required a level of Pacific leadership by Pacific people to drive and implement the work at the policy and operations level. Understanding the history behind attempts made by the Government to improve participation rates for minority population groups in the public service is important because the learnings from what has happened in the past can be applied to future policy development.

Pacific people and Discrimination in Aotearoa-New Zealand

Pacific leaders' role in the public sector is to work within their organisations to eradicate some of the social issues by developing plans, policies, and practices that aim to improve negative outcomes.

In 2013, the Salvation Army published a report titled "More than Churches, Rugby & Festivals: A report on the state of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand" (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013). It is part of a series of publications that aims to raise the profile of the reality for people who are living in poverty and experiencing poor social outcomes. The report "invites community, political and Pacific leaders to exercise brave leadership by implementing clear plans and targets and to instill new innovative policies or programmes that could assist the social progress of Pacific people and all Aotearoa-New Zealanders" (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013, p. 5). Since the 1990s, Pacific plans have been developed by government agencies. However, the challenge to understanding how many plans have been developed over time is the absence of any depository for Pacific plans.

In the case of the Ministry of Health (MOH), "Pacific people' Strategy Ala Moui; Pathways to Pacific Health and Wellbeing" has been in existence since 2010. Up until this time, District Health Boards (DHBs) who are funded by the Ministry of Health recognised eight of 20 District Health Boards as having high Pacific populations: Auckland, Waitemata, Counties Manukau, Hawkes Bay, Waikato, Hutt Valley, Capital and Coast, and Canterbury (Ministry of Health, 2014). Each of the eight DHBs was expected to develop a Pacific Action plan that linked to Ala Moui and the DHB's Annual Plan. Chief executives have been supported by their Pacific directors to engage with the local Pacific communities in developing their plans. The action plans were signed-off and approved by the Executive Leadership Team and the DHB Board. Pacific directors were expected to meet with their counterparts from other DHBs, with the MOH Chief Advisor role playing a coordination and leadership role.

Pacific directors had a critical role in working with inter-sectorial government partners, as the complexity of health determinants needs to focus on addressing issues such as housing, income, and employment. This is an opportunity for Pacific leaders to link with each other to work on how they can co-design outcomes that lead to joint funding programmes. Although Pacific leaders across the sector meet, there is little evidence for whether joint design and funding opportunities exist.

Although systems have been established to address the growing challenges faced by Pacific people, the internal culture of the public service can play a role in whether these challenges are adequately addressed. The need to rely on capable attitudes and behaviours within the public service can assist to improve the way policy programmes are developed with Pacific people in mind and by having Pacific leaders in the public sector. While this is the ideal, there is growing evidence of institutional racism and their role this plays in preventing the achievement of positive outcomes for Pacific people.

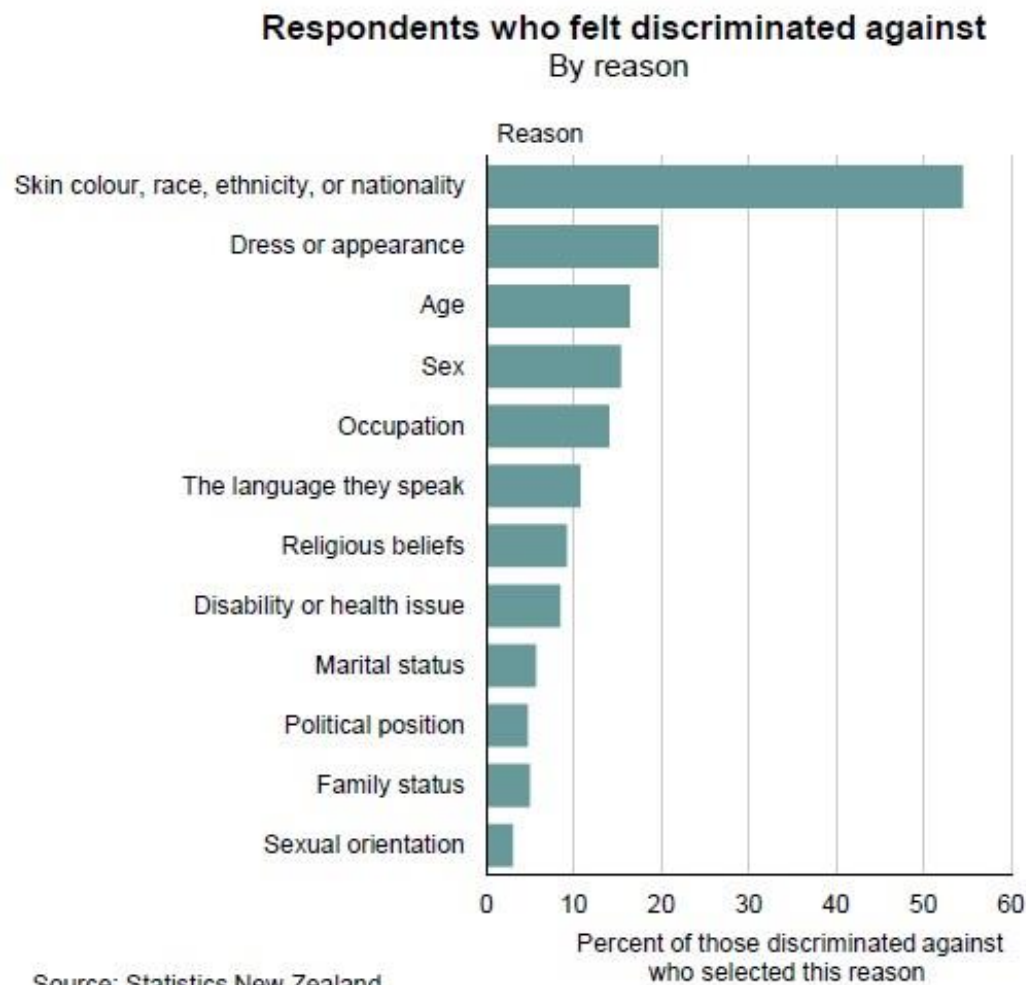
According to the HRC, structural discrimination occurs “when an entire network of rules and practices disadvantage less empowered groups while serving at the same time to advantage the dominant group” (Human Rights Commission, 2012, p 2). In 1988, the ground-breaking Puao-te-ata-tu (translated as Daybreak) report, commissioned by the then Department of Social Welfare, signaled the growing incidence of institutional racism as the “most insidious and destructive form of racism” (Ministry of Social Development 1988, p 19).

The report makes comparative claims stating that Pakeha Aotearoa-New Zealanders have better outcomes than Māori and Pacific Aotearoa-New Zealanders on nearly every socio-economic indicator, and that accumulated inter-generational benefits over time concentrate and sustain ethnic differences in wealth, power, and other indicators of wellbeing. The report also claims that structural discrimination can be unintentional and habitual in nature as opposed to being intentional (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

In the same year, the Department of Statistics released a report based on the Aotearoa-New Zealand General Social Survey (NZGSS) where Aotearoa-New Zealanders were asked about feeling racially discriminated against. Figure 4 reflects levels of perceived discrimination and where this took place (Statistics NZ, 2012). Figure 2 reflects the survey results which were sought from responses from citizens over 15 years of age. The report combines data from 2008 and 2010 and is based on a sample of 17,271 respondents.

Figure 8: Respondents who felt discriminated against – By reason

(Statistics New Zealand, 2012)

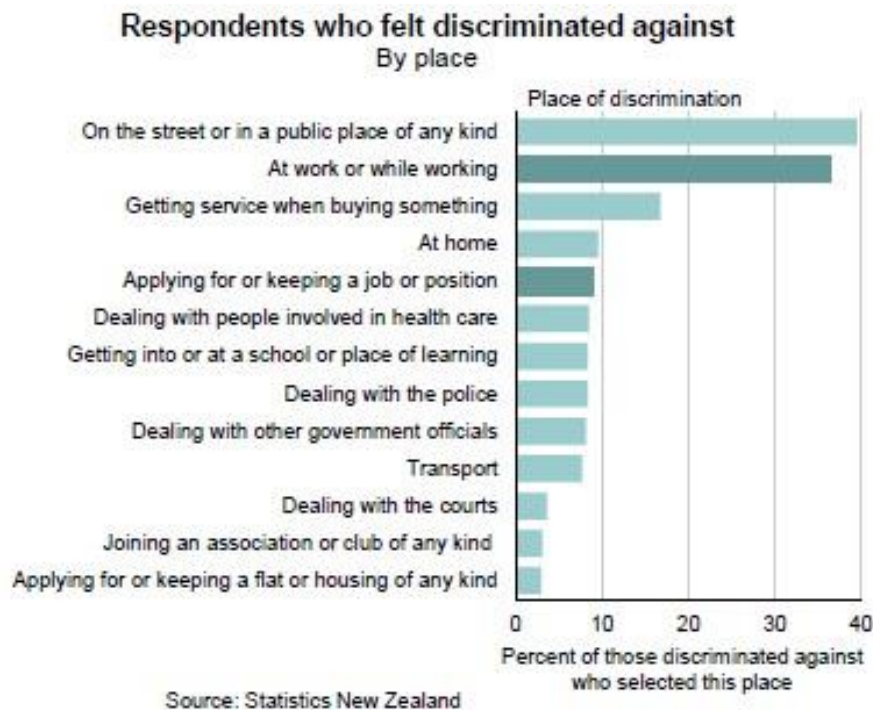


One in ten people aged over 15 years reported some form of discrimination. This equates to approximately 343,000 people. Six percent of respondents (an estimated 187,000 Aotearoa-New Zealanders) believed racial discrimination was the reason for them being treated unfairly. The categorical responses based on skin colour, nationality, race, or ethnicity were combined into two categories. These are “skin colour” and “nationality, race, or ethnicity” (Statistics NZ, 2012).

Figure 5 reflects survey participants who reported the highest levels of discriminatory incidence by place. The survey considered occupational settings. Around 143,000 New Zealanders, (approximately 4.3%) confirmed that they had experienced discrimination while applying for jobs or within their role. Māori, Pacific, and Asian people are more likely to report

the experience of racial discrimination in the workplace or when applying for a job, than Europeans (Statistics NZ, 2012).

Figure 9: Respondents who felt discriminated against, By place Source (SSC, 2012)



According to the HRC (2012), structural discrimination and institutional racism go together in the public sector environment. Structural discrimination occurs based on race, colour, ethnicity, or national origin. Some examples of the presence of structural discrimination occur in the form of racial profiling by law enforcement agencies, the identification of racial or ethnic characteristics in determining whether a person is likely to commit an illegal act, cutting funding to specific targeted programmes that are shown to improve outcomes for monitored groups, and poor-quality data collection on ethnicity (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

In the HRC’s 2010 annual review of race relations, “Tui Tuituia Race Relations”, it was stated that structural discrimination and the institutional barriers it creates affect the full spectrum of human rights including, “civil, political, social and economic rights” (p.4). The report goes on to say that when examining the effects of structural discrimination, Pakeha in Aotearoa-New Zealand, “have better outcomes on nearly every socio-economic indicator, but they have also accumulated inter-generational benefits over time that concentrate and sustain ethnic differences in wealth, power and other indicators of wellbeing” (Human Rights Commission,

2012, p. 5). The effects of structural discrimination are cumulative with disadvantages crossing both public institutions and generations. It is an unfortunate reality that in Aotearoa-New Zealand there is no equality in access to rights to health, education, and justice due to various socio-economic obstacles, including structural discrimination. As is acknowledged by the Human Rights Commission, "although frequent citation of negative statistics about inequality can have the unintentional impact of further perpetuating negative messages about Māori and Pacific communities, statistics do provide an evidence base for analysing structural discrimination and encouraging government action (Human Rights Commission, 2012, p.6).

In 2012, Aotearoa-New Zealand's HRC published a discussion document titled "A fair go for all? Rite Tahi Tatou Katoa? Addressing Structural Discrimination in Public services". The purpose of the paper was to ask whether the systems, processes, and practices of public agencies were themselves responsible for structural discrimination. The paper attempts to define structural discrimination (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

The paper claims that race relations in Aotearoa-New Zealand have had a changeable and unpredictable past, as far back as 1840 when the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi had major implications for the future of Tangata Whenua and their descendants, right up until now, when migration has played a role in diversifying Aotearoa-New Zealand. But inequalities continue to be a prominent agenda for the successive governments to grapple with (Human Rights Commission, 2012). In the 1980s and 1990s, civil unrest grew as race relations prompted a call for a review of poor outcomes being experienced by Māori and minority population groups as growing evidence revealed the increasing disparities for Māori and Pacific people.

The Labour government in 1988 commissioned a review known as The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988). The report would be the first comprehensive review of social security, social welfare, and social policy in the history of Aotearoa-New Zealand since 1938 when the Labour government's Social Security Legislation was enacted in Parliament (Barnes & Harris, 2011). The report would be the first formal attempt to engage Pacific people's lived experiences of utilising social security and welfare support (Royal Commission, 1988). A sub chapter of the Royal Commission report was dedicated to Pacific Island People's Perspectives and was authored by three local Pacific leaders – Kiwi Tamasese, Paula Masoe-Clifford, and Sui Ne'emias-Garwood (Royal Commission, 1988). At the time, Pacific Island People's perspectives on the challenges of access were not too dissimilar to the Pacific people's perspectives of today. From the perspective of education, housing, income, and employment, the statistics today are

consistent with the statistics of the 1980s where “Pacific Island people have less resources from within Aotearoa-New Zealand and consequently carry disproportionately the burden of poverty” (Royal Commission, 1988, p. 585).

By 1998, a report commissioned by the Honorable Minister for Social Development Ann Hercus, was presented by the Ministerial Advisory Committee led by John Rangihau based on the Māori perspectives for the Department of Social Welfare (1988). The report titled *Puao-teata-tu* (1998) meaning “daybreak” (p. 1) and the “heralding light of the new dawn” (p. 6) provided recommendations to the Minister to address and implement the matters raised in the report. The report highlights the harm done to Māori people and culture and the effects this has had on the wellbeing and socio-economic status of Māori. According to the report, thirteen recommendations were provided that would work towards building an anti-racist society by achieving social equality for Māori people.

While *Puao-te-ata-tu* was focused on the indigenous people of Aotearoa, there were recommendations that opened the door for other minority ethnic groups’ needs to be considered. Because Māori and Pacific people’ experiences of racism and institutional racism were similar, and Pacific wellbeing and socio-economic status was equal to or worse than that of Māori, Pacific leaders took advantage of the racial agenda and began to promote their own needs for their people.

During the same year in 1998, following the publishing of *Puao-te-ata-tu*, the *Whanau o Waipereira* report (1998) was published and presented to the then Minister for Māori Affairs, the Honorable Tau Henare. *Waipereira* Trust is an Iwi-based organisation representing the interests of Māori residing in West Auckland. The purpose of the report was to highlight the challenges being experienced by the *Waipereira* Trust in relation to contracting processes with the Community Funding Agency arm of the Department of Children, Young Persons and Their Families Service, a crown entity. The claims made related to the failure of the crown to recognise that the organisation represents the West Auckland Māori community and as a consequence failed to consult with the *Waipereira* Trust in their dealings with the West Auckland Māori community; failure of the Crown to deliver in accordance with Māori needs and cultural preferences its obligation to properly fund welfare programmes targeted to Māori communities in West Auckland; and that the Crown failed to provide an equitable share of funding to target welfare services to the Western Auckland Māori community (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 1998).

In 1999, this prompted the Labour government then in power, to instigate a new policy programme called “Closing the Gaps”. Closing the Gaps was a race-based programme that aimed to take a more stringent approach to dealing with Māori inequalities. However, the Labour Party lost the election, with the right-wing National Party reviewing the raced-based policies and rebranding Closing the Gaps as Reducing Inequalities (Human Rights Commission, 2012).

In the context of structural discrimination, deficit theories are defined as theories that support racial discourse. The theories can be traced back to the nineteenth century where they justified imperialism and colonisation. Deficit theories today can be classified as a form of “victim blaming” where the blame is placed on ethnic minorities for failures that are based on internal deficiencies.

Examples of deficit theory include judging Pacific people for their inability to manage finances or self-manage their health outcomes by making better choices in relation to healthy eating and exercise. The irony is that Pacific men and women experience the lowest income capacity in Aotearoa-New Zealand; therefore, the ability to afford good quality food and to manage finances against the increasing cost of living with few increases in income limit Pacific people’s opportunities to consider alternative options. Deficit thinking ignores structural factors within dominant cultures that contribute to the rise of ethnic disparities (Human Rights Commission, 2012). A 2007 article, “Dismantling institutional racism: theory and action”, discusses the need to focus on policies and practices within systems to create change to the increasing health disparity being experienced by minority ethnic group (Griffith et al, 2007).

Although for some time Pacific leadership has been prominent in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector, there is yet to be an opportunity to grasp a better understanding of whether the aims and objectives of leadership have been achieved by those Pacific leaders who have been engaged in leadership development programmes. Since the 1980s, the Aotearoa-New Zealand government has focused its efforts on understanding what barriers exist for Pacific people in achieving equal or better outcomes (Macpherson & Anae, 2008). To do this the Government has invested in Pacific leaders to lead and support the Government approach to identifying solutions.

Pacific leadership in the public sector has been emerging over the last decade. If an evaluation was to measure the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of Pacific leadership within the public

sector, then several factors would need to be considered. Some of these factors include whether the Government had a clear strategic understanding for Pacific leadership, the leadership qualities they were looking for in Pacific leaders, how the environment fosters relationships with Pacific leaders, how Pacific leaders are resourced to undertake their role, and who has the ultimate responsibility of responding to the problem. The above areas illustrate a significant gap in the evidence that could inform Pacific leaders how leadership can work (Paea, 2008).

Traditional forms of leadership have evolved over time. For Pacific people, opportunities to migrate to Aotearoa-New Zealand have resulted in the transfer of traditional leadership models to the new environment. This has presented some challenging times adapting to the new society and the environmental changes to how leadership models are practiced. To resolve these challenges, the Government for some time now has chosen to approach the problem by creating representative bureaucratic roles within the public sector. The idea behind this is that Pacific people will be employed within the public sector to influence policy programmes by providing a Pacific voice to the solution. As shown above, government evidence suggests that Pacific outcomes have not necessarily improved greatly over time, however, and therefore, there is a need to revisit how Pacific leadership is supported to deliver to the public sector.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a framework for understanding of the public sector environment and how the focus for Pacific people has been or not been integrated. It has included an overview of the Aotearoa-New Zealand government and the policy making institutions that provide the backdrop to how and where decisions are made about Pacific people. The role of the State Services /Public Service Commission as a key influencer in how the public services responds to issues of equity and leadership development has been examined in terms of its focus on inclusion to ensure the management structures of the public service reflect the diverse population of Aotearoa-New Zealand. The chapter has highlighted the past and present efforts by key sectors of the public service to grow and develop Pacific leadership and includes a historical overview of the Equal Employment Opportunities programme which was a cornerstone of Aotearoa-New Zealand's efforts to grow a diverse public service. The concluding section, focusing on Pacific people's experiences of discrimination, is important as it places the onus back on the public service to mend the culture of unconscious bias and racism that prevent the opportunities to support Pacific communities to flourish.

CHAPTER SIX: METHODOLOGY

For academics embarking on research with Pacific people for the benefit of Pacific to improve communication and rapport with prospective participants. When one thinks of research of a Pacific nature, it is not until existing Pacific methodologies are known that one ponders on what type of methodology best suits one's research practice.

Vaoiva Ponton, Utilizing Pacific Methodologies as Inclusive Practice (2018)

The purpose of this study is to better understand the barriers and challenges faced by Pacific leaders working in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. This chapter describes the methodological approaches, data collection tools, and analysis procedures utilised in this study which explores the experiences of Pacific leaders in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. This chapter illustrates the methods and methodological theories used to investigate the data produced by the engagement with participants.

The structure of this chapter begins with a summary of the purpose of the study. This is followed by an overview of Pacific theorists who have researched Pacific leadership. I consider research approaches such as qualitative and quantitative approaches as well as the relevance of Standpoint theory to this study. I explore research frameworks such as subjectivist and constructivist epistemology. Pacific research approaches are considered such as the Fa'afaletui and Talanoa research methods as well as a description of participant selection. I discuss Pan-Pacific versus ethnic specific Pacific approaches and representation as it relates to the methodology used for this study. I describe data collection approaches in relation to the interviews as well as document analysis and triangulation. I provide some analysis of the methodological approaches used and ethical considerations of this study. The chapter ends with a summary outlining the key points.

Summary of the Purpose of this Study

This study explores the barriers to delivering successful public sector interventions to improve the outcomes for Pacific communities and how Pacific leadership structures and models are utilised to achieve this goal. The public sector has purposely used Pacific leaders to act as a conduit between Pacific people and the public sector. To do this, successive governments have

invested in Pacific leaders to lead and support each government's approach to identifying solutions. However, a better understanding of whether the aims and objectives of Pacific leadership have been achieved is still needed.

Since the 1980s, Aotearoa-New Zealand governments have focused its efforts in understanding what barriers exist for Pacific people in achieving equal or better outcomes. A comprehensive evaluation to measure the effectiveness of Pacific leadership within the public sector would need to take a number of factors into account: for example, whether the Government has a clear strategic understanding of how to build Pacific leadership, the qualities they are looking for in Pacific leaders, how the environment fosters relationships with Pacific leaders, how Pacific leaders are resourced to undertake their role, and who has the ultimate responsibility of responding to the problems Pacific leaders are engaged to solve. The above areas illustrate significant gaps in the evidence that could inform Pacific leaders of how leadership can be more effective. This study, then, aims to address this gap by identifying what challenges Pacific public sector leaders have experienced in their public sector roles and in their relationships with the Pacific communities they serve. The study aims to also identify ways in which Pacific outcomes can be improved through better utilisation of the Pacific leader role.

The research question for this study is "What are the experiences of Pacific leaders who are in Pacific public sector roles in Aotearoa-New Zealand?" The aims of the study are to identify the challenges and barriers for Pacific people employed in Public Service in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The study considers what is working well, for Pacific leaders; what challenges and barriers are being faced by Pacific people in leadership roles; and what solutions can be developed to better support Pacific people in leadership roles?

How Others have Researched Similar Topics

This section examines the methodologies and methods used in a small number of studies that are directly relevant to my topic of study. The approaches used for these studies support the adoption of the methodology and methods used in this study.

This study acknowledges the existing research and literature available in the field of Pacific leadership. Such literature is limited, and this could be an indication of the lack of resource support to undertake study in this area or the fact that Pacific leadership remains in the domain

of orators. Despite the gap in research on Pacific leadership, several university scholars of Pacific (and non-Pacific) ethnicity have delved into the field, resulting in the following studies:

- Dr Cherie Chu's (2009) PhD study, which focused on Mentoring for Leadership in Pacific Education, and which employed an appreciative inquiry approach to consider the strengthening of leadership development through mentoring Pacific students.
- Katavake-McGrath's (2014) Master's in philosophy entitled "Their Worldview and ours: an Exploratory Study into Pacific people, as seen in New Zealand Government Policies, 1998-2013".
- Dr Mele Paea's (2009) Master's thesis that considered "The Leadership Processes of Pacific Public Servants in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and her PhD (2017) on Tongan Leadership and Culture in the New Zealand Public Service".
- Dr Sean Fernandez's (2016) PhD study, which considered "Intersections between Pacific Leadership and International Development".
- Grace Faletutulu's (2016) Master's thesis that considered the perceptions of Pacific leadership amongst young Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand.
- Dr. Silia Pa'usisi Finau PhD titled "Women's leadership in traditional villages in Samoa: The cultural, social and religious challenges".

My reason for recognizing these research studies is because I want to acknowledge the critical research that aims to bring about better understanding of the challenges for Pacific people and the mechanisms put in place to address the long-standing disparity experienced by the Pacific community in Aotearoa. As such, this chapter signals the need to continue to explore the issues for Pacific people in the public sector, and that this exploration must be supported with resources to better understand and alleviate the ongoing struggle for Pacific people in Aotearoa.

Chu (2009) considers the role mentoring plays in the development of Pacific leaders titled "*Mentoring for Leadership in Pacific Education*". Chu utilises case studies as a way for practitioners and researchers to reflect on their mentoring stories utilising Appreciate Inquiry's four phases of Discovery, Dream, Design and Destiny. Chu adapts the 4-Ds of Appreciative Inquiry to Recognise, Realise, Guide and Grow.

As a Tongan-born researcher, Paea's theses (2009;2017) focused on leadership processes of Pacific public servants in Aotearoa-New Zealand and Tongan public sector leaders and their experiences in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. Paea's thesis considers a Tongan leadership model from a Tongan perspective. The research focuses on cultural practices that shape the way in which Tongans perceive and experience leadership differently from other ethnicities. The approach taken is to reflect on Tongan leadership from a strength-based perspective, promoting the leadership capabilities that Tongans bring with them into another cultural context. Paea utilises phenomenology and Talanoa to establish a sound grounding in theoretical perspective (Paea, 2009; Paea, 2017).

Katavake-McGrath's thesis explores the experiences of policy makers and expert policy advisors of Pacific ethnicity on the attitudes and environmental conditions that contribute to the framing of Pacific people's economic wellbeing in government policies. The study considers the prevalence of mainstream westernised economic logic in government policy making and the impact of these policies on Pacific people. Like this study, Katavake-McGrath's study utilises phenomenology and Talanoa as methodological and theoretical approaches as well as semi-structured interviews and document analysis (Katavake-McGrath, 2015).

As a researcher of Māori/Malaysian descent, Dr Sean Fernandez's PhD study "*Intersections between Pacific Leadership and International Development*" (2016) explores the frustrations felt by Tongan and Fijian recipients of education development programmes in the Pacific. The relevance of this study to leadership highlighted the lack of local leaders in this area that has an impact on the level of buy-in that Pacific communities give to educational aid projects. According to Fernandez (2016), the radical humanist position seeks to understand a complex world of shared understandings from the point of view of those who are within the context. Fernandez' chosen research design techniques include semi-structured interviews, field notes, document analysis, and observations. Triangulation is used to ensure data dissemination and analysis provides patterns and themes according to the research topic.

In 2016, Grace Faletutulu completed her master's Thesis titled "*What are young Pacific people's understandings of leadership in Aotearoa-New Zealand?*". Faletutulu's thesis explores the way in which Pacific leadership is understood by young Pacific people. Faletutulu presents three implications of her research: "Firstly, too much focus on culture can become a problem. Secondly, the different contexts that young Pacific people are being raised in influences their leadership beliefs, especially compared to the older generation. Lastly, young Pacific people

need to receive recognition for their ability to negotiate ideas between the Pacific and Western worlds” (p.81).

In 2017, Dr. Silia Pa’usisi Finau completed her PhD titled “*Women’s leadership in traditional villages in Samoa: The cultural, social and religious challenges*”. This study explores the challenges that impede Samoan women from attaining leadership positions in local government in Samoa. Finau’s research provides a platform for generating future thinking in relation to the exclusion of women from leadership and contributes to gender inequality issues. The context for the research is based in Samoa. Finau adopted methods for her study that triangulated to ensure the validity of each approach.

Considered together, the research conducted by Chu (2009), Paea (2009; 2017), Katavake-McGrath (2015), Fernandez (2016), Finau (2016), Faletutulu (2016) place specific focus on understanding Pacific leaders in a range of contexts. Phenomenology and Talanoa are theoretical perspectives and approaches underpinning most of the research design. Like this study, all five authors utilised qualitative approaches.

Furthermore, except for one study where the researcher is non-Pacific, the researchers’ insider perspectives in terms of their ethnic backgrounds and experience in public sector roles align with and are relevant to this study – a Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific researcher with experience as a Pacific public sector leader.

Research Approaches

Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

Qualitative research uses data-gathering techniques such as focus groups and interviews to gain opinions, beliefs, and values through direct and personal contact with the participants (Patton, 1982). This technique requires the researcher to be responsive to, and part of, the interview conversation (Patton, 2002). Additionally, semi-structured interviews allow scope for the participant to be a leader in the interview and not just a giver of information (Arcus et al., 2005). Due to the need for the collection of specific individualised data through representation in key Government services, semi-structured key informant interviews were used for the purpose of data collection for this study (see Appendix 3). In contrast, quantitative methods such as surveying which do not involve direct researcher/participant interaction were seen as

unsuitable because surveys do not consider the unique characteristics of the participant group (Tolich, 2003).

However, quantitative data collection methods were also used and included document analysis in the form of data collected through official information requests from government departments. Quantitative data was collected in relation to the number of Pacific public servants over the period between 1990 to the present time. The Human Resource Capability (Human Rights Commission, 2012) survey collects data on staff in all Public Service departments, as defined in Schedule 1 of the State Sector Act 1988, and some wider State Sector organisations.

The survey has been conducted annually since the year 2000. This HRC survey report covers the 32 core departments of the Public Service. The survey includes all permanent and fixed term employees but does not include contractors or employees who work on a casual or as-required basis. The survey provides capability insights into the Public Service workforce and gives information on changing workforce trends. It also allows agencies to make informed decisions about their workforce.

For the participants of this study, who are of Pacific descent, because of the rich information interviews can generate, a qualitative approach to collecting data from them was appropriate. The focus of this study considers people's opinions, particularly people whose voices represent marginalised groups. The study will use Standpoint theory as a method of analysing feedback from Pacific participants.

Standpoint Theory

Standpoint theory is a method for analysing the authority generated by people's knowledge and how this authority can shape people's opinions. According to Harding (1991), the key idea behind Standpoint theory is that it gives a voice to marginalised groups. The perspectives of individuals within this group are shaped by their social and political perspectives, for example, ethnicity or gender. Standpoint theory challenges which conclusions are credible by considering the objective accounts of those who are oppressed. Standpoint theory within a phenomenological context allows individuals to point to patterns of behaviour that are immersed in the dominant culture. A critical factor about Standpoint theory is how people's thoughts and perceptions are created based on their experiences in social locations or groups (Wylie, 2003). Pacific people may be considered as a homogenous group, they may resemble

one another in terms of race, but if their socioeconomic status is different, their standpoints are not necessarily the same. However, Standpoint theory can still differentiate between people of the same status depending on the situation. Standpoint theory gives a voice to the underprivileged with respect to their social positions but enables them to gain privilege because of the knowledge they hold of their social reality (Rolin, 2009). The Talanoa and Fa'afaletui methods align with Standpoint theory due to the role that Pacific public sectors have in ensuring the marginalised voices of Pacific people are raised through the application of Talanoa and Fa'afaletui methods. Standpoint gives voice to all ethnic-specific Pacific nations as there is shared values that are common to each ethnic specific group.

Pacific people in leadership roles in the public service can often be challenged to have their views heard because they do not belong to the group that has more social power. Therefore, they may be left to consider approaches that allow them to survive by assimilating into the existing culture. Standpoint theory provides a pathway for these experiences to be considered.

From my own perspective as an experienced Pacific leader, utilising Standpoint theory ensures the worldview of Pacific leaders is reflected in their own contexts and clarifies for Pacific leaders whose role it is to address inequalities for the Pacific population.

Standpoint theory was used during the research analysis stage in terms of participants reinforcing the challenges of working within the public sector. Lived experiences of occasions where participants felt undermined were opportunities to reinforce Standpoint theory. Snowball sampling (see below), which aligns with Standpoint theory, was also used for this study.

Research Framework

This section presents the theoretical constructs underpinning this study. The theoretical construct used for this study is subjectivist and constructivist epistemology. The methodological approach uses phenomenology and cultural constructs to support the analysis of participant findings.

Subjectivist and Constructivist Epistemology

This study takes a subjectivist and constructivist approach. In accordance with the theorist O'Leary (2004), subjectivist and constructivist epistemology claim that the world is socially

constructed. Constructivist epistemology accepts the importance of interactions and interpretations in constructing meaning, whereas the subjectivist is underpinned by people's experiences and meaning as the basis of factual knowledge. The combination of a constructivist subjectivist epistemological approach allows the participants' contributions to construct meaning and provide information.

The theoretical approach chosen for this study is post-positivist. This supports the constructivist subjectivist epistemological approach due to my involvement as a post-positivist researcher being relevant to identifying what is meaningful to the individuals who participated in this study. O'Leary (2004) suggests that assumptions related to the positivist paradigm tend to be quantitatively oriented – that is, the world is scientifically driven. According to Paea (2009, p. 35), the post-positivist paradigm is qualitatively focused; that is the world is socially driven. Paea's position, then, supports the use of the post-positivist theoretical approach for this study which focuses on Pacific leader participants' experiences and perceptions.

Phenomenology as a Theoretical Perspective

The methodological approach used for this study is phenomenology. Phenomenological approaches in research are aimed at illuminating specific experiences and meanings as they are perceived by the actors in a situation (Crotty, 1998; Guest et al., 2012). According to Fairfield (2002), Phenomenology as an approach acknowledges the world being constructed through people's views and creativity grounded in their interactions and cohesiveness (Fairfield, 2002). Patton (2002) discusses the use of phenomenological approaches, including conducting in-depth interviews with people who have lived experiences of the phenomena under investigation. For this study, I needed to ensure that the interpretation of lived experiences accurately reflects how participants make sense of the world and in doing so reflects their worldview (Patton, 2002).

The focus of phenomenological approaches being on lived experiences, data tends to relate to attitudes which provides richer information about how attitudes inter-relate. Taking a constructivist approach tends to shape the research question towards one that is about how people conceptualize the things around them rather than questions relating to actual events in the real world. When phenomenology is positioned with Pacific approaches, then truth relationality is paramount as the searcher is seeking out the relational nature of things. This gives importance to the relational nature of reality.

Thus, a phenomenological approach was appropriate and as a result, the participants were able to provide valuable feedback based on their leadership roles given all the characteristics of participants were valued.

The Researcher as an Insider-Outsider Researcher

Due to my years of experience working in the Pacific community and in public sector roles representing and advocating for Pacific people, as a researcher, I have both developed relationships and acquired knowledge within the context of the focus of this study. As a Pacific person born in Aotearoa-New Zealand, my insider perspective relates to the worldview of those participants born in Aotearoa-New Zealand. However, Tuhiwai Smith (1999) invites researchers to consider the lens they use to view indigenous perspectives and worldviews, so their representations are truthful and reduce the marginalisation of indigenous communities. Similarly, Tawake (2000) and Sharrad (1999) support “authentic” and genuine approaches to research with indigenous communities. In terms of the Pacific, Sharrad applies the term authentic to Pacific Islanders’ writings depicting their own worldview. Phenomenological research approaches use the term “bracketing” in relation to be minimising the imposition of researchers’ presuppositions and constructions of the data which could lead to the data being tainted (Crotty, 1998, p. 83).

Pacific Research Approaches

Issues of power in the research processes are increasingly being addressed across a range of social science research fields within Aotearoa-New Zealand (Anae, 2010; Tamasese, 1994; Teariki, Spoonley, & Tomoana, 1992; Te Awe Kotuku, 1991). Furthermore, several Pacific researchers have raised the need for culturally appropriate methods for research being undertaken within Pacific communities (Anae, 2010; Tamasese, Peteru, and Waldegrave, 1998; Tupuola 1993).

Pacific researchers have contributed to the development of ethical approaches to research methods for Pacific people. This enabled me to ensure that research methods and practices utilised for this study were in the context of Pacific people’ lived experiences and that the analysis and interpretation approaches remain faithful to the context of those Pacific people being interviewed (Anae, 2007; Tamasese et al., 1998; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Vaoletti, 2006).

The relatively recent introduction of the concept of decolonising methodological frameworks and methodologies has been a prompt for Pacific researchers to develop a range of ethnic specific and pan-Pacific approaches to research. Some examples include the Teu le Va research tool (Anae, 2010), the Kakala framework (Thaman, 1997), the Vanua research framework (Nabobo-Baba, 2008), the Fa'afaletui research model (Tamasese et al., 1998; 2010), and the Talanoa Research methodology (Vaiioleti, 2006).

Teu le va is a research tool that provides principles and practices that assist the development of research to have a focus on Pacific student success in education. This research tool supports collaboration between researchers, policy makers, communities, and families. This tool aligns well with the purpose of this study because participants provide their experiences and perspectives as it relates to similar stakeholders (Anae, 2007). According to Anae (2007), Teu le va is aligned with a cultural ecology research approach in its focus on the significance of context in understanding the domains of social relationships of all stakeholders. By reconciling connections within and between these contexts, the possibility of a transformative education agenda for Pacific communities will be advanced. According to Anae (2007), Teu le va emphasises the cultural protocols and importance of relationships that Pacific students and their families will benefit from. The relevance of this concept to my study is placed on the relationship between Pacific and non-Pacific actors and how contributions are made and accepted by Pacific leaders.

The Kakala (Thaman, 1997) and Vanua (Nabobo-Baba, 2011) research frameworks provide specific descriptions and guidance of the research phases utilising cultural competency and terminology to describe each phase. For example, according to Nabobo-Baba (2011), Vanua describes the different stages of the research process from conception, preparation and planning, entry, dialogue and storytelling, analysis and report writing, acknowledgement post interview, departure reporting back, and transformative processes and change that occur because of the research. This helps participants be more at ease throughout the data collection process. Kakala (Thaman, 1997) takes a similar approach with a description of the different stages from data collection to analysis and reporting of the outcomes using the analogy of making a Kakala (lei) to outline each stage.

The Fa'afaletui Model encourages researchers to ensure the worldviews of the participants are considered. This is particularly important when researching with Pacific people given the hierarchical nature of Pacific social systems and knowledge. There is a need to acknowledge

that everyone has a place and contributes to the overall outcome (Tamasese et al., 1997). Tamasese et al. (2010) refined the Fa'afaletui method so that researchers, facilitators, and participants relate to each other in a way that promotes the resolution of complex situations while, at the same time, enabling the development of relationships so consensus can be achieved.

The Talanoa research approach developed by Dr. Timoti Vaoleti (2006) reinforces the importance of the conversations that assist the research process. Talanoa is a term that describes the ability to talk or have a conversation where the sharing of thoughts and ideas occur within the context of qualitative research (Vaoleti, 2006). Vaoleti supports the idea that, in Pacific research, Pacific people's experiences, aspirations, and challenges are recorded authentically so that accurate, true, and real information is generated and made available for Pacific researchers, rather than data solely derived from other research methods (Vaoleti, 2006). Both Vaoleti and Tamasese et al. (1997) reinforce the need for researchers to authenticate research participants' contribution to knowledge. However, Tamasese et al. (1997) extended the Fa'afaletui method (Tamasese, 2010) to acknowledge that complex issues may arise in the exchange of information.

All five methodologies and frameworks – Teu le va, Kakala, Vanua, Fa'afaletui, and Talanoa, – provided a suitable platform for this research which required an approach underpinned by respect, reciprocity, and openness; they also provided a safeguard that the analysis of Pacific people's stories was not taken out of context. Despite the similarities in the approaches, I chose to focus on the specific nature of the Talanoa and Fa'afaletui method. The reasons I have chosen these methodologies are explained below.

Since the inception of Pacific methodologies, Pacific researchers continue to explore the impact when merging Pacific methodology within Western research practices Tuia & Cobb (2021). As an Aotearoa-New Zealand born researcher of first generation, I held the traditional values of having lived experience as a Pacific person in one hand, while in the other hand, Western knowledge of research approaches and practices. Reynolds (2019) refers to this as the cultural-edge-walk where negotiating identities for Pacific researchers is necessary to ensure the lived experience and realities for Pacific people are represented (Sanga, 2004).

The Fa’afaletui Method

I considered a range of culturally appropriate methods (outlined above) and chose to utilise the Faafaletui method first developed by Tamasese et al. (1998) and later refined (Tamasese et al., 2010; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Tuia & Cobb, 2021). The Fa’afaletui method “is commonly known as the highest type of formal *matai* (chief meeting where the gathering and validation of important knowledge takes place” (Tuia & Cobb (2021; p.277). The Fa’afaletui method was chosen for this study as it supports research process that respects uniqueness and distinctiveness while at the same time enabling the development of relationships and the ability to draw a consensus.

The Fa’afaletui method is replicated by the traditional processes of how Samoan villages discuss issues pertaining to the village and family that are of high importance (Tautunu, 2015). Fa’afaletui reflects the hierarchical nature of authority through the matai system with different levels of chieftainship playing a key role in managing the affairs of the village through representation and talanoa. Given it’s early inception, the Fa’afaletui method has been used when researching pan ethnic specific communities in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

The Fa’afaletui method is underpinned by the values of respect, humility, and the honouring of people, ensuring that each of the Pacific Nations and their cultures, knowledge, and values represented in this research are acknowledged. Fa’afaletui involves a system whereby researchers, facilitators, and participants relate to each other in a way that promotes the resolution of complex methodological issues so that serious attention can be paid to the cultural perspectives, etiquette, protocols, and the upholding of the various Pacific languages (Tamasese et al., 2010).

The method encourages the researcher to ensure that Pacific participants can express their own experiences, opinions, and understandings in their own language, and in a way that guarantees safety and confidentiality. Safety and confidentiality are important in terms of protecting the participants who otherwise may not feel confident to openly participate because of status or hierarchical positioning.

Given Pacific leadership and its hierarchical structure, Fa’afaletui further encourages an open intergenerational dialogue that allows particularly Aotearoa-New Zealand-born participants to speak freely about their understanding of sacred topics such as culture without feeling judged. Tiatia (1998) emphasises the importance of establishing research environments that foster an

opportunity to interview young Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific people in the absence of elders, church and community leaders thus allowing open dialogue. The relevance of this approach to this study is that it ensures that the participants, Pacific public servants who are part of a community that is unique but close in terms of its relationships, can take part.

The Talanoa Method

Talanoa is a phenomenological research method which aims to understand the research participants' experiences in relation to certain events. The term 'Talanoa' derives from Pacific nations as they define the verbal and oratory approach between two or more people. Because Pacific people place significant value on respectful interaction in talanoa, particularly when engaging in conversations on important or critical matters. The method theorises on Pacific research approaches from a personal and Tongan perspective. The term 'Talanoa' is also recognised in other Pacific nation groups translated as "to talk" (Vaiioleti, 2009). The Talanoa method has become widely recognised across academic and government agencies as a method that puts at ease the process of engagement between agencies and Pacific people, church, and community organisations. The Talanoa method is positively aligned with the Fa'afaletui method because the Talanoa method is the way in which information from Pacific people is gathered with the Fa'afaletui method supporting the synthesis of information gathered by Pacific people to be analysed in the faithful context of those who participated and provided their experiences and stories (Tamasese et al, 2010). Phenomenology aligns with Talanoa as Talanoa gives a rich account of peoples experiences.

Fa'afaletui and Talanoa

Participant Selection

My first task was to develop an interview schedule that was reflective of the profiles highlighted in the literature review (Shaw & Eichbaum, 2008). I also established a list of possible participants to interview (see Appendix 4), considering characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, public sector experience, and location to provide a balanced representation. My extensive experience working across Pacific communities and the public sector provided sufficient knowledge about who I could approach to participate in this research project, selecting participants because I knew them, thus making it more convenient to identify them (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). Therefore, based on my own knowledge and experience,

participants were selected to contribute their cultural knowledge and professional experience to the study. Other participants were identified via the snowballing technique.

Pan Pacific Versus Ethnic-Specific Approach and Representation

The focus of this research examines the experiences of Pacific people. However, as explained earlier in this thesis, the Pacific countries that make up the Aotearoa-New Zealand Pacific population are unique in terms of language, protocols, customs, spirituality, and beliefs. To do justice to this research, then, it was important to gain a cross section of ethnic specific leaders so that different perspectives could be gained from their lived experiences. Interviewees represented Fijian, Cook Islands, Tongan, Samoan, Tokelauan, and Niuean communities. The seventh country, Tuvalu, was not represented amongst those who were interviewed. This acknowledges the relatively low level of engagement Tuvalu representatives have in the Pacific public sector leadership space. Attempts were made to interview people of Tuvalu who were knowledgeable in Pacific representation; however, those who were approached did not feel confident to participate based on their limited experience and knowledge of the public sector.

Snowballing Technique

A snowballing technique to recruit participants can be useful in accessing insider knowledge of people's roles and responsibilities and assists in identifying those who may not be known to the researcher (Denscombe, 2003). Transience of Pacific people within the public service is relatively high due to the focus on reducing inequalities, and it can therefore be advantageous for a Pacific public servant with the right skills to take up new opportunities.

The snowballing technique was effective as it assisted the researcher to probe further into the ethnic specific Pacific networks and contacts to ascertain where the level of experience was held where there was more than one Pacific public sector leader. The contacts use their knowledge to "create a series of referrals" based on the shared knowledge of the contact group (Fink, 1995; Platzer & James, 1997). The hierarchical nature of Pacific leadership and the establishment of a group that supported the researcher to develop referral or contact lines meant that the Snowballing technique to some extent helped to elicit from Pacific leaders themselves who would be the appropriate leaders to respond to the objectives of this research.

The approach involves the researcher initially gathering information from a small set of contacts who trust the researcher (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). The contacts use their knowledge

to “create a series of referrals” based on the shared knowledge of the contact group (Fink, 1995; Platzer & James, 1997). A snowballing technique to recruit participants can be useful in accessing insider knowledge of people’s roles and responsibilities and will assist in identifying those who may not be known to the researcher. Transience of Pacific people within the public service is relatively high due to the focus on reducing inequalities, and it can therefore be advantageous for a Pacific public servant with the right skills to take up new opportunities. The snowballing technique and the establishment of a group who can support the researcher to develop referral or contact lines will support this. Snowballing was considered an appropriate technique as opposed to an open invitation due to the nature of the Pacific public sector role and that the numbers of Pacific public sector leaders would be small. Given the small number of Pacific leaders, the network of Pacific people in the public service means Pacific staff are well known to each other. The approach also supported referrals from ethnic-specific leaders to ensure there was a good representation of ethnic specific leaders during the study.

According to Harvey (2011, p. 435), what distinguishes elites from non-elites is not just job titles and powerful positions but the “ability to exert influence” through “social networks, social capital and strategic positions within social structures”. Mikecz (2012) discusses his experiences and reflections from his two-year study of interviewing Estonian economic and political elites. He reinforces the importance of gaining access, acquiring trust, and establishing rapport. He emphasises the need for researchers to gain a background knowledge of their elite interviewee, particularly in the areas of culture, life history, and career, which helps to decrease the status imbalance between researcher and interviewee.

For this study, snowball sampling was used for the purpose of participant recruitment allowing the researcher to approach participants who had credibility based on a personal “sponsor” (Denscombe, 2003). The approach involves the researcher initially gathering information from a small set of contacts who trust the researcher (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). The contacts use their knowledge to “create a series of referrals” based on the shared knowledge of the contact group (Fink, 2003; Platzer & James, 1997).

Data Collection

The data collection methods used in this study included qualitative data from key informant interviews and from focus group interviews utilising the Talanoa and

Fa'afaletui method, and quantitative data from documents obtained via official information requests.

Interviews

Quantitative methodology to data collection were used as a way of engaging participants understanding of their empirical world. Most of my interviewees were in Wellington because of the tendency for Pacific public sector roles to be based in Wellington. However, through my experiences with unions and politics, I was also known to several Pacific political leaders in Auckland. This made it easy for me to engage with people I knew and to use networks to identify relevant interviewees.

In preparation for the interviews, I developed an information sheet (appendix 1) and consent form (appendix 2). I placed particular emphasis on the confidentiality aspect of the consent form knowing that the participants were likely to be known to each other. Feedback was provided by my supervisors as well as a small number of both Pacific and non-Pacific researchers. There were three phases of interviews. The forms were submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics (HEC) committee (appendix 5). Feedback from HEC panel members reinforced the need for details of the HEC Chairperson to be included in the form as alternative contacts for participants.

The first phase involved four preliminary interviews. A draft interview schedule (appendix 3) was developed and tested with supervisors and colleagues. The preliminary interviews also acted as a pre-test (Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). The draft interview schedule was intended to act as a guide to ensure the interviews encapsulated the range of areas needing to be covered.

This first phase of interviews was semi structured and helped shape the focus for future interviews with a larger cohort and assisted in refining interview questions (appendix 3). The interviews took one to one hour and 15 minutes per interview. Only one of the participants opted to have a summary of their transcript sent to them. The researcher used a professional transcription service to complete and review transcripts.

The information form (appendix 1) and consent forms (appendix 2) used for the preliminary study were refined for the second phase of interviews. The second phase involved a larger cohort (8) which focused on specific representation of government agencies, gender, and ethnicity. All 12 participants interviewed in phase one and two provided their consent without

question as they viewed this study as an opportunity to share their experiences but also contribute to a study that was needed and relevant to their own experiences in the public sector.

The final cohort was interviewed in 2016 when, upon reviewing the data from previous interviews and discussing with my supervisors what gaps existed, the need for a specific youth-focused response to the study was identified.

Hence, a focus group with six Pacific young people, all aged under 25 years with varying experiences in the public sector, was undertaken in July 2018. Selection of these participants involved the snowballing technique: I identified a young student who was midway through an Environmental studies programme, but who I knew had been offered summer vacation work within the public sector. This student was able to identify other current undergraduate and post-graduate students aged under 25 years who could participate in the study. The younger participants' experiences spanned across new entry roles, post graduate study and work, summer studentships, and being Tupu Tai (11-week Pacific public sector programme) internship programme recipients. The students had studied in Wellington and approximately half of them had moved to Wellington to study for their degrees. Some of the participants had graduated and had found entry roles in government departments. The focus group was held in my home with refreshments provided. All participants invited attended. The interview questions were modified to consider the younger participants however this was done verbally was opposed to following the script of questions as it allowed participants to have more of a discussion as opposed to interviews. What was interesting about this focus group interview was that when I transcribed the interview, very little feedback was provided and was almost outed by my attempts to keep the dialogue going with a group of young professionals. I bought this down to the issue of elitism in that given my leadership experience coupled with cultural etiquette for an older Pacific leader as the researcher, that this may have prevented younger participants from being open with their responses as the discussions in a face to face context. Based on this outcome, I chose to email questions for clarification and found that younger participant responses were more extensive and detailed than when the face to face interview took place. I resolved from this experience that younger Pacific participants are less likely to engage and be opened to respond with a Pacific researcher who is older and experienced in the leadership field. Therefore, my positionality as a Pacific researcher who has extensive leadership experience was a hindrance to supporting good engagement with younger Pacific people.

Of the 18 semi-structured interviews undertaken, all but seven were conducted at the interviewees' places of work. The remaining seven participants consisted of a focus group interview at the researchers' home for six participants, and one interview took place over the phone. On one occasion an interviewee was based in the Pacific Islands where technology was not fully developed which created a challenge. I was not able to interview this participant. However, the interviewee recommended a replacement participant with similar characteristics – another Niuean Pacific leader based in Wellington. This is consistent with the snowball method of identifying potential interviewees. All key informant semi-structured interviews took 1-1.5 hours to conduct whereas the focus group interview took 2 hours.

My initial contact with participants involved a phone call with messages being left on their voicemail if they were not available. I immediately followed this up with an email message providing more information about the request for an interview with an information sheet and consent form attached for their information and consideration. The information sheet (Appendix 1) provided information and contact details of the researcher and supervisors. The consent form (Appendix 2) provided information about the participants' rights.

Upon commencing each key informant interview, I provided extra consent forms to be signed if required. I went through each clause with the participants ensuring they understood their rights, in particular their decision to disclose. I sought permission to utilise the audio recorder which all participants agreed to. I arrived at the interviews with refreshments to offer the participant. At the end of the interviews, participants were invited to contact me with any further information or afterthoughts. Although there was the option of receiving a summary of the interviews, none of the participants took up this offer.

The data for the young people's focus group provided some clarity that the interview did not provide sufficient data to provide the researcher with confidence that the young people's perspectives were considered. This was considered as a methodological tension. The transcript showed that the researcher had spoken for a great deal of the time with the participants. This is likely to have reflected the effect of the researcher as a leaders on these young Pacific people who may have considered speaking freely to be a sign of disrespect. The researcher chose to engage with the participants again, this time by email, with a small number of follow-up questions. Whilst the researcher provided options of either meeting for a second interview or providing their responses via email, the group decided to all respond by email. As a result, the responses were more in-depth and provided ample detail of the young participants'

perspectives. This is consistent with the technological age of digital natives, where young people tend to communicate via social media and technological devices.

The data I received from key informant interviews was rich and I believe that this was because I had a familiar relationship with the participant and that I was of Pacific descent. This made the interviewees feel more at ease and safe knowing that someone of their own culture will ensure their feedback is translated in the faithful context it was given. The interviewees were extremely busy and to make themselves available given their busy schedules was an indication that they viewed the research as new and relevant. The young peoples focus group raised concerns about racist and discriminatory practices in the public service, even though their time in the public service was new. Like the key informant interviews, participants from the youth focus group viewed the research topic as relevant and important for them to contribute to. I also felt that participants from youth focus group felt the research topic could support them in their roles in the public service as they navigate turbulent terrain.

Triangulation

Triangulation is defined as the combining and mixing of methods and data so diverse viewpoints and perspectives can shed light on a topic (Olsen, 2004). The mixing of quantitative and qualitative methods is not unusual but can signal problems if appropriate checks and balances are not put in place (Olsen, 2004). Triangulation of data enables the research to be testable and allows for the themes derived from the data to provide an explanation on how one set of variables is related to another and how one set of variables influences another (Perone & Tucker, 2003). Triangulation in this study, then, involved obtaining quantitative data from relevant documents and qualitative data from key informant interviews and analysing it for emerging themes.

Analysis

I chose thematic analysis to analyse the data collected from the interviews, whereby the data was interrogated for emerging themes. Thematic analysis focuses on “identifying implicit and explicit ideas within data” (Guest et al., 2012, p. 10). Summary markers of the data were developed by coding the raw data into themes. Summary markers provided an opportunity to zoom into specific points made through the data analysis. I utilised highlighting sticky notes to place along specific points of the data; this would support the next process of coding. Analysis

included comparing frequency of themes, identification of co-themes, and the relationships between themes (Guest et al., 2012).

Potential risks associated with thematic analysis relate to the application of codes to text and the need to agree on the relevant codes and how they are interpreted. To monitor this risk, the agreed codes were determined through discussion and negotiation with my supervisors (Guest et al., 2012). As a researcher, I felt comfortable that the themes adequately represented the feedback, including quantitative (documentation) and qualitative data collected. The transcribing of the interviews was undertaken by a professional transcriber. There was a significant amount of data which meant that I had to be consistently reading it to identify patterns which led to re-coding over several attempts until I was satisfied with where the data was located across key themes.

Although the themes arrived quite late in the process of analysing the data, the introduction of a youth focus group meant a review of the themes. The initial approach to thematic analysis involved coding the data. The data had been colour coded which meant that the breaking down, addressing duplication, and managing the analysis was manageable (Patton, 2002).

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval for my study was obtained from the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (HEC). As part of the feedback, I ensured from the ethics committee that participants could access them if they were unsure or concerned about any part of the research process. As my participants were prominent leaders in the Pacific community, there was a possibility that they may be identifiable because of the small number of Pacific leaders in the public sector.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a description, justification, and rationale for the methods employed by the study. The chapter also outlined the quantitative and qualitative research approaches used that were underpinned by a constructivist and post-positive theoretical paradigm. Phenomenology was utilised reinforced by Pacific researchers as a relevant methodological approach that had supported studies of similar focus. The chapter gave an account of data collection methods and procedures that were used during the research data collection phase. Triangulation of literature, both quantitative and qualitative data, and thematic analysis was

undertaken and was used to develop themes relating to this study. Talanoa (Vaiotei, 2006) and Fa'afaletui (2010) methodological approaches were used as a way of supporting Pacific ways of engaging with Pacific people with a specific focus on Pacific young people.

The Snowballing technique supported an exploration of other public sector leaders who could participate in the interview. The analysis adopted the theory of triangulation. Ethical issues were considered but did not arise during the process of interviewing participants. The research approach engaged both Western and Pacific methods that supported participants to engage with confidence. This was reflected in significant amounts of data collected.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Pacific people are a growing, youthful, and diverse population both in New Zealand and in the Pacific region, so these awards acknowledge and encourage the contribution and achievements of our young Pacific emerging leaders as well as their families who support them.

Hon Aupito William Sio, Minister for Pacific people, 2020 Speech at Inaugural Pacific Cooperation Foundation Youth Leadership Awards

This study explores the barriers to delivering successful public sector interventions to improve outcomes for Pacific communities and how Pacific leadership structures and models are used to achieve this goal. The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings from key informant interviews and focus groups. The interview questions were designed to engage with Pacific sector leaders and young Pacific public sector employees to respond to the research questions. The research explored participant experiences of Pacific leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. Participants were asked about the challenges, barriers, and solutions for Pacific leadership.

This chapter presents the findings under five themes (and sub-themes) that emerged from the interviewees' responses to the research question "What are the experiences of Pacific leaders working in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public service". The main themes that emerged were 1) Negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific and Western constructs of leadership; 2) Creating safe environments for Pacific public sector leaders; 3) Valuing Pacific leaders as knowledge experts; 4) Access to equal employment opportunities; and 5) Growing Pacific leadership. The sub-themes ensure that participants' responses are reflected in depth.

Negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific and western constructs of Leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector

This section considers participants' responses in relation to the perceptions Pacific participants held in relation to the changing world, the skills, and attributes of Pacific leaders, respecting Pacific people and communities, humility as a natural leadership trait, the practice of reciprocity amongst Pacific people, honouring of Pacific people and the places where Pacific leadership happens. This section ends with a summary.

Perceptions of Pacific Leadership in a Changing World

Participants discussed their perceptions of what Pacific leadership is:

Pacific leadership happens at certain times, audiences, and environments. If you have been raised in the Pacific context, you know when it's happening.

Accumulation of cultural ways of doing things. Key areas where you will find Pacific leadership is in families, communities, churches, the Government, in a lot of places.

When I think of Pacific leadership, the three 'P' of the Treaty of Waitangi comes to mind, Partnership (between the palagi and Pacific), Protection, of our cultural ways of doing things, language etc., and participation.

Although Pacific leadership exists and is well known in Aotearoa-New Zealand, participants felt that Pacific is not an ethnicity, but a term to describe Pacific nations brought together by migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand during the 1950s and 60s:

There are no such thing as Pacific leadership as Pacific people are made up of different South Pacific countries who have come under the umbrella of Pacific which was a term invented by the Aotearoa-New Zealand government making it easier for them to describe who we are, but the term fails to describe our unique language, culture, and beliefs.

Participants expressed their views that the Pacific leaders of tomorrow are most likely to be Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born Pacific. With the increasing trend of mixed ethnic marriages this is likely to change the identity of Pacific people in the future. Census Data illustrates the growing Pacific population that are born in Aotearoa-New Zealand. This may have an impact on the authenticity of cultural traditions and protocols being reinforced through future Pacific leaders:

Future Pacific people will face competing values as the Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born- Pacific population increases and along with this an increase in mixed ethnic marriages. This may challenge the perception of what Pacific leadership has looked like in the past to what it will look like in the future. The concern is that

Pacific values will need to compete with other ethnic values which could result in a lower expectation to consider Pacific values as important.

Participants believe that Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born-Pacific leaders have no other choice but to compromise their values in an Aotearoa-New Zealand setting to be accepted and valued. This influences how Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born-Pacific leaders behave:

The biggest gap [is] they don't recognise their point of difference; they behave like the palagi bureaucrat because that is the pathway near to them and known to them. They may also look down on their Pacific communities and not consult with them as much as they should.

Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born-Pacific leaders are expected by their Pacific communities to reinforce their identity in a mainstream environment. Participants discussed the importance of their leadership contributing and making a difference to improved outcomes for Pacific people as opposed to being recognised for the leadership skills they bring:

So, if the Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born Pacific public sector leaders do not work hard at highlighting their point of difference in a mainstream environment, it will be difficult for them to understand why they are in their roles and who they are there to serve.

As a solution, participants believe that one area Pacific leaders need to manage is how relationships are nurtured, in the same way Pacific relationships are considered as one of the pivotal cornerstones of the Pacific culture.

As Pacific people, our relationships with people, of any culture is important because they support the formation of a strong bond. How we treat our own Pacific people and how we operate as a village is reliant on how strong our connections and relationships are thus the foundation the village stands on is strong.

For Pacific people, identity is changing over time and within generations. Migration has played a pivotal role in the way Pacific people view their culture in Aotearoa-New Zealand which will continue to be assessed and reassessed by future Pacific populations over time. Pacific leaders

hold specific skills and attributes that support them to engage with their Pacific communities across Aotearoa-New Zealand and in the Pacific.

Skills and Attributes of Pacific Leaders

Since the migration of the 1950s and 60s, Pacific leadership has evolved over time. As generations have grown, so has the need to understand the changing face of Pacific leadership.

Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born participants explained that Pacific leaders are held in high esteem not only in their own families, but also in their communities. Most, if not all, Pacific leaders earn the right to lead due to the service they have given to their families and communities. They have the proven ability to lead due to their skill of oratory, influence, and service. Pacific-born leaders explained that leadership can be bestowed upon family members depending on their position within the family. Traditionally, there have been expectations on the oldest siblings of a family to carry the responsibility of being good role models for the younger siblings, setting an example by achieving educationally, not only bringing pride to the family name but also showing younger siblings how they must act, allocating responsibilities, and providing care:

Dad told me what my role should be, I am the eldest daughter therefore I need to set a good example for the rest of the siblings. I needed to study hard so that they could see that I needed to be the role model.

Everyone has their role, making sure there is enough food, the house is clean, the visitors receive refreshments, fine mats, tapa cloth is ready when we need it.

The concepts of respect, humility, reciprocity, and service are often combined into a broader understanding of what it is to be Pacific. Pacific researchers have referred to these concepts as the underlying cultural way of being as Pacific people. The concepts themselves are difficult to distinguish from each other as the link between each concept is defined in the actions and words of Pacific people.

Respecting Pacific people and Communities

Pacific researchers and philosophers relate to this common term of respect as “Va” which, for Pacific people, represents an in-depth understanding of respect that is shown from one Pacific person to another through the connections of “space” between people and things. The term is commonly known across the Pacific to represent kindness, compassion, and empathy. It is

reciprocal in nature as when one person treats another with respect, within a Pacific context this is reciprocated in kindness.

One participant, discussed the practice of true Pacific leadership, referred to by the term Va:

In the midst [is the] concept of Va, concept of sacred relationships establishment, enhancement, building of relationships and all values around respect, sense of compassion, sense of caring and around big long-term traditions.

Participants described the effects of attitudes and behaviours that are disrespectful:

When, as Pacific people, we are treated with disrespect, it affects our balance in life, we experience disharmony which makes it difficult to build relationships. The relationships need to be built on trust.

The concept of Va has significant relevance for Pacific leadership. It is this practice that supports engagement and role models a traditional Pacific approach to create trusting and long-lasting relationships, these being the key objectives of a Pacific leader. Va is well understood by those Pacific-born leaders who were responsible for introducing it into the Aotearoa-New Zealand context post-migration. Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born-Pacific children are taught this concept of respect from a very young age, not just by their parents, but by the wider extended fanau, church, and community:

Well, I think it's a huge challenge for young Pacific leaders today because they are wearing many hats. First, they know what works and what is expected within the mainstream domain, but they also are trying to be true to the beliefs of how they think things should operate; but that's one level, that's extremely frustrating trying to be fa'aaloalo [respectful] when other people do not understand those sorts of politeness, etiquette, and kindness.

Participants believe that our leaders have been raised closer to the concept of “le va” (respect), that we have been taught to take this concept into our everyday lives including in the public sector. This means that Pacific leaders must work very hard to form a wide range of relationships to influence favourable outcomes for Pacific people:

It's not that we can't, but we will rather avoid conflict and go around the outside. We can work at this, give me a week.

However, there was a sense that future generations of Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born-Pacific leaders will not be as patient or respectful given the Western environment in which they have been raised:

I cannot see our future Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born-Pacific being as patient. They will want outcomes and will do what they must do to get the outcome needed. Just looking at your policy this is not right, I want to call an urgent board meeting, (for current leaders) that's our last resort, not our first.

A tense public sector tense environment can create the need for Pacific leaders to achieve deadlines according to what is best for the public sector, and not necessarily what is best for Pacific communities. There is a risk that such pressure can lead to communications coming across as being disrespectful.

Humility as a Natural Leadership Trait

Participants explored what it takes to be a good leader. Humility stood out as a strong prerequisite for a successful Pacific leader, someone who can engage with their community through the ability to humble themselves. Even when leaders are in the wrong, communities are more likely to forgive once a leader has acknowledged and asked for forgiveness:

Just standing up and acknowledging someone is a big deal to us, that we are big enough to say sorry, please, thank you I am sorry - for each of those things, as Pacific people, there is a set of processes, there are protocols, and it allows us to begin and finish something and move on to the next thing. I think a good leader can say please, thank you and I'm sorry.

Day-to-day actions are incorporated into how Pacific people show humility. These actions have been in place for many years forming traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation:

From when we were young, we were taught to take our shoes off at the front door, this shows the family how much humility we have for them, that we would not bring the dirt of our shoes into their clean home. I feel uncomfortable when people enter my home with their shoes when my own family are expected to keep their shoes off when entering.

Humility is also seen to be an important response to achieving success. Showing off success can often lead to feelings of jealousy from those who follow, which can result in a loss of confidence in a leader as it appears the leader may be in the leadership role to show their own achievements and build their own credibility:

Sometimes our leaders talk about the importance of being humble, but they fail to practise humility which ends up with Pacific people not wanting to support them.

The Practice of Reciprocity Amongst Pacific people

Participants believe that reciprocity serves an important purpose when beginning a journey as a Pacific leader, in that the leader serves their community as a way of recognising their support of the leader:

I think because a lot of our Pacific people do not come out of school with high education qualification levels – and I ultimately think it's being Pacific – I have to give back. I don't mind because my Pacific community have really been behind me and pushed me forward and because of the opportunities I am given, [and] also the position that I have and the influence our team has, I always feel sort of not like I have to but want to give back to my Pacific communities.

Participants discussed the importance of reciprocating the support the community has given any leader. In families, reciprocity exists through the practice of recognising when families need support. For Samoans, the concept of Fa'alavelave (reciprocal support of resources) is widely practiced in Aotearoa-New Zealand today, but not as strongly as it had been for early migrants. Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born participants talked about how the practice of Fa'alavelave can be difficult for Pacific families because often they give more than they can afford, leaving families to suffer:

I can see how this concept would have worked well in Samoa prior to the monetary system which...has replaced the fine mats and cattle that use to be gifted to families during a bereavement or wedding. However, today, the offering of monetary support is not as popular amongst Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born Samoans.

Honouring of Service to Pacific people

In Pacific contexts, leadership is displayed in the way one serves; if it is done well, then the family is credited with having good leaders who provide service to their visitors and communities. One participant believed that, due to family expectations, offspring in the family who showed potential to achieve educationally were often excused from the cultural responsibilities and expectations:

I know in my family, when my sister was sitting School Certificate examinations our father told us we had to do the housework, ensure she has refreshments. It was a painful five months as everything was put on hold, so she was supported to study. When my father returned from his printer's job at 4am in the morning, she would be awake studying...she passed five subjects and our parents were over the moon. As new migrants, this was the proof to the families back home that their sacrifice to come to NZ was worth it...I often remind her that it was like we all passed School Certificate.

The concepts and practices of respect, humility, reciprocity, and service are all tied within the practice of Tautua (leadership). This reinforces the Samoan proverb, “*O le ala I le pule o le tautua*” – “*The path to leadership is through service*”. Where Pacific leadership occurs can be dependent on how Pacific leadership proceedings occur.

The Places Where Pacific Leadership Happens

Just as leadership can be defined in many ways, leadership can mean different things to people living in different places. According to participants, where a leader lives and works has a huge bearing on how local people and communities retain their connectedness and ownership to their local issues:

My parents migrated to Aotearoa-New Zealand from the Pacific. They built their home, family and community in this City and they are very passionate about the local issues.

Many Pacific people settled here on arrival from the Pacific, so in a sense it became their home away from home. Churches and communities reflect the cultural beliefs and values.

Participants discussed the importance of having local understanding of how people in their communities' experience life and how it is important that the Government uses local knowledge to develop services:

You have to have lived here or have regular engagement with the community here to know and understand what their needs are.

It can be frustrating when people from the public sector come here, take our information, and develop services that are being funded by outside agencies to support us. These services do not reflect the population they need to be served in my community. We have services in place that need more resources to support our communities.

Location of leadership has an impact on whether communities feel they are receiving equal resources and focus. Participants who have resided and represented the Pacific communities in Auckland had a range of perspectives that related to how challenging it is to ensure an Auckland Pacific perspective is embedded in government policy when most Pacific people and services are based in Auckland, but most policy makers are based in Wellington:

Although we are all Pacific in Aotearoa-New Zealand, there are vast differences in the way Pacific people in different parts of Aotearoa-New Zealand experience life, services, and support. This is why it is critical that local populations' perspectives are taken into account by government policy agencies.

Despite relevant government agencies having a base in Auckland, they are usually considered to be a satellite of the head office where the key decision making happens. Participants believe that more needs to be done to ensure Auckland's perspectives are considered when developing policy and services.

Negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific and Western constructs of leadership is a phenomenon that weaves in and out of the cultural fabric of Pacific people. The place where leadership happens is multi-dimensional as it crosses Pacific cultural, family, spirituality, and community spaces. The act of Pacific leadership is closely associated with values that represent the collective responsibility and holistic nature. When Pacific leaders take their values into the public sector space, they may not be understood or reciprocated by non-Pacific colleagues.

In such instances, the space becomes uncomfortable or even “unsafe” for Pacific leaders as they are unable to be themselves.

Creating Safe Environments for Pacific Public Sector Leaders

Pacific people are known for their respectful, humble, and caring nature. These attributes are naturally connected to the way Pacific people build relationships and to promoting goodness and positivity. As discussed in Chapter Three, there have been many reports to suggest that the environment in which the public sector operates is driven by bureaucracy that is focused on meeting political expectations.

This section discusses the balancing expectation between the public sector and Pacific community expectation, responding to Pacific community expectation, Pacific women leaders and their experiences in the public sector, challenges of being a Pacific woman leader today, pay equity issues, cultural barriers to the progression of Pacific women, developing and balancing expectations between the Public Sector and Pacific community expectations.

Participants acknowledge the importance of advocacy of Pacific people’s issues in government and, until they are addressed, Pacific people will continue to experience barriers to wellbeing:

The key issue for me is our Pacific voice...if our voice is not represented in government, then the rules will not suit our needs. This will be a barrier to our Pacific people progressing.

If you think about the history of Pacific people in NZ, in terms of employment, housing, crime, education, and health, then you could say that given our outcomes over the years, the public sector is failing our people.

Participants’ perceptions of public servants in general are that they do not understand how to form rapport and relationships with Pacific people. Public servants have a reputation of being nonreciprocal in that they engage with communities for their information, they use the information to form their own conclusions, and they never report back:

A lot of people in expensive suits, robot-like, that translate the laws through their policies, consult with communities a lot but don’t necessarily return to tell us what they have done with our feedback.

Participants acknowledge the major challenges Pacific public servants have in their goal to transform the public service to be in favour of producing positive outcomes for Pacific people. Some participants felt that the accountability and responsibility held by Pacific leaders is about managing the expectations between their organisation and their community which can often be difficult to do:

It's a place with a lot of European people, hardly any brown people.

We have our Pacific public servants, who struggle. Although it's nice to have this wonderful role and high salary, there is a price. If you are seen to under-deliver the community will not hesitate in telling you.

I have seen Pacific public sector leaders argue and be disrespectful to our communities, this is where the sense of distrust builds, and communities retract their support.

Pacific providers were established to provide a more culturally-based approach to delivery of services by Pacific for Pacific people. Participants felt that Pacific providers have not necessarily been given a fair opportunity to build capacity and sustainability:

I recall when Pacific provider development funding was granted, and I could see the non-Pacific policy advisors roll their eyes...it was almost as if they were thinking...why are those Pacific providers receiving money because they can't manage anything.

However, some participants felt that Pacific providers are challenged by not having the right skills to build sustainable organisations:

I believe the challenges lie in the fact that most of our Pacific-born leaders provided strong cultural leadership which may have lacked the business-type approaches to running a business...I have witnessed Pacific providers who want to over-deliver on services [rather] than what they are funded for...this has led to mismanagement of resources when the financial problems become so great for an organisation...however, it also happens in the non-Pacific NGO sector but is highlighted more when it happens to Pacific providers; for example, it makes front page news.

According to participants, Pacific providers and may have huge expectations, or that Pacific providers feel they need to over-promise so they can access funding, leading them to under-deliver and become at risk of failing their contracts. Pacific public sector leaders are often conflicted between the expectations of their community and organisation. Participants described occasions when it was difficult to balance expectations particularly when the organisation did not appreciate the contribution Pacific leaders made:

When things are not good between my agency and the Pacific community, it can be difficult to face the community. You are the meat in the sandwich and it's easy to take things personally, especially when your community are having a go at you.... but you know when you take these roles that it comes with the territory.

Participants described experiences of their non-Pacific public sector colleagues' limited understanding of the roles Pacific leaders hold and their purpose. In their communities, Pacific public sector leaders are shown respect, their titles and roles are acknowledged, and they are seen as knowledgeable and credible; however, this is not the case in the public sector where Pacific leaders experience a sense of being inconvenient and irrelevant within the public sector:

I don't think my colleagues appreciate what I bring to the organisation. I bring the Pacific voices and it feels like no one wants to listen.

It's the Western way or the highway and it doesn't work for our communities.

Often my palagi colleagues do not turn up for our community consultations and I am left to defend the organisation on my own. This is the organisation that talks about equity but who does not value the communities we are meant to serve.

Pacific leaders expressed their challenges of making a difference for Pacific communities when the system did not resource Pacific leaders to be engaged:

We are ignored and when things go wrong, we are blamed by our community. We are governed by rules that prevent us from telling our communities the truth. It's not a safe environment for us to operate within.

We were not resourced enough, so it was difficult to spread ourselves across the vast area of our policy uni. We had to prioritise which meant there were areas where we could not advocate for Pacific people.

According to Pacific leaders, unrealistic expectations were put upon Pacific teams while other teams were well resourced:

Our top Pacific Manager must resort to undertaking tasks that are usually reserved for subordinates in the other mainstream teams because we don't have enough staff to meet our obligations.

Pacific leaders believe that Pacific managers and their teams do not have sufficient capacity to manage their workloads. Pacific staff health and safety are compromised due to staff managing unrealistic work programmes.

Responding to Pacific Community Expectations

Participants noted the importance of having the ability to read the mood of the community, and in doing so, understand the extent to which humility plays an important catalyst role to bring trust back into the relationship when things go wrong:

A Pacific leader in any public sector role or non-public sector is a leader that can say sorry....and can agree with their own community as opposed to being biased.... say sorry for the things that you understand have betrayed the trust of communities, 'cos Pacific communities will close down quickly if there is no trust...and eventually they give you back the leadership.

The relationship between the Pacific leader and the Pacific community is an essential ingredient when the goal is to address inequalities for Pacific people. At times, when Pacific leaders are deliberating with Pacific communities, the debates can be emotionally driven. Pacific leaders must accept that the roles come with the need to be humble and must display respectful and humble behaviours.

Pacific public sector leaders experience many challenges in their roles. External stakeholder engagement is essential to improving outcomes for Pacific communities. Pacific leaders need to be provided sufficient support by internal systems to undertake their roles. If Pacific leaders are not provided with the practical support and resourcing to ensure Pacific perspectives are embedded within the organisational culture and associated systems, then facing their communities can be difficult.

Compromising Experiences Within the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector

Government departments in Aotearoa-New Zealand are governed by guidelines that support the establishment of equal employment opportunities; however, participants in this study identified inequalities in the workplace from the recruitment of Pacific people to the allocation of professional development opportunities:

Most of the General Managers have attended the Mt Druitt Training. However, when I asked if I could register, I was told to consider something close to home because the budget cuts meant that international training opportunities would be on hold. Since I have asked, new GMs have attended Mt Druitt training. I felt undervalued.

At times young Pacific public service workers felt that they were treated differently, particularly when it came down to the distribution of resources and opportunities. Pacific young people also talked about how on some occasions they get a sense that some palagi managers have made up their mind about who they are and that they will perform in a negative light. This makes them feel that the treatment they receive from their managers is different to the way non-Pacific staff are treated:

It feels like you have to be, talk, walk, think like the palagis, and if you don't, then you're stepping out of line, but I don't want to lose who I am, and compromise my values and beliefs as a Pacific person. If anything, my organisation should be reaping the rewards from what my culture has to offer in terms of respect, collectivity, and caring for others.

Participants felt that as part of their role in a policy system, there was not always a commitment to defining the problem for Pacific people because the data was telling the same story, nothing new, so it didn't feel there was any energy to do anything about it and this was not a safe position for Pacific people to be in:

I remember when I started in this role and a young analyst was assigned to provide me with orientation in terms of her role as an analyst...and I recall her saying...no matter what my intentions were, the options and future outlook for Pacific were hopeless...I've never forgotten this and have been driven to prove her wrong.

However, what was more of concern to Pacific leaders was the risk of Pacific workers being played against each other. Participants described incidences when Pacific leaders' decisions were undermined when non-Pacific colleagues would seek advice from other Pacific workers that was contradictory to that provided by the Pacific leader. There was a sense of undermining Pacific leaders' contribution to the public sector and a sense of Pacific workers being divided:

This is a common occurrence when my advice has been undermined by my public sector colleagues who have sought alternative advice. When they are not accepting of the advice I have given, it creates an unsafe environment when it involves another Pacific worker. We need to watch each other's back, not be used as weapons against each other.

Overall, a common theme that has been presented by Pacific leaders is the sense that Pacific leaders need to be brave in the face of adversity within the public sector and the Pacific community to survive:

As Pacific leaders we are here for Pacific people, and we can never forget this. We have a choice to be here; we must be brave and to find support with each other to ensure our leaders and workers are supported.

Pacific leaders support the idea of Pacific staff having opportunities to network, so they can discuss issues that impact on their ability to do their job well:

We can all come together and learn things, learn about ways of working and what not.

I wholeheartedly believe and support the idea that Pacific networks must be supported. The forums have been really good in the past, they've worked really effectively, and we are able to recharge our sense of identity and direction.

Based on the responses from participants, Pacific leaders have had to compromise their identity and cultural values to ensure Pacific people's perspectives are embedded in the public sector. Pacific leaders are challenged to balance the expectations between Pacific communities and the public sector. Both agency and community can have unrealistic expectations of Pacific leaders to perform which create issues of safety as Pacific leaders struggle to understand how to navigate the complex environment across government and community. For Pacific women

leaders, the complexity is further exacerbated by the power imbalances within gender leadership.

Pacific Women Leaders and Their Experiences in the Public Sector.

Pacific women have featured strongly across the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. Currently, most top Pacific leadership roles are taken up by Pacific women; however, through the interviews for this study, Pacific women participants reveal there has been a personal cost to holding Pacific public sector roles as they balance the responsibilities they hold personally and professionally. Further challenges relating to pay equity and barriers to progression were also identified.

Challenges of being a Pacific Woman Leader Today.

Pacific women discussed the challenges experienced as public sector leaders. Of significance were those that involved balancing the range of expectations between personal, professional, and political responsibilities:

It is one of the most challenging experiences in life to be a Pacific women leader in today's world. We wear a number of competing hats. We carry so much responsibility – not just our jobs, but our families, churches, and to stay competitive and relevant in the market we have to continue to develop ourselves through further tertiary study.

Despite the challenges, Pacific women leaders manage to achieve their objectives by using their organisational skills to achieve their outcomes:

Because of the wide-ranging burdens we carry, we can multitask. We have to be good organisers and be able to delegate.

Participants felt that, traditionally, in a new migrant setting, Pacific men are allocated the leadership roles; however, the growing presence of Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born Pacific women taking up public sector leadership roles has been noted. Participants noted that history reinforces the role Pacific women played as matriarchs of Pacific society in pre-colonial times:

We recollect the history of Samoa where the highest titles were held by Salamasina, Nafanua, the chief/queen of Samoa. We do not hear enough about these strong powerful women leaders as missionary colonial influences have

overpowered the pre-colonial leadership structures and history and how beautiful our own systems of leadership reinforced shared responsibility and roles within men and women of the village as opposed to gender power roles.

Pacific women leaders reinforce that for Pacific women, institutional discrimination comes in the form of tokenistic behaviour:

Our knowledge is undervalued, and we continue to be called upon to deliver on duties that are less advanced for us to do such as minute taking, tea making, delivering the prayer. It is ridiculous and I must be the highest paid minute taker. This shows we haven't shifted much.

The feedback by Pacific women leaders suggests that there is more work to be done in the public sector in terms of understanding and appreciating the leadership role held by Pacific leaders. Such understanding would support the establishment of systems to ensure contributions made are embedded in the public sector system. Leaders feel undermined by the public sector because of the lack of acknowledgement of their knowledge and skills. The main form of discrimination for Pacific women leaders comes in the form of remuneration and equality in relation to opportunities to develop and engage in further training.

Pay Equity

Pacific women leaders felt that there was a huge disparity in remuneration for Pacific women in public sector roles and this has created double standards within the public sector:

A Department of Labour presentation on income levels revealed that Pacific women in the public sector are the lowest paid...yet we are likely to be at the same tier, the most dedicated, particularly in Pacific roles.

We are at the bottom of the food chain in terms of pay and resourcing for our leadership roles which creates barriers for us to deliver for our communities.

Pacific leaders saw the irony in the public sector advocating a pro-equity approach but failing to see how their own practices reinforced inequalities:

Those who are in positions of making decisions in relation to remuneration are in the best position to ensure there is pay equity approaches. It's about doing the right thing.

More auditing systems need to be put in place to monitor decisions about pay equity with strong penalties for those who break the rules.

Participants reinforced that the problem has existed for many years, and Pacific people have not had the confidence or knowledge to understand how to address it:

We are powerless to influence the policy decisions and are not consulted about our views which makes it difficult to know how to infiltrate the system.

A Samoan woman has been appointed as Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner. I listened to her presentation where she said there is a 20% pay gap between Pacific and non-Pacific public sector workers. I hope she can make a difference for us.

Pay equity is a long-standing problem for Pacific people that has a direct impact on their livelihoods. Pacific women are victims of low pay, and they have least access to development opportunities. They also have much more to balance than women of other cultures, because of cultural and spiritual expectations that place more duties on women to perform for their families and communities.

Cultural Barriers to the Progression of Pacific Women

The future of Pacific leadership lies within future generations and the ability for current Pacific leaders to provide the steppingstones and pathways for Pacific young people to lead. Cultural barriers can be seen as being barriers to leadership progression.

Pacific women are further challenged in achieving Pacific leadership roles by traditional cultural practices. It has been an unusual but growing practice that Samoan women leaders are being allocated “matai” titles:

In a meeting of leaders...they serve the men first and we might give way for men to do their oratory before women can speak, and yet the Chief Advisor is a woman...

The way in which young Pacific girls are groomed reinforces their role to serve. Participants wondered whether the humility to serve was the expectation that young women would carry into their older years:

In serving our male leaders, it's our young girls that are serving, so they are receiving the messages at a very young age of what their perceived role should be.

There continues to be a practice in Pacific settings such as churches and communities where young girls are expected to serve as in the traditions of the Pacific. However, in Aotearoa-New Zealand there are now four generations of Pacific people with successful Pacific women taking up mainstream leadership roles:

The challenges still exist, where from a young age, girls are raised to serve and not lead.

That whole ideal is based on developing the family and developing children in the family, who are the primary care givers. You know who the nurturers are because they've got the key role to play in that.

Participants do not always agree that the culture is a barrier to becoming a leader:

If we are ever to understand the intrinsic nature and rhythm of our cultural nuances, then we need to go far back into the cultural practices of pre-colonial times. We never talked about roles for men and roles for women, but roles for those who are best suited.

Males also serve behind the scenes, it's not just the females. Our understandings today are based on colonial influence.

Serving is leading as in the Samoan proverb, ole ala ile pule ole tautua/the pathway to leadership is through service.

Pacific women, in particular Samoan women, are now in receipt of chieftain titles. Participants highlighted the impact this has on the enactment of leadership roles in the community:

While it is good that Pacific women are being acknowledged as rightful holders of chieftain titles, there are subtle practices that continue to exclude them from

the full rights of their chieftain title such as land allocation. The process is still being dominated by males.

Male participants discussed the difficulty of enacting cultural practices when the environment has become more about equal rights for women:

We as male workers must watch what we say, how we look, because it's becoming a woman's world. In the public sector, especially, the targets are all about increasing women leadership. Despite this I still see my Pacific sisters not receiving the same acknowledgement as palagi women leaders.

Developing and Supporting Pacific Women Leaders into the Future

A range of suggestions were made about how Pacific women leaders can be developed, and it was argued that this needed to occur when young Pacific women are being educated:

I think gender is an important aspect of leadership to look at because we need to acknowledge what the international evidence tells us about the act if you invest in women, you invest in women and girls from a young age, not only in terms of education but also in terms of strengthening their leadership abilities and strengthening opportunities for women the whole household benefits.

There are currently some good examples of where Pacific women have been successful and the tide has changed in favour of seeing more Pacific women in leadership roles:

Although the leadership roles have traditionally been taken up by our Pacific males...leadership roles in the public sector...the top ones, have been taken up by our women. It's great, Education, Health, MBIE all have Pacific women leading.

How do I support my colleague whether they are male or female?

The leadership in the 70s and 80s was forthright and straight out whereas today's leaders will manipulate as many relationships as possible to get to the centre.

But the leaders of today are very feminine, Pacific feminine in their things, so they will walk behind their males.

This section has presented the findings from Theme Two, describing the challenging spaces where Pacific leaders and providers feel unsafe in the environments, they work in. This sense of not feeling safe consists of situations where leaders and providers feel compromised by the lack of adequate support and a lack of acknowledgement for the valuable contribution they provide. Pacific leaders provided examples of feeling a sense of hopelessness when there is an unequal distribution of resources to fulfil their contractual obligations. On occasions when Pacific community outcomes reflect poor performance, Pacific leaders and providers are often blamed, not only by their organisation, but by the communities they represent. Pacific leaders believe that Pacific providers are left with no choice but to overpromise and under-deliver because the way in which contracts are developed does not adequately reflect the multiple and systemic social and economic issues faced by Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Experiences for Pacific women reflect how marginalised they are due to several issues and challenges they face including pay equity and being overlooked for promotional opportunities. Overall, the public sector needs to address the systemic issues that result in Pacific leaders and providers feeling unsafe. This study, while highlighting the issues, will work through solutions that can address this inequality.

Valuing Pacific Leaders as Knowledge Experts

The theme “Valuing Pacific Leaders as Knowledge Experts” emphasised the ineffectiveness of Pacific leaders because their knowledge is not valued as evidenced through exclusionary practices and lack of genuine access to opportunities to be promoted and developed. Risk is heightened for Pacific communities when public policy lacks cultural input and coverage.

Embracing inclusion and celebrating diversity are ways in which the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector can support Pacific leaders to feel a sense of belonging and connectedness. Valuing diversity and celebrating the cultural fabric of Aotearoa-New Zealand can enhance productivity. As this overall study aims to identify the challenges, barriers, and solutions to support Pacific leaders, this section provides an understanding of participants’ perspectives when considering how Pacific leaders can be valued and supported as knowledge experts.

Participants’ responses show they view the public sector as being predominantly European and this drew concern that the advocacy and support for Pacific was challenged by not having enough Pacific people present. The public sector, at times, can set their benchmark of what a public servant is, so resulting in Pacific people being ineligible because their skills are not

acknowledged in the public sector as being a priority. Participants felt that this was a missed opportunity for the public sector, particularly when those relevant government departments where addressing inequalities is a high focus could benefit from Pacific leadership and the attributes that can provide transformational leadership.

Recruitment Challenges

According to participants, their knowledge of working in the public sector is based on their experiences but also from hearing stories from other Pacific people who had experienced the public sector environment:

In the 70s and 80s, there were very few Pacific people working in the Government agencies. Pacific people that were employed in the public service were engaged in entry level roles. The issues for Pacific people were silent. As numbers of Pacific people increased, so did their voices.

Eventually Pacific people started to become educated which meant they held qualifications that were equal to those they worked with:

The only way to increase our knowledge of the system and to be successful in gaining higher paying roles and experience. This meant that sacrifices needed to be made to juggle the many expectations such as family, church, and community.

Despite the increase in qualification, knowledge, and experience, and despite having similar qualifications and experience as other public sector leaders, Pacific leaders experienced barriers in accessing higher level roles:

I have applied for roles in some cases, where I have had a longer history in the organisation, have acted in the actual role I have applied for, but have been unsuccessful on three occasions. One of the roles has an equity focus as part of their brief, and I was still unsuccessful. There were two of us who were Pacific who applied, the role was given to a non-Māori, non-Pacific person.

In this thesis I refer to the State Services Commission (SSC) which, since the time of writing, has been rebranded as the Public Service Commission (PSC). When referring to historical events and documents I refer to SSC; however, when referring to new material I refer to PSC. Pacific leaders expressed concern about the pay equity issues being faced by Pacific leaders

and staff. Evidence from the State Sector Commission (now the Public Service Commission) confirms that the pay equity issues for Pacific people are significant and more critical for Pacific women leaders:

I attended an Equal Employment Opportunities seminar where they presented data that reflected how bad the pay equity issue is for our Pacific leaders, especially for Pacific women who receive 20% lower than non-Pacific, non-Māori. This is really concerning.

Government agencies have been committed to ensuring the appropriate skill mix is recruited to reflect the population demographic, particularly in the health sector where high-level Ministry of Health strategy had made a strong commitment to growing a diverse workforce (MOH, 2004). Recruitment procedures and criteria in some instances did not support the assessment of candidates who had a good understanding of Pacific cultural values, beliefs, and protocols:

We have such a high number of Pacific people entering the hospital, particularly in the diabetes and children's wards but we do not have any Pacific nurses or staff being recruited in those departments.

As a Pacific leader I have been on a number of tier 3 recruitment panels and I have argued the need to increase the scoring matrix for cultural competency so that candidates can be scored on their ability to understand the cultural needs of people other than those of the same ethnicity. My words fall on deaf ears most of the time.

Devaluing Pacific Leaders

According to participant leaders, knowledge, and experience of Pacific people from within the Pacific and Aotearoa-New Zealand spanned across many years and region:

Most of the Pacific public sector leaders are first generation Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific people. The leaders today are more than likely to be qualified and have extensive networks across the public sector and Pacific community.

Participants were invited to provide their perspectives on the value given to their contribution to policy and leadership in the public sector. Responses indicated that Pacific leaders felt they were employed into Pacific leadership roles to provide a Pacific worldview, perspective, and connections to lived experiences:

It was a bittersweet taste to gain the role I did because you knew you had to deliver for Pacific communities in an environment that may not appreciate what you have to offer.

I see our role as contributing a Pacific worldview so that policy and service development can reflect the needs of Pacific people.

Leaders interviewed emphasised that being able to directly report to the Chief Executive was critical if the outcomes for Pacific people were to improve:

In previous roles I have reported to the Chief Executive. The role I currently hold does not and I can really feel the difference. For Pacific leaders, we really need to be reporting directly to the Chief Executive, that way our knowledge and advocacy is being heard at the highest levels.

Participant leaders expressed concern about their policy contributions being excluded from key policy documents and key policy processes:

With the small resource we have in our team of three, there is so much to cover. As much as possible, we focus on influencing the policy by providing evidence to support a Pacific worldview.

However, due to under-resourcing and exclusion, the capacity of the Pacific teams is insufficient for Pacific leaders to deliver:

When we miss opportunities because we do not have sufficient workforce to spread across the policy work programme, we are seen to be inefficient and lack commitment to the Pacific cause.

When we are not invited to critical meetings or excluded from important decision-making processes, I feel devalued. It takes considerable effort on my part to be heard so I can have an impact for the people I represent.

At times, when Pacific leaders are successful in contributing to research and policy, there have been occasions when the content has been minimised and seen by non-Pacific policy personnel as unscientific resulting in an under-reporting and exclusion of Pacific worldviews and perspectives:

The disappointment is that our contribution to the policy documents is undervalued. This is often done by reducing our contributions to one-or-two-line statements. Evidence is not valued. Despite years of Pacific research, this continues to be overlooked.

When policy statements do not adequately reflect the perspectives and worldviews of Pacific people, this will have a detrimental effect on Pacific people's outcomes as often service development and implementation do not meet the needs of Pacific people:

There is sufficient evidence to prove that when policy does not reflect the needs of Pacific people, in turn it has a counter-productive effect to addressing outcomes for Pacific people. This approach adds to the inequalities of Pacific people. It feeds the cycle of poverty.

This section, Theme Three, has discussed participants' responses in relation to the extent that they feel their knowledge and contribution is valued by the public sector. Overall, Pacific leaders disclosed that they felt undervalued based on their past and current experiences working in the public sector. Experiences ranged from being excluded from critical high-level conversations to their advice being under-used or excluded from crucial policy documentation. Exclusion from policy processes was deemed to be unsafe for Pacific people because the resulting policy has not reflected the cultural needs of Pacific communities, and that this is seen to be a huge failure of the system. Pacific leaders felt that significant emphasis was placed on mainstream achievement and to a lesser degree Pacific achievement. These findings reveal the need for negotiation of a partnership where Pacific and mainstream public sector agencies work together to negotiate the unrealised opportunity that an equal and shared approach to the policy function can maximise and enhance improved outcomes for Pacific people.

Accessing Equal Employment Opportunities

Equal Employment Opportunities is a term used to describe government's past and present focus and commitment to ensuring that regardless of age, race, gender, and disability, all

Aotearoa-New Zealand citizens should have access to equal employment opportunities. However, this has not been the case. This section provides Pacific leaders' perspectives of the challenges they face to accessing equal opportunities within the public sector, and solutions to overcome these.

The Role of Pacific Women in Leadership

A change in the ways that Pacific Women engage with leadership challenges was identified in that the etiquette of Pacific women leadership is substantively different to that of the 1970s and 1980s. The participants highlighted a range of challenges that Pacific women experience. Of significance were those challenges that involved balancing the range of expectations between personal, professional, and political responsibilities:

It is one of the most challenging experiences in life to be a Pacific women leader in today's world. We wear several competing hats, we carry so much responsibility not just our jobs, but our families, churches and to stay competitive and relevant in the market we have to continue to develop ourselves through further tertiary study... Because of the wide-ranging burdens we carry, we can multitask, we have to be good organisers and be able to delegate....

We are at the bottom of the food chain in terms of pay, leadership roles, then we have to manage all the other responsibilities...

Pacific women leaders felt that there was a huge disparity in remuneration for Pacific women in public sector roles:

A Department of Labour presentation on income levels revealed that Pacific women in the public sector are the lowest paid...yet we are likely to be at the same tier, the most dedicated, particularly in Pacific roles...

Barriers to Accessing Equal Opportunities

The data show that, at times, young Pacific public service workers felt that they were treated differently, particularly when it came down to the distribution of resources and opportunities:

Had two days training, of literally systematic training, and then I was on the floor and I learned literally everything on the floor... Yeah so, I was in the cohort where

the cohort before me and the cohort after me went on a 6-week training, but me and my two other colleagues who are of Pacific descent, we had like a day and a half of like induction, then we had to hit the floor and learn on the job. Although it felt like racism, we couldn't be sure, so given we were new we didn't want to rock the boat for fear of losing our opportunities to work.

Pacific young people also talked about how on some occasions they get a sense that some palagi managers have made up their minds about them and how they will perform in a negative light. This makes the young people feel that the treatment they receive from their managers is different to the way palagi staff are treated.

Promoting and Establishing Pacific Networks

Pacific leaders supported solutions that ensure Pacific workers have an opportunity to talanoa (talk) and gather to discuss key issues for Pacific people. The idea of networking within the public sector, but across the broad services as opposed to each individual public sector having their own network, was raised as the young participants were surprised to hear the struggles others were experiencing in their workplace:

I just want to say that I had no clue what any of these people, any of my friends are going through as Pacific Islanders in the public sector, and it's just really interesting to hear and maybe it's not even just a government thing, maybe it's all a government thing where maybe we can all come together and learn things, learn about ways of working and whatnot.

It might be an opportunity too, you know, because the forums have been really good in the past, they've worked really effectively. Government agencies have tended to do them in isolation of any other government agency, but I think if there's opportunities to do them public sector-wide that would be awesome. That's a good More networking opportunities like I feel like sometimes in my role I don't really get the opportunity to network with some of the people in my national office and stuff like that. They come and visit, and we have a chat. The Minister came and had a chat to me, she's not going to remember my name right.

Networking is a critical tool to use to empower Pacific public sector leaders and workers because Pacific people gain their strength and motivation from being with other Pacific public

sector workers. This is an opportunity for Pacific people to be themselves and to talanoa about important issues relating to the Pacific communities they serve.

Growing Pacific Leadership

The potential gains from growing Pacific leadership may reveal unrealised possibilities to address inequalities for Pacific communities in Aotearoa-New Zealand. As the Aotearoa-New Zealand government places a high priority on the need to address inequalities for Māori and Pacific communities, the opportunities are ripe, and the time is right for the public sector to think about how a population-based approach to growing leadership in the public sector can enhance opportunities for Pacific communities to flourish.

This research is an exploration of the barriers to delivering successful public sector interventions to improve the outcomes for Pacific communities, and of how Pacific leadership structures and models may be used to achieve this goal.

This section presents findings related to participants' perceptions on how Pacific leadership in the public sector can be grown. It begins by considering the importance of vision in building leadership, and how the vision can support the development of a leadership approach that considers both multi-ethnic Pacific and Western perspectives. Pacific public sector leaders have a critical role in ensuring that they are key enablers in making the vision become a reality.

A New Vision for Leadership

Leaders interviewed emphasised that, given the presence of four generations of Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific people since the migration of Pacific people in the 1950s and 60s, it is timely for the constructs of Pacific leadership to be revisited with a view to considering what Pacific young peoples perspectives of leadership are:

Pacific leaders need to keep in the forefront of their minds why they are in the public sector and who they are there to serve. It can be a double-edged sword in terms of the expectations of our agency and our communities, but that is our role – to balance, navigate, and maneuver through this tricky terrain.

Our parents migrated here with their dreams and aspirations for a better life, it's not clear that their vision has been achieved, but we have four generations of

Pacific in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and we need to understand what their youth vision is.

For some leaders, the vision is to ensure the values, beliefs, and protocols of Pacific cultures continue to be intact for future generations. However, some leaders believe that the generations have had no choice but to adopt the Western way of life because the opportunity to instill Pacific language and culture has been lost:

I wonder whether we have left it too late. The wave of Western colonisation has been too powerful, to the point that the Aotearoa-New Zealand way of life is offering a stronger temptation to our children, particularly with the age of technology. We need to share our knowledge with the future leaders.

Participants reinforced that the first step to developing a robust successful Pacific leadership development programme is to ensure that high-level decision-makers are committed to the cause:

Nothing will happen unless those in power and who are in control of the resources are fully committed through accountability and appropriate allocation of resources. This needs to be at the highest level. We need an integrated approach and I think it should sit with the Ministry for Pacific people, State Sector Commission, and Human Rights Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner, Pacific public sector leaders, and the Pacific communities.

Participants believe that the time is right politically to instigate a process that will establish a Pacific public sector leadership programme:

The [then] current Labour, Greens, and Aotearoa-New Zealand First Coalition government have set the agenda that the disparities suffered by Māori, Pacific, and people with disabilities must be addressed. The time is right.

Leaders also believe that to ensure that the public sector has a clear picture of the current and projected future state based on the needs of Pacific people, it needs to be more stringent in its approach to collecting data on the Pacific public sector workforce and leaders:

I like to think that we know what our numbers are overall because we need to set a target. While it is difficult to collect specific numbers, a range would be helpful.

We need to know who, what, and where Pacific workforce and leaders are situated so we can project the future numbers. This will highlight the numbers the public sector needs to target in terms of building future leaders. Yet ethnicity data collection is inconsistent. Organisational leaders can change this if they are committed.

Participant responses indicate that despite the small number of initiatives targeted towards building Pacific leadership capacity, it is worthwhile undertaking a stock take of such initiatives because there may be some exciting and innovative initiatives to be discovered:

I can think of Tupu Tai, the initiatives in the Ministry of Social Development and Pacific people, but that's about it. Surely if we dug deeper, we would find something out there we don't know about. We need to know whether these programmes are effective.

Leaders interviewed emphasised that a cross sector government and community focused Pacific leadership development programme will not only acknowledge the contribution Pacific people have made to Aotearoa-New Zealand, but also deal with the issues of sustainability, capacity, and capability of the workforce, and eventually the economy. Having good paying jobs will support Pacific people to meet their day-to-day costs and responsibilities to their families and communities:

I believe this will be one of the Government's best investments, because you are raising leaders who hold natural attributes of respect, compassion, and service. This is what I have recently heard from the Prime Minister is the kind of leadership we are looking for.

The poverty cycle does not favour Pacific people. By having more Pacific people in leader roles in the public sector addresses two key goals; 1) economies for Pacific people, 2) a workforce that reflects the values of the public sector.

Participants emphasised the desire to build leadership through empowering people in the community who have the skills and ability to lead, but may not have a clear pathway to leadership:

The biggest challenge right now is to create a pipeline from the bottom to the top...then that pipeline should be creating a pool of leaders that government should choose from.

We need to start to change the narrative and start to make and to empower those in our community who aren't stepping forward. They may have the goods, but they aren't stepping forward because they don't see themselves in the picture that's being reflected back to them.

Future Pacific public sector leaders need to have a strong and genuine understanding of the lived experiences of Pacific people, otherwise it will be questionable as to the advice they are providing government on Pacific people's behalf.

Pacific leaders believe that being connected and feeling a sense of belonging in the public sector, for them, meant that their colleagues valued their cultural knowledge and norms, that Pacific people can be who they are, they are not expected to conform to Western values or behaviour, they are able to display their cultural etiquette, and most importantly their contribution has direct results in terms of ensuring the system delivers improved outcomes for Pacific communities:

Whatever the public sector chooses to do in order to develop Pacific leadership, it has to ensure Pacific values, beliefs, and culture are embedded. It is really important we get this right. We need to be cognisant of the beliefs of Pacific young people living in Aotearoa-New Zealand, who have different beliefs to those born in the Pacific Islands.

While values, culture, and beliefs were intrinsic to the context of Pacific leadership, participants also acknowledge the importance of Pacific families in their journey as a Pacific leader:

It is impossible to separate how we were raised within a Pacific family and becoming a Pacific leader, because it is interconnected. You learn to be a leader based on how you have served your family, church and community.

This sub-section has focused on participants' perceptions about how the system can be improved and engaged to support the growth of Pacific leaders. Participants suggested opportunities on how the public sector can better engage at all levels. However, while it is appropriate to understand how organisational systems can support a more equitable approach to growing leadership, participants emphasised that, along with several other "career enablers", the focus must also be on the role Pacific communities will have in developing Pacific leadership.

Skills Needed to be a Pacific Public Sector Leader

Participants discussed the importance of understanding the skills needed to be an effective leader. This was based on their own experiences of understanding the evolving public sector environment. Whilst the need for analytical, conceptual, and inter-personal skills amongst a range of technical skills is obvious, participants focused their responses on what additional skills were needed from a Pacific perspective because of the multiple relationships that need to be formed.

Relationships and the ability to develop foster, protect, and grow them were a top priority:

The best Pacific leaders have extensive relationship networks. They are able to manage personal and professional overlap and boundaries. A strength of Pacific leadership is [that it is] leadership that has action behind it; a Pacific leader in that ministry or that department is able to lead the whole consultations.

Pacific leaders themselves need to be aware of the intricate nature of holding consultation with Pacific communities, roles, setting up of venues, ensuring inclusiveness of the seven ethnic-specific groups:

In relation to consultation, Pacific leaders must understand how forums are set up from knowing where chairs and tables are located in the hall to cater for important guests such as church ministers and cultural leaders, because that really demonstrates then that you are really knowledgeable about your community...even who is the pastor...insight to the knowledge of your community.

Participants were aware of the need to balance expectations of communities with organisational expectations. The work needs to be done prior to engaging with Pacific communities, to ensure

communities are engaged positively and successfully. Participants believe that this is what creates successful engagement:

The hardest thing is to balance the expectations; yes, I am paid by the public sector, but I would have briefed my boss about the position we need to take. At the end of the day, transparency and honesty will always win and although we are scared at times to face our community, it is better to be straight up.

Participants noted the importance of public sector leaders being humble and brave in the face of adversity, because it can be a harsh environment to operate in when you are trying to meet the expectations of both your employer and your community:

A Pacific leader in any public sector role, or non-public sector, is a leader that can say sorry....and can agree with their own community as opposed to being biased.... say sorry for the things that you understand have betrayed the trust of communities 'cos Pacific communities will close down quickly if there is no trust...and eventually they give you back the leadership.

Young participants, when asked to provide their views on what Pacific leadership involved in the public sector, identified:

Ensuring Pacific perspectives are represented and reflected in the advice we ultimately provide; providing the evidence, the research so that we provide an informed perspective; filling the policy gap where inequalities are literally ignored; defining the problem and solution in a Pacific context; and shouting to the top of our lungs until the needs of our Pacific people are heard.

Participants felt that although as leaders there is a basic understanding of why they are in these roles, they tend to forget about the things that Pacific leaders can contribute to the public sector:

Our ability to be natural at building relationships because we use respectful actions as a catalyst for building and sustaining relationships.

Participants discussed the opportunities they had heard about in other sectors; for example, in the health sector, graduate nurses are able to be selected through a Nurse Entry to Practice (NetP) programme which has three intakes per year for all District Health Boards to engage with their local tertiary provider and select nurses for the new entry programme. Often, by the

time they had graduated, nurses would have identified the area they wished to work in, and have undertaken one of the three placements in a clinical setting which prepares them for working as a nurse in a clinical or primary care setting:

My sister has been a nurse for five years, but I remember how easy it was for her to get employment straight after graduation. It was great for her as she had a hefty student loan to pay off. I think we need this in the public service...graduates can be tested on their ability to write policy for a wide range of people.

Participants felt there is still a focus on the traditional clinical, legal, and educational occupation groups. More needs to be done to publicise the importance of policy roles to our Pacific communities:

Not enough is being done to publicise public sector roles. I am sure any profession can eventually lead to a role in the public service; for example, social workers, nurses etc. I think policy roles are misunderstood because there are not enough of us to tell the story about the important role it plays in our everyday life.

Career Enablers

Participants identified several factors and initiatives that serve as career enablers. These include the establishment of scholarships, the importance of effective role models, provision of training and career development opportunities, effective communication strategies, understanding of the importance of family to Pacific leaders, and the positive effects of feelings of connection and belonging in the workplace. Clearly, these are interrelated as the following sections show.

Scholarships

To grow Pacific leadership, scholarship programmes were suggested, that take into account how Pacific graduates can develop further in the policy arena. Participants felt that a pipeline could be established by providing support in secondary school years as opposed to waiting for potential graduates to complete their tertiary studies as many do not complete and succeed. As part of being supported throughout the tertiary journey, participants considered scholarships to be key enablers:

The decision for Pacific people is not to be taken lightly because they have so many responsibilities. For one person to study means that the income for that household will be compromised, therefore support is required and can be in the form of scholarships, student loans, and grants.

According to participants, in the 1990s, the State Sector Commission identified public sector staff who had engaged in a full scholarship programme that included a stipend over and above the scholarship. The opportunity would provide the student with paid fees for three years as well as a percentage of their regular salary. This meant that candidates were bonded back to their public sector agency:

I recall as a student studying social work at Victoria University, there were a cohort of students that were in receipt of the full scholarships which included their fees and a salary for the term of study but also meant that the students needed to be bonded back to the agency. It was great support. I was impressed.

While the scholarships were seen to be a critical enabler to supporting the Pacific leaders to develop, participants acknowledged that to be successful, scholarships were only part of the solution:

Scholarships are part of the package to support Pacific people. Support with literacy and study to achieve their goals is critical. Many Pacific public sector staff have incomplete qualifications. It would be great if the public sector focused on these staff to ensure they are supported to complete their qualifications.

Role Models and Mentors

In conjunction with scholarship support, participants identified a need for senior Pacific policy staff to mentor, support, and help new graduates navigate their way through the public sector system, coupled with mentoring from key Pacific leaders in the community.

For younger Pacific leaders, knowing that Pacific people were in senior management roles inspired and motivated them to development and achieve higher aspirations:

As soon as I saw that there was a Pacific Director, I felt I was in an organisation that valued Pacific people which gave me confidence to know that there was someone that can give me a hand up.

Role models are essential. They can assist Pacific young workers to set a pathway to develop through the agency; they can also mentor and educate Pacific people, so they are able to understand the systems more easily:

As an experienced leader I feel a strong sense of responsibility to ensure our younger Pacific workers work hard, take up opportunities, and learn as much as they can.

Every Pacific public sector leader should encourage and negotiate within their contracts to mentor young people.

A common and significant theme was the need for good mentors and role models, but also that a good mentor or leader can be non-Pacific giving the ability for the Pacific leader to extend their skills beyond their cultural knowledge:

Pacific leaders should have a range of mentors from a cultural perspective to a skills perspective, this means that mentors may not only be Pacific for Pacific.

Participants identified senior Pacific staff who were not their direct managers or supervisors as great mentors and role-models who inspired and motivated them to be more productive in their work and to make the most of their opportunities and potential:

Pacific leaders can also access support from non-Pacific leaders, particularly from a more technical perspective. It comes down to identifying a mentor that can teach and advise you on things you don't know and that could be someone other than your own line manager.

The young people interviewed for this study confirmed the importance of mentoring and role models for young Pacific people, and believe that a formal mentoring programme will be an important driver for developing Pacific leaders.

Training and Career Development

Participants spoke of the importance of training and development for Pacific leaders. Each government agency has different approaches to training and development; however, because of the small numbers and the need to be expert in several government agencies that are relevant and reflective of the challenges Pacific people face, there is an opportunity for a cross-sector approach to training and developing Pacific leaders:

A cross-sector approach to developing Pacific leaders would be the best approach for several reasons. The commonality of relevant government departments who have similar goals in achieving improved outcomes for Pacific communities, could benefit from a multi-skilled and knowledgeable cluster of Pacific leaders who could be networked across the sector. Although we have Pacific leaders, there is no formal requirement for them to work collaboratively.

The opportunity to combine study and work is seen as positive, particularly for younger Pacific leaders who have a robust performance plan. Participants also noted the importance of training taking the form of community experience and internships to better understand how communities work:

We often overlook the opportunities to train and learn in community settings. We cannot be public servants if we don't know who and how to serve our communities.

Training opportunities were considered invaluable by the Pacific young people interviewed and a strong motivator to remain in the workplace. Participants felt that employers should view training as an investment rather than a cost:

I have made my intentions clear to my manager that as part of my professional development plan I would like to be considered for future senior management roles. I have identified training opportunities but have been told the budget has limits on professional development. The only courses I can realistically be considered for are inhouse training programmes which do not necessarily cover the areas I wish to explore and develop in to.

Effective Communication

Participants expressed the importance of employers being approachable so that Pacific leaders feel at ease when needing to communicate with their superiors:

I have a manager who is great. But I have also had a manager who focused too much on what I did wrong as opposed to how I could develop my skills to meet the challenges I face.

Pacific leaders are eager to receive constructive feedback and recognition about their good performance. Receiving negative feedback about their performance was unhelpful:

As Pacific leaders, having received negative feedback, we are less like to hold trusting relationships with our managers and we are more likely to withdraw which will negatively impact on the relationship with the manager.

While Pacific leaders understand that unless they talk to their managers, the managers will not be able to help them, younger people will feel intimidated and inadequate especially if the younger Pacific person is a minority in the workplace. Thus, the establishment of good communication is essential.

The Importance of Family to Pacific Leaders

Family, culture, and church are key sources of wellbeing and identity for Pacific people who gain strength from knowing their families and communities are well and are flourishing. Therefore, Pacific people are determined because their commitment to work and service is reflected in their love for their families:

Yes, this job is hard, but the way I see it, my children and their children will reap the rewards of my hard work as long as I can make a difference.

My family are everything to me; spirituality plays a critical role and being part of our Pacific community anchors my identity, heart, and soul of who I am.

Balancing Pacific values and life in Aotearoa-New Zealand can be challenging for Pacific leaders because of the responsibility and expectation for Pacific leaders to deliver, at times, what is unrealistic given their circumstances working in the public sector:

The key is to know how to deliver a message to a range of different audiences; that is how I manage expectations. It does not always work, but most of the time it does, especially when we are being transparent.

Balancing values and life can be hard. This role takes up a lot of time and there are a lot of demands. I try my best not to take my stress home, so my family get the best of me.... It's not easy because home is the place where you feel most safe....my problem is that I see the Pacific community as my family; that is a big family and as such I worry about my family.

Some leaders work in an environment that is child friendly. This has reduced the stress of needing to be at work for critical appointments, but understanding from workplace colleagues is essential:

We are a team, a multi-cultural team, and that means unconditional support for each other. It's been great that I can bring my child in when there are critical appointments, but the sector is becoming that way to support our mums and dads which is good, which is the way it should be.

Participant responses indicate that parents are key motivators in getting their children to consider roles that were better than the ones they (the parents) held, like cleaning and labouring:

I wouldn't be here if it wasn't for my parents. I owe them gratitude and a sense of responsibility to help others the way my parents helped me.

Family of Pacific leaders play a critical role in supporting their family member to undertake their duties. Given the close-knit nature of the Pacific community, there can be crossovers where family members play roles in other Pacific agencies and can often be present at community meetings. It is currently that family members understand the full extent of responsibility their family member holds as a Pacific leader. Family members can be protective and will defend their family member if needed. Family provides a sense of connectedness and belonging in such a way that leaders view family as a driving force and motivator to do well.

Connectedness and Belonging in the Workplace.

Participants' responses indicate that the need for Pacific leaders to know every aspect of the organisation, being connected within their organisation, means being an expert:

I took the time as a Pacific leader in a new agency to grow my understanding and knowledge of the organisation. It meant that I focused on listening, learning, and adapting before I tried to make significant recommendations. By listening and learning I was able to build long-lasting relationships but also understand what politics different leaders played, including where their priorities lay.

Having a supportive team also helped leaders feel connected and supported, particularly at times when personal challenges occur:

I have such an open and positive relationship with my Chief Executive that I can ask her anything and she will always support me if I need time off. But I know this is not consistent throughout the public sector. The relationship between a CE and their leader is critical.

Participants expressed feeling valued when their work was recognised, and they were given credit for the positive outcomes:

There was a media release on an important project I was responsible for – we were able to get off the ground – but when I saw the draft it had a different manager's name on it. Yes, I was disappointed, but then I recall that I am not here for the kudos. People know my work. I let it go because maybe the Manager mentioned needed the name recognition more than I did.

Valuing Pacific leaders' contributions and leadership is to recognise the value of having a Pacific perspective and worldview when the agency is being held accountable to improving outcomes for Pacific communities:

When I am being valued by my colleagues, it means that what I say and the advice I give is genuinely taken on board. It means that I am resourced to do the job I need to. It means at every occasion the community I represent is being treated with the utmost respect, and most of all the outcomes are improving or have improved.

From the participants' perspectives, then, there are many solutions to growing Pacific leadership. These solutions, such as creating a new vision for Pacific leadership, are enablers to support Pacific leaders' development by building on what Pacific leadership has been in the past. The presentation of ideas and potential solutions in relation to growing the Pacific workforce in the public sector are important levers and enablers to ensure Pacific leaders are supported to reach their potential.

Chapter Summary

The themes presented in this chapter represent the broader focus areas for participants' perceptions of Pacific leadership in the public sector.

Negotiating multi-ethnic Pacific and Western constructs of leadership reinforces the responses that identify the uniqueness of Pacific cultural values, beliefs, and leadership attributes against a backdrop of Western-based leadership theory. The negotiation of leadership constructs validates the need to acknowledge the growing presence of Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born Pacific people who continue to hold their cultural heritage and identity as being critical to their wellbeing. The participants' responses validate their connectedness to their Pacific and Aotearoa-New Zealand heritage by highlighting that both Pacific and Western constructs are acceptable and both Pacific and public sector leaders must permit and support current and future Pacific leaders to weave in and out of Pacific community and public sector spaces.

Theme two, Creating Safe Environments for Pacific Public Sector Leaders acknowledges Pacific community and public sector spaces as being both rewarding and challenging environments for Pacific leaders to engage within. Leaders acknowledge that in some instances they have felt unsafe because they were placed in compromising situations that force them to choose between their loyalty for their Pacific community and the organisational expectations of representing the public sector. For leaders, the scenario felt unsafe because of the severe consequences they would face if they were to compromise the organisation's credibility. The theme of Creating Safe Environments for Pacific Public Sector Leaders elicited participant responses that validate the challenges for Pacific women as leaders in the public sector and the importance of how colonial influence has changed the matriarchal roles they held in the Pacific Islands.

The theme, Valuing Pacific leaders as Knowledge Experts, emphasises the ineffectiveness of Pacific leaders because their knowledge is not valued as evidenced through exclusionary practices and lack of genuine access to opportunities to be promoted and developed. Risk is heightened for Pacific communities when public policy lacks cultural input and coverage.

Pacific leaders continued to be faced with the reality that they will not always receive the same treatment as their peers.

The Equal Opportunity theme raises the need for the public sector to consider system enablers to ensure the public sector are being monitored against its commitment to pro-equity approaches to ensure opportunity is enhanced for diverse populations.

The final theme, Growing Pacific Leadership, introduces specific solutions proposed by participants to aid the development and growth of Pacific public sector leaders. Through their feedback and responses to the research questions, participants have identified potential solutions to developing an approach to grow Pacific leadership in the public sector utilising the support, direction, and leadership of Pacific communities.

CHAPTER EIGHT: PACIFIC PEOPLE IN LEADERSHIP

Pacific people have experienced many challenges in New Zealand since their arrival as migrants in the 1950s and 1960s. Pacific leadership roles have been established in the New Zealand public sector to address Pacific people's poor outcomes. These public sector roles have been the focus of this study. The public sector has responded to poor outcomes in society by employing Pacific leaders in leadership roles that will contribute towards improving these outcomes.

The aim of this study was to explore the experiences of Pacific public sector leaders. In doing this, the objectives were to better understand the challenges and barriers Pacific public sector leaders face as they carry out their duties and responsibilities for the Government departments they work for and the Pacific communities they serve.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the findings, revisit the research approach, and current and global issues that are impacting on Pacific leadership in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Key themes that have derived from this study include: 1) Negotiation of Pacific and Multi-ethnic and Western Constructs of Leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector; 2) Creating Safe Environments for Pacific Public Sector Leaders; 3) Valuing Pacific Leaders as knowledge experts; 4) Access to equal Employment Opportunities; and 5) Growing Pacific Leadership.

A Revisit: The Research Approach

This study used a range of approaches and methods to support the anchoring of the Pacific leader's worldview. The study used quantitative and quality approaches that were underpinned by a constructivist and post-positivist theoretical paradigm. Phenomenology was used as a relevant methodological approach with Standpoint theory was sourced as a way of ensuring the voices of Pacific leaders were evident through the study. The Snowballing technique supported the approach to ensure the most experienced Pacific voices were engaged in the study. The study provided an account of data collection methods and procedures such as semi-structured and key informant interviews using the Talanoa approach (Vaiolleti, 2006) and the Fa'afaletui approach (2010). The tools to analyse the data included triangulation and coding of raw data.

Re-visiting Current Global and National Issues

This section considers the socio-economic context for this study. Since the migration period of the 1950s and 1960s, the Pacific population has grown exponentially with four to five generations of Pacific people who now reside in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In terms of the future, the Pacific population is projected to grow significantly from 7.4% in 2020 to 10.9% in 2038 (MPP, 2013). As more Pacific people are being born in Aotearoa-New Zealand than in the Pacific islands, Pacific cultures have blended with Western ideas. The notion of what a Pacific identity is has an impact on how young Pacific people view their own cultural ideals.

Since I started this study, the political and social climate of Aotearoa-New Zealand has evolved and has impacted on the way the Government operates. Several unprecedented events have occurred in the past three years, and these events have had a direct effect on the role of Pacific public sector leaders.

The most recent event (2020-2021) is the spread of the COVID-19 virus, involving Pacific leaders as they strive to ensure the incidence of COVID on Pacific communities is minimised.

The general elections in October 2020 resulted in an unprecedented number of Pacific representatives – eleven Pacific candidates across all political parties – being elected to parliament. Of this number, over 50% (6 out of 11) were women. New politicians of Pacific descent were elected from a range of political parties, but the majority were elected under the New Zealand Labour Party which won a landslide victory with most seats in parliament. This election also reflected the highest voter turnout in New Zealand politics for some time with 82.24% (2,919,086 voters) turning out to vote (Electoral Commission, 2020). However, the increase in turnout of Pacific voters would explain the increase in Pacific politicians winning their electorate seat.

A further unprecedented event was a terrorist attack on two mosques that occurred in Christchurch in 2019. This attack raised the issues of racism and the white supremacist culture in New Zealand. This event raised the profile of ethnicity and racism in other areas of New Zealand society and, consequently, has the Government intensifying its focus on these issues which have a direct impact on the role Pacific people play in the public sector. Examples of this intensification for Pacific people include the appointment of an Equal Employment Commissioner of Pacific descent for the Human Rights Commission.

In my view, these three critical events signal strong support for Pacific leaders and Pacific issues being key focus areas for the current government. It is reasonable to expect that having more Pacific leaders at the political level will enhance opportunities for more representation within government agencies and promote more Pacific people to consider a role in government.

Therefore, this study is important. A better appreciation of the experiences of our past and current Pacific public sector leaders will enhance the Government's ability to understand how the sector can improve the way Pacific public sector leaders are integrated into the system, given opportunities to grow and develop, not only in their Pacific roles but also in mainstream leadership roles. The mainstream sector can benefit significantly by having Pacific people in mainstream leadership roles because of the focus on improving outcomes for communities who suffer from significant disadvantage. Pacific leaders bring the experiences and knowledge of communities who have experienced this very disadvantage, so are in a strong position to bring their understanding to the policy setting.

Responding to Pacific Community Expectations

As shown in the literature, key data and literature continue to show that Pacific people living in New Zealand continue to experience poorer socio-economic outcomes than other New Zealanders (Counties Manukau DHB, 2006, Faletutulu, 2016; Mila, 2010; MOH, 2014; MPIA, 2006; MPP, 2016; Naepi, 2019; Statistics NZ 2002, 2006, 2010; 2014; Tiatia, 2008). Despite attempts by various Aotearoa-New Zealand governments to improve outcomes, the strategies used have failed to address the inequities.

A key initiative implemented by the public service is to employ Pacific peoples into leadership roles to reduce the inequalities experienced.

Negotiation of Pacific and Multi-ethnic and Western Constructs of Leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector

Pacific leadership is an act of service that contributes to a broader set of responsibilities to those beyond the nuclear family (Finau, 2017). In Finau's study, Pacific leaders described how their life experiences of being raised in the Pacific, in a spiritual setting, with extended family connections and responsibilities of duty of care, contribute to how they define leadership. This claim by Finau is supported by the findings in this study, which reflect similarity in the way Pacific people have been raised and the values and protocols held by Pacific people. Pacific

leaders' leadership roles occur in settings such as communities, homes, NGO's, churches, and government agencies. Within the leadership roles, Pacific people are aligning the expectations of the practice of leadership, especially around elders, family members, and spiritual leaders.

Western leadership theories emphasise significant leadership qualities such as being visionary, transformational, and charismatic (Bass, 2008; Fletcher, 2008; Jackson & Parry, 2011), and this study's findings indicate that these qualities were formed naturally for Pacific leaders. For example, in terms of visionary leadership centuries ago, leadership in the South Pacific was strongly connected to the land, sea, and sky, and that leadership positioned our wise leaders at the stern of the vaka (boat) to guide us through the history of ancestral knowledge and the vision for the future.

He Toeaina ke nofo i te mulivaka An Elder to sit at the canoe's stern. This Tokelau proverb acknowledges the place of 'toeaina' (elders) sitting at the stern of the Vaka, to oversee the welfare and safety of the crew, directing and advising them using their vast knowledge, experience and wisdom" (Kupa, 2009, p. 1).

Diaspora and Pacific Leaders

As reinforced in the following participant's quote, the analysis confirms that Pacific people have had to accept the pan-Pacific identity of being labelled as Pacific people when the sub-ethnicities reflect a noticeably clear distinction between the Pacific Island nations. The challenges have reinforced that a Western methodology has dictated how Pacific sub nations will be perceived and represented by the Aotearoa-New Zealand government.

There is no such thing as Pacific leadership as Pacific people are made up of different South Pacific countries. The term Pacific people was invented by the Aotearoa-New Zealand government making it easier for them to describe who we are.

Manuel and Sibney (2013) claim that data collection processes often fail to acknowledge the ethnic-specific identities of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and that this will have negative implications for policy as intrinsic differences between ethnic specific groups are not acknowledged or identified.

The data offers a clearer understanding of the challenges for Pacific leaders, in that leaders of a particular ethnicity may not have the confidence of other Pacific nation groups because of the risk that decisions will be made in favour of some nation groups and not others. This can manifest in cases where the population of one ethnic group far outweighs that of other relevant Pacific Island nations. From a public sector perspective, Pacific leadership becomes constrained with the reality of one ethnic representative making decisions for ethnic groups they are not expert in. It could mean that smaller Pacific nations are not adequately represented or are receiving adequate resourcing for the needs of their specific communities.

For Pacific leaders who may be dealing with sub-Pacific nation groups other than their own, there is an expectation that they will continue to ensure other Pacific nation groups are included and engaged in policy development settings. The onus is on government to rectify the exclusivity of its Western approach in the identification of seven ethnic-specific Pacific nations.

Identification of Ethnic Specific Pacific people

While the constructs of Pacific people are well embedded within the New Zealand government, and to a huge extent the Pacific community, the onus is on the Government to consider system enablers, such as data collection processes, that accurately reflect both Pacific and ethnic-specific Pacific identities. This challenge also extends to the miscalculation of ethnicity data if not all Pacific population groups' data are being collected equally. Issues with data as they relate to Pacific people are discussed in more depth later in this chapter.

Pacific-born and Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Perspectives on Leadership

There were differences in the way Pacific-born and Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born responded to the question regarding what defines Pacific leadership. Pacific-born leaders tended to be harsher in their judgement of Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born leaders in terms of their lack of understanding of traditional cultural knowledge, etiquette, as indicated by the participant who claimed that NZ-born do not recognise their points of difference.

The biggest gap [is] they do not recognise their point of difference: they behave like the palagi bureaucrat because that is the pathway near to them. If the New Zealand-born Pacific public sector leaders do not work hard at highlighting their

point of difference in a mainstream environment, it will be difficult for them to understand why they are in their roles and who they are there to serve.

I considered this to be one of the harshest criticisms of New-Zealand-born Pacific leaders throughout this study. In contrast is the view by New-Zealand-born leaders that criticism by cultural leaders can be unhelpful and that the responsibility of ensuring future Pacific young people know and understand traditional cultural knowledge and etiquette lies with Pacific-born leaders because of the knowledge they hold. This data is supported by the findings of Faletutulu's (2016) Master's thesis on Pacific people's understandings of leadership in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and Tiatia's (2012) analysis which reinforces the interpretative approaches by Pacific young people to negotiate between Western and ethnic Pacific leadership ideas.

Pacific youth were less critical of their Pacific-born counterparts seeing their Pacific leaders as heroic in their application of leadership skills, and in their skilful advocating for Pacific people. Despite the harsh criticism, Pacific youth support the need for Pacific roles. If this is the case, the data reflects strong support by those interviewed, that Pacific leadership is relevant and is needed now more than ever because of the current government's focus on lifting the wellbeing of Pacific people.

The findings of this study show that more recent research is beginning to reflect the importance of focusing policy processes on Pacific youth issues. Earlier research (Pulotu-Endemann, 2011; Tamasese, 1998; Thaman, 1974) continues to be relevant and important and will provide important historical contexts that will assist youth to understand the social and political context of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The onus is on government to support future-focussed research that engages Pacific youth in what leadership looks like in the future (Faletutulu, 2016). In moving forward, youth wish to be leaders, but in a different way and different context. They continue to celebrate their identity and culture but wish to blend it more with their current context in New Zealand which to them, is more diverse, less formal, less traditional, and more about unity (Faletutulu, 2016).

The findings reflect those traditional forms of respect, where children are seen and not heard, where they have their roles of serving their elders and traditional leaders, to be more about caring for those less fortunate regardless of race and leading as mainstream leaders with Pacific values.

While much of the cultural practices have been undertaken in the last thirty years in New Zealand, young Pacific people are entwined in a world that is driven by technology requiring them to be more technology-savvy (Anae, 2001). Some of the practices go against cultural values where face-to-face communication has been the optimal measure of success when working with Pacific communities, utilising social media platforms such as Facebook, zoom and facetime, to communicate. This particularly was the case when the COVID epidemic forced communication within Pacific communities to be via technology.

Faletutulu's (2016) findings about Pacific young people support participants' views that, although traditional settings continue to be the norm for Pacific young people, they are becoming more adept in Western ideology and would prefer to work within both worlds (Faletutulu, 2017).

A further finding is that Pacific young people's pathway to leadership is significantly different from the first New-Zealand-born Pacific generation, where the expectation of service was a strong criterion of Pacific leadership and where proof of service would be the pathway to leadership in the public sector. Many young Pacific people are opting for an early entry into university and entering the public sector as new graduates with little experience of their Pacific community needs. Therefore, mentoring for these young up-and-coming leaders from more senior public servant leaders who are experienced, can play a critical role in building Pacific leadership capacity (Chu, 2018; Lui, 2017).

Challenges for Pacific Leaders Across Agencies

My findings indicate that the space between Pacific-born and New-Zealand-born Pacific leaders is contentious and, based on the findings of this study, is centred on knowledge of Pacific cultural norms and hierarchical status in contrast to how Pacific cultural norms are being practised in Aotearoa-New Zealand by predominantly the Aotearoa-New-Zealand-born Pacific population.

Pacific leaders employed by the public service are located across government agencies; this means that the onus is on Pacific leaders to first and foremost represent the interests of their agencies. This can at times go against the need for Pacific leaders in different government agencies to work collaboratively. Further to this, the space where Pacific leaders operate cross-agency approaches are contentious due to the competitive environment that Pacific leaders

must work within and contributes to the demise and division that exists within Pacific public sector leadership.

Pacific people being employed in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector are more than likely to be third and fourth generation New Zealand-born Pacific. These generations will learn about the historical issues faced by new migrants through recollections of history and stories told by their parents and grandparents. Based on the findings, it is fair to say that Pacific young people may not have an appreciation of the struggles experienced by the older Pacific-born population. As factory-workers and cleaners, Pacific-born people experienced a level of racism and discrimination that were likely to be more challenging as they were new migrants where English was a second language (Macpherson & Anae, 2008; Tiatia, 1998).

According to Pacific-born leaders interviewed, some have been critical of the New-Zealand-born Pacific leaders who they believe are challenged in representing authentic and traditional culture. Pacific-born leaders themselves need to question their role in cultivating and growing the traditional Pacific knowledge within our New Zealand Pacific leadership cohort.

The biggest gap [is] they don't recognise their point of difference; they behave like the palagi bureaucrat because that is the pathway near to them and known to them. They may also look down on their Pacific communities and not consult with them as much as they should. (Pacific-born leader)

The results demonstrate that there is a lack of any successful attempts to build cultural knowledge from past Pacific leaders to future Pacific leaders, yet this cultural knowledge is an important requirement for future Pacific leadership. Despite this, New-Zealand-born leaders continue to seek the support of older Pacific-born leaders, and furthermore, admire them for the leadership roles they play.

A combination of approaches is needed if the role of Pacific public sector leadership continues to be relevant in the future. The Pacific leadership cohort needs to be developed through ongoing training and development in a Pacific context. It is important to have programmes such as Leadership New Zealand delivering the Mana Moana experience (Leadership NZ, 2020), an integrated programme for Pacific leaders that focuses on the core vitalisation and mobilisation of indigenous Pacific language, knowledge, values, culture, and ways of knowing the world. Programmes like the Mana Moana experience can enhance New-Zealand-born Pacific worldviews of what it is to celebrate their Pacific identity and acknowledge the intrinsic

values and protocols of what it is to be Pacific. The Mana Moana programme is the most comprehensive sponsored Pacific leadership programme currently being delivered in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Spaces Where Leadership Happens

There are complexities to consider for Pacific populations' geographical locations. With the location of government headquarters being based in Wellington, it has been well documented in the data collected that there are conflicting views as to whether the perspectives of Pacific people living in Auckland are represented in the political halls of parliament and the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector:

The majority of Pacific public sector roles are based in Wellington, we in Auckland are constantly having to weigh up the benefits of shifting to Wellington against what is in the best interests of our families. Yet if lived perspectives of Pacific people in Auckland are not considered then the policy will not accurately reflect the views of the majority of Pacific people living in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

The growing population of Pacific people in Auckland has significant implications for policy and planning processes within the New Zealand public sector. This means that Pacific people who wish to pursue higher authority in the policy sector will need to make sacrifices if they reside outside of Wellington City. Those sacrifices are significant and include having to uplift their families and disconnect from what is their usual support systems, with family, spiritual and church links, and community support. This is a key finding for this study as it is a barrier to career progression for Pacific public sector leaders.

To address this growing concern, government chief executives are starting to think more laterally, by supporting the provision of teams and units being established in Auckland; this is the case for the Ministry for Pacific people and other government agencies. Although this is a worthy attempt to engage the perspectives of people living in Auckland, this does not address the opportunity to build public sector leadership in central government because of the geographical challenges. The onus is on the Government to consider enhancing potential leadership packages that induce Pacific public sector workers with leadership potential to be supported to transition to Wellington to take up higher level roles.

The sacred spaces for Pacific people to lead are considered to highlight the values intrinsic to the wellbeing of Pacific people so they are free to be themselves and to practise cultural values and norms across any space within the public sector. Va (relationships) Tapu-ia (sacred) defines the importance of human interaction and connections that are based on respect, humility, and reciprocity.

Those relationships will be held in high esteem and, based on the success of navigating the space of sacredness, will produce harmonious outcomes for Pacific people. When the Va Tapu-ia has been disrupted, it is difficult for Pacific people to retain trusting connections with those who have offended.

Creating Safe Environments for Pacific Public Sector Leaders

Ethnic Maltreatment

Ethnic maltreatment is defined by Bandolo et al. (2009) as behaviour that creates workplace discrimination, stigmatisation, physical threat, and harassment. De Lima (2003) specifically considers how social exclusion is often associated with race and ethnicity.

The study's findings demonstrate that Pacific leaders are constrained to improve outcomes for the Pacific communities they serve but also to develop in their roles. Therefore, Pacific leaders are prone to what Brandolo (2009) refers to as ethnic maltreatment where they are excluded from critical processes but must accept blame when things go wrong because Pacific communities will always question the credibility and difference their leaders are making. Pacific leaders will be publicly challenged, and it can be humiliating for them and their families. To some extent, through the public sector grapevine, Pacific leaders are discredited and isolated because they have lost the confidence of their communities.

Filtering Evidence

As indicated by participant responses in Chapter seven theme Valuing Pacific Leaders as Knowledge Experts, Pacific leaders felt that regardless of how hard they tried to present Pacific research depicting the poor socio-economic outcomes for Pacific people, the literature would often be overlooked or seen as unscientific. There was a tendency to exclude Pacific literature from key government documents even after it has been put forward by the Pacific public sector

leader. This suggests that the public sector has an over-reliance on Western theory, particularly when it relates to specific Māori- and Pacific-focused initiatives.

However, Pacific leaders felt that when evidence was used, it was evidence that conveniently aligned with Western approaches. For example, where Pacific evidence used suggested that cultural models and programmes did not align with future Pacific populations projections, then only Pacific evidence that aligned with Western approaches would be used.

This was the case to a lesser extent in the example of advocating for language-based programmes: the reason supporting a reduction in Pacific-translated resources was due to the lower numbers of Pacific-born people living in New Zealand. Another example is when mainstream funding decisions would invest in services of elderly-based programmes catering for people who are over 75 years of age when it is widely known that Pacific people's life expectancy is 65 years of age and under. Eligibility criteria for programmes continue to reinforce the exclusion of Pacific people to accessing services.

The New Zealand health sector has had solid investment in Pacific representation at the Ministry level and eight district health boards across the country who have the highest Pacific populations. However, the outcomes continue to reflect poorly which indicates poor system design when it comes to ensuring a Pacific perspective is embedded in the policy setting across relevant government departments.

It is an unsafe environment when the contribution you want to make is devalued. Our Pacific evidence is seen as lacking the scientific quality required by the palagi bureaucrats. Not only is it insulting, it's painful to know that our scholars are not valued for the research they have undertaken, but also for the families and community members that have participated in the research.

Came (2014) articulates this challenge well by highlighting the view that “processes used by Crown officials to filter what evidence informs policy consistently minimises the input of Māori academics” (Came, 2014, p. 217).

The production of Pacific people's evidence in New Zealand has grown considerably over the years since the earlier migration, depicting the lived experiences of generations of Pacific people. However, as shown in Chapter Seven, Pacific leaders in this study were forthright in acknowledging the attempts to exclude the effective use and integration of Pacific evidence

into policy settings. Pacific leaders believe this contributed to the failure of government policy to address poor outcomes being experienced by Pacific people.

Excluding Pacific Leaders from Critical Conversations

The contributing factors relate to government agencies operating in a way whereby agencies commit to diversity on paper while simultaneously excluding Pacific leaders from critical decisions made about policy and funding. Naepi (2019) relates this to non-performity where agencies promise to support equity within organisations yet the systems in place do not allow this to occur.

More Convenient and Cost Effective

This section discusses three areas relating to the findings that indicate when Pacific leaders' safety in the public sector has been compromised. The findings reveal that Pacific public sector leaders felt deliberately excluded from critical conversations that would impact on resource allocation for Pacific communities. Therefore, a sense of mistrust developed and respect between colleagues was disrupted.

Current and past Pacific leaders have not felt safe in the public sector due to the perceived extent of institutional racism and structural discrimination. In the eyes of Pacific public sector leaders and Pacific communities, these influences have tainted the reputation of the public sector as being a place where Pacific leaders burn out due to a lack of sufficient support.

“I Don’t Have Time Because I Don’t Have Enough Staff”

A key finding emerged in Section seven, that suggests Pacific leaders are insufficiently resourced in terms of a specific Pacific policy workforce that can support them to deliver outcomes across the board. The lack of resources has led to Pacific leaders and their teams holding a workload that is not tenable.

Mainstream policy teams have up to ten times the number of staff within a Pacific team, yet the Pacific team is expected to ensure the provision of responses in a timely manner. These findings demonstrate that this introduces a stressful work environment and presents unnecessary pressure which can be dealt with by increasing capacity for Pacific teams to be successful.

Well in my organisation our mainstream policy team has 30 staff, so if 30 staff are writing policy and the Pacific team are expected to analyse and input a Pacific perspective into every piece of policy they write, how do you do this with a team of three people? This is why Pacific communities and families fail.

When compared with funding allocation for non-Pacific and Māori, Pacific people receive a small percentage, and when milestones are not achieved by Pacific staff, or Pacific targets are not achieved, then Pacific leaders and their teams are usually held responsible because they are the face of Pacific people within the organisation.

The findings reveal that tokenistic behaviour refers to a policy situation where there has been limited engagement of minority perspectives despite the provision and investment in race-based roles. According to the findings, most Pacific leaders experienced tokenism but were powerless to do something about it; Pacific leaders found it difficult to manage and deal with situations of tokenism. The situations involved contributions of Pacific leaders being minimised, undermined, and undervalued.

Tokenism

A further finding related to the issue of policy capacity. There was a sense that investment in Pacific capacity within policy units was a tokenistic way for the Government agency to tick the box to indicate that they were achieving equity by investing in Pacific managers, directors, and their teams. However, as participants explained, the investment was insufficient and did not provide Pacific leaders with the ability to employ enough staff to deliver on the work programme. Furthermore, participants noted, when Pacific teams failed to deliver on their milestones, they were unfairly judged as being incompetent and this stigmatisation was consistent across many of the Government agencies that employ Pacific teams. The issue resulted in redefinition of Pacific policy teams roles so that they should only deal in engagement between the agency and Pacific community and left the policy “grunt” work to the mainstream policy teams; that is, policy analysis, development, service design and funding. The findings indicate that the minimal resources were setting Pacific teams up to fail, and this was deemed by participants to be clear evidence of tokenistic behaviour:

While I worked in the mainstream policy team, palagi colleagues would make comments about the Pacific team that would make me feel uncomfortable, the comments often question the ability for Pacific teams to be competent in delivering on policy outcomes. Some colleagues talked about the casual nature in the way Pacific team members worked and that they were often late to meetings, ill-informed about the discussion because they may not have been up to speed with where projects were at. I was frustrated at these comments because the Pacific team never had the capacity to meet the demands of our mainstream policy teams work programme, they were doomed to fail.

The findings reveal several practices that can justifiably be interpreted as tokenism where Pacific leaders felt undermined, with their knowledge and experience being undervalued. Practices that reinforced this included when Pacific leaders would be asked to do certain tasks that were reduced to providing opening and closing spiritual greetings and acknowledgement; and being told that their specific role related to engaging with Pacific communities while the key policy roles of scoping, development, design, and service delivery were reserved for the non-Pacific mainstream workers who tended, in most cases, to be pakeha. The policy roles were usually where decisions about funding allocation were made.

Prayers, Minutes and Cups of Tea: Undermining Skills and Experience of Pacific Leaders

Clearly, there is a correlation between the capacity of Pacific leaders and their teams to perform and the issue of credibility; despite their best efforts to contribute to policy, delays or absences of a Pacific contribution are often viewed as professional inability to manage a policy work programme. The evidence, then, is that Pacific teams, due to capacity issues, are set up to fail to deliver on the strategic goals for Pacific people.

Further findings suggested that although Pacific policy staff were expected to be engaged in mainstream-led policy processes this was infrequently reciprocated by mainstream policy teams; when Pacific attempted to lead initiatives, mainstream policy teams were not forthcoming and often lacked any enthusiasm or commitment.

Pacific public service leaders, then, continue to perceive that the expectations from their non-Pacific colleague's amount to tokenism, such as saying the prayer, taking minutes, and providing the refreshments:

They have asked me to take the minutes, I must be the highest paid minute taker, sometimes I want to scream and pull my hair out, but I can't because they will label me as violent, the stereotypes will brand me for life and destroy my career. I sound like a broken record, saying the same thing repeatedly. If you say the wrong thing, you can feel them rolling their eyes. I feel so devalued in this environment.

The public sector must revisit its behaviour in this context given its disregard for the qualifications and professional experience held by Pacific leaders.

Last Item on the Agenda

As indicated by participants responses, agenda items tabled by Māori and Pacific Managers would be placed last on the agenda, thus resulting in Pacific leaders sensing that addressing equity was not a priority, or meetings would run over so Māori and Pacific issues were overlooked and deferred to the next meeting. When the next meetings would occur, Māori and Pacific agenda items would be placed at the bottom of the agenda, thus never addressing these issues in a way that supported pro-equity. This is because all the “important” issues such as models of care and resourcing decisions had been made earlier in the agenda. If meeting timekeeping were poor, it meant that the time left at the end of the meeting would not be sufficient to address the issues of equity, thus minimising indigenous and minority perspectives.

“We are the face of the Community; we are the ones they will blame”

The study shows that it is even more challenging for Pacific leaders, than for other leaders, to front up to their communities on behalf of their organisation. They take the brunt of Pacific communities' frustration because the outcomes are not achieved, yet Pacific leaders have to remain silent on the internal issues and challenges they face that prevent them from supporting their organisations to achieve outcomes; for instance, being underfunded to ensure capability to support the agency to deliver.

The results demonstrate that Pacific families are so well connected that as a leader you will be known for who you are, what village and family you are connected to. According to the perceptions of the study's participants, non-Pacific leaders within the public sector do not appear to appreciate or understand this reality of Pacific leaders. Rather, they can be concerned

for saving their own credibility and at times leave the Pacific leaders to fend for themselves without defending and protecting them as colleagues.

Masking and Camouflage as a Survival Technique

Pacific leaders interviewed for this study often referred to colleagues' behaviour that would make them feel undermined and undervalued. Feeling excluded from critical meetings and being treated dismissively were common occurrences. Most of all, Pacific leaders felt that on many occasions they had to hide their true feelings of frustration as to display them would be going against the majority.

Through her PhD thesis, Dr Sereana Naepi (2019) discusses the experiences of Pacific women in "Beyond the Dusky Maiden: Pacific women's experiences working in higher education". Naepi (2019) uses the term "camouflage" to describe the experience of hiding her true feelings in certain situations working in higher roles in the academic environment, and furthermore, highlights a participant's hope that her daughters will not have to go through the same experience as she. Similarly, a Pacific leader has recounted a description of having to hide their true feelings in their day-to-day roles running meetings and managing work relationships.

Naepi (2019), Tiatia (2012), and Tupuola (1974) touch on the subtle behaviour that goes unnoticed in public sector settings. The terms "Masking" (Tiatia, 2012) and "Camouflage" (Naepi, 2019) demonstrate the challenges Pacific people face in environments where they are not confident to be themselves, due to messages they receive from the environment suggesting they must conform and assimilate to be accepted and/or successful.

For Pacific people, being themselves was about several things that reinforced their identity, including being able to speak their languages to each other openly, dressing in their Pacific Island dress, acknowledging the time needed for cultural ritual, and creating a positive work environment. In contrast, participants have become defiant when told that their boisterous behaviour, such as laughing and joking, is unacceptable in a professional environment. Naepi (2019) uses the expression "Dull their Shine", in her paper to describe how professional environments can be places where Pacific people need to hide who they are and the special skills and knowledge they bring.

Pacific leaders' participants in this study also highlighted what they call danger zones when Pacific leaders and staff did not always agree on matters pertaining to Pacific issues and how this was played out in the public arena.

Most of us who work in the sector understand the risk of being played off each other. The golden rule is that we have the discussion amongst us first to try and resolve the differences, so we go out with an agreed and collective approach, it does not always work out and this is where we as Pacific are at risk of divide and rule.

The public sector must take note of the potential risks associated with excluding Pacific leaders from critical conversations and processes by challenging the attitudes and behaviours that contribute to Pacific leaders' sense of unsafe environments.

Valuing Pacific Leaders as Knowledge Experts

Barriers Experienced by Pacific Women Leaders

The experiences of Pacific women leaders in the public sector are of significance to this study. The results of this study demonstrate that Pacific women leaders face multiple challenges from both the public sector and the community setting. This section summarises the findings and contributions made by considering the literature as it relates to intersectionality.

International shifts of thinking in terms of how women are treated are at the forefront of some of the largest advocacy organisations in the world with strong declarations being made to support women in their fight against discrimination (Finau, 2017; United Nations 1970).

The traditional role Pacific women have played in their respective cultures can differ from one Pacific country to the next. Pacific women carry significant burden and responsibility in addition to their Pacific leadership role (Mara, 2006).

The study findings indicate that there are those (in the public sector) who suggest that the making of added responsibilities is the burden of Pacific women themselves and that they need to prioritise what is important. Clearly, this indicates a lack of understanding that the cultural aspirations for Pacific women reinforce their responsibility to ensure the fabric of identity is intact for future generations within their families, church, and communities they serve. Thus, such suggestions may be considered as victim-blaming and racist-profiling.

Based on the findings, it is reasonable to argue that cultural practice that reinforces male dominance add challenges to the development of Pacific women leadership roles in the public sector. As noted by one participant:

In a meeting of leaders, they serve the men first and we might give way for men to do their oratory before women can speak and yet the Chief Advisor is a woman.

The role modelling of cultural male dominance is reinforced through the process of service by young Pacific girls serving male leaders,

“...so young Pacific girls are receiving the messages at a very young age of what their perceived role should be as they are expected to serve males”.

The findings regarding disparities in remuneration clearly appear to indicate there is a huge gender disparity in remuneration in the public sector that Pacific women suffer from, even more than palagi women (Human Rights Commission, 2012; Rosenbury, 2019). According to one interviewee:

A Department of Labour presentation on income levels revealed that Pacific women in the public sector are the lowest paid, yet we are likely to be at the same tier, the most dedicated, particularly those in Pacific leadership roles.

Pacific, and mainly Samoan women holding matai titles, has been a contentious issue in terms of the growing gender power imbalance (Anae, 2017). As an example, this is also evident in my family, where on our mother's side, a longstanding traditional practice of only males being allowed to hold matai titles was broken this year when my sister and two females were the first to become matai title holders from the village of Malaemalu, Falealili, a village located along the southern coast of Samoa. The decision was the end of a longstanding debate that was led by the fact that the number of women in the family outnumbered the males.

The analysis of the data confirms that Pacific young women are at risk of experiencing additional barriers to achieving high status in the public sector. This is largely due to the constant negotiation of the Pacific woman's role in the family, community, church, and professional environment, as this participant explains:

In serving our male leaders, it's our young girls that are serving, so they are receiving the messages at a very young age of what their perceived role should be.

To some extent, cultural practices today continue to reinforce the traditional roles of women; this view is supported by Finau (2017), whose study explored women leadership in traditional villages in Samoa. The cultural practice of young Pacific girls serving elders and chiefs continues to support the idea from a noticeably young age that the role of Pacific women is to serve and not lead.

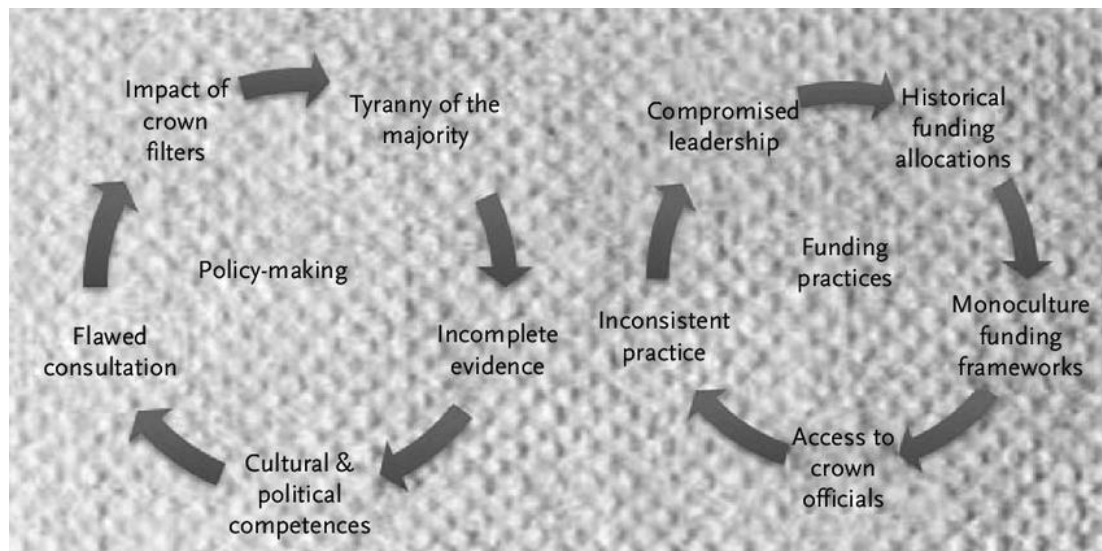
System Barriers

The findings of this study have indicated that there are varying approaches throughout the public sector to the concept of organisational commitment to creating systems and behaviours that support equity goals.

The findings clearly indicate that Pacific people experience numerous barriers and challenges within the public sector. These findings reinforce the need for system leadership and system change.

Came and Humphries' (2014) "Sites of Racism" presents an opportunity to consider a systems approach to addressing inequity within a crown setting. The literature review provides more detail about the Sites of Racism; however, to recap, the policy-making sites of institutional racism include: the tyranny of the majority; misuse/incompleteness of evidence; cultural and political competence; flawed consultation processes; and policy sign-off processes (impact of crown filters). Furthermore, Came and Humphries present five sites of racism in relation to funding practices: historical funding allocation; monocultural funding frameworks; access to crown officials; inconsistent practices; and compromised leadership.

Figure 10: Five Sites of Racism Source (Came & Humphries, 2014)



(Source: Came & Humphries, (2014). *Mopping up Institutional Racism: Activism on a Napkin*. Greenleaf Publishing 2014) adapted from Came, H. (2012) *Institutional racism and the dynamics of privilege in public health*. Unpublished doctorate, Waikato University, Hamilton, New Zealand.)

The theory can apply to Pacific and potentially any government agency with a policy and funding arm where Pacific people are a key stakeholder group. As revealed in the findings in Chapter Seven, relating to the Theme: Creating Safe Environments for Pacific Public Sector Leaders, each site accurately pinpoints where challenges exist within policy and funding environments for Pacific leaders. The Anti-racist Policy Action framework does not specifically refer to Māori or Pacific leadership roles. However, it provides the opportunity to consider how the framework might be adopted and aligned with the Māori and Pacific leadership roles. This could be interpreted as the framework placing more emphasis on mainstream policy and funding units to “do more” to address institutional racist practices. Unless the behaviours and attitudes support this, it will be challenging for some if not all of the actions to be adopted.

As was made clear by the public service Pacific leader participants in this study, some attempts have been made to adopt many of these actions in the workplace, but these often fail for lack of commitment.

Brick Walls

A key finding emerged as to Pacific leaders' experiences of failing their Pacific communities because of internal systems and a lack of commitment by public sector colleagues to support Pacific leaders and their teams to lead Pacific projects.

Attitudes and behaviours are key factors to consider when shifting outcomes for Pacific people. According to Ahmed (2014) and Naepi (2019), non-performity relates to the situations when agencies declare the need to address institutional racism, but the systems within the agency work against this.

A prime example in the context of this study is that a key priority and goal of the Government is to promote equity; however, Pacific leaders and teams' experiences are that lack of resourcing and support for Pacific leaders and their teams is counterproductive to the achievement of this goal. Naepi (2019) refers to such examples as brick walls that hinder progress, while Ahmed (2014) similarly refers to these experiences as "hitting a brick wall".

Overlooked for Promotion

Pacific leaders and workers have discussed the challenges of not being recognised for senior management roles. Naepi (2019) uses the term "infantilisation" to describe when people are not recognised as being able to hold authority in a space (p. 5). Pacific leaders have clearly articulated their concerns through this study that they are not achieving senior management roles despite having the equivalent experience and qualifications to those who do get promoted to these positions.

Hyper-surveillance

As indicated by participant responses, Pacific leaders' experiences that they are subject to more extreme surveillance, particularly as it relates to policy, funding, and management of staff, than their non-Pacific colleagues. As explained above, these experiences can include such incidences as turning up late to forums despite acknowledging how a lack of resources can have a negative effect on Pacific staff balancing priorities, reducing, or withdrawing funding streams. Naepi (2019) refers to Hyper-surveillance, a term used to describe the extent to which people's performance is surveyed and stereotyped.

Came's (2012) anti-racism framework has the potential to address attitudes and behaviours if appropriate training is provided for mainstream policy workers. Alternative ways of addressing challenging behaviour are to ensure attributes such as respect, compassion, and integrity play a vital role in organisations to create a culture that, across the board, promotes equity and addresses inequity.

Access to Equal Employment Opportunities

Pay Equity Issues are Racist and Discriminatory

Within a public sector context, Pacific women leaders face additional challenges in the professional space. The most prominent of these is the lack of pay equity, where the evidence clearly demonstrates the struggle. In 2012 and subsequently 2020, the HRC commissioned two reports that reinforce Pacific women experiences as not being equally acknowledged for the contribution made. The findings of this study are consistent with the contents of the HRC report. Pacific women public sector leaders in this study highlighted the challenges of being paid less than their non-Pacific colleagues. In one incident, the Pacific worker found out about the disparity from an incoming new chief executive who felt the injustice of a Pacific worker being paid significantly lower than her other directors (Human Rights Commission, 2012; HRC 2020). According to the HRC reports, the gap is significant to the degree that Pacific wellbeing is compromised, not just for the Pacific worker but the disparity extends to their family members (HRC, 2012).

Networking Opportunities for all Pacific Public Sector Staff

From a networking and mentoring perspective, the results of this study support the idea that Pacific young people want to see more opportunities to engage with current Pacific leaders and their knowledge and experience. They see this being undertaken more effectively in a networking structure. Pacific young people identified the programmes they had engaged in to have more exposure to the public sector such as Ministry of Business and Innovation Employment's Tupu Tai Public Sector Internship programme (MBIE, 2020), but felt these programmes lack sufficient funding to be expanded more effectively across the public sector so more Pacific graduates can be engaged and financially supported.

Growing Pacific Leadership.

Reinvention of Pacific Identity by Aotearoa-New Zealand-born Pacific

The findings indicate that young Pacific people are at the turning-point where a reinvention of Pacific identity is taking place. While this occurs, Pacific youth continue to believe Pacific values, beliefs and culture are important. The Pacific youth population in Auckland has seen a marked increase in growth as has the rest of Aotearoa-New Zealand as stated in Chapter Two. The need to support Pacific people to contribute to and lead the economic growth of the nation given their increasing population statistics is of critical importance to the Government for two reasons: 1) Pacific people will continue to experience poorer outcomes than any other ethnic group. Their wellbeing and mortality will be compromised by a lack of appropriate and effective policy interventions by the public sector; and 2) if the Pacific population continues to grow and the future populations continue to experience the same trends of disparity, then New Zealand overall will face a significant socio-economic burden beyond its fiscal ability (Treasury, 2018).

Whatever the public sector chooses to do to develop Pacific leadership, it has to ensure Pacific values, beliefs and culture are embedded. It is important we get this right. We need to be cognisant of the beliefs of Pacific young people living in Aotearoa-New Zealand who have different beliefs to those born in the Pacific Islands.

Based on the findings of this study, a change to a more transformational approach in the way Pacific young public sector employees are supported – with ideas from Pacific youth themselves being heard and acted on – is required. It is anticipated that this process will support Pacific future leaders and ensure they avoid the public sector challenges and barriers experienced by their predecessors.

Impact of Technology on Pacific people

For educated Pacific young people entering the public sector, there is an opportunity to consider a range of career pathways. The analysis has revealed that the public sector offers specific Pacific leadership development programmes such as Te Aratitia, which is focused on developing Māori and Pacific staff towards their first manager role, or the Te Aka Matua programme, which supports Māori and Pacific leaders to complete their master's degree in

public management. Across both these programmes a total of 21 Māori and Pacific staff successfully completed either programme by 2017. Within the Ministry of Social Development, it is interesting to note that supporting the development and implementation of these programmes is the Pacific Helava – a collective of Pacific staff who have blood ties to the Pacific. The Pacific Helava Collective is supported to hold annual fono inviting key speakers to discuss matters of interest to Pacific staff and their communities.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed and analysed the relevant themes in Chapter Seven. The chapter revisited the research approach adopted for this study as a way of anchoring cultural approaches to engaging with Pacific people. The chapter considered current national and international events that would prompt more focus on the need for Pacific leadership in government agencies. The chapter considers each theme.

The section on Negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific and western constructs of leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector considered Pacific and Western leadership definitions, the diaspora and Pacific leaders. The section also investigated the different perspectives of Pacific-born and New Zealand-born Pacific leaders, the challenges for Pacific leaders across agencies and considered spaces where Pacific leadership occurs with some of the challenges highlighting the need for government to support the development of Pacific leaders. Within a public sector environment, Pacific leaders are constantly negotiating their values, beliefs and cultural protocols within a system that is governed predominantly by western values. Pacific leaders left with little opportunity to introduce Pacific peoples lived experiences, so policy settings reflect their worldview. The dominance of western values, places Pacific leaders in a highly vulnerable and often victimised state, by a culture that fails to understand and appreciate their cultural values and beliefs.

The section on Creating Safe Environments for Pacific Public Sector Leaders considered significant issues of ethnic maltreatment, challenges of having Pacific research validated, Pacific leaders being excluded from critical conversations, ways in which public sector workers would seek appropriate Pacific advice if it meant more convenient and cost-effective measures. This section considered tokenism and the lack of investment in supporting Pacific leaders with sufficient workforce to meet their work programme demands. The section concludes by considering the adverse response from Pacific communities when government fails and who

holds the responsibility, consideration of the effects of discriminatory and racist environments on Pacific leaders and what coping mechanisms they adopt to survive.

The section on Valuing Pacific leaders as Knowledge Experts considers the barriers experienced by Pacific women leaders and young Pacific women leaders; the section looks into system barriers and relies on evidence by Came and Humphries (2014) and Naepi (2019) to support the findings. The section considers Pacific leaders' experiences of hitting the 'brick wall', being overlooked for promotion and being a victim of hyper-surveillance (Naepi, 2019).

The chapter has ended with considering of what is needed to grow Pacific leadership in the public sector. This has included considering issues such as the impact of technology and what this means for Pacific staff, looking into the future as Pacific young people reinvent Pacific culture.

CHAPTER NINE: RESEARCH THEMES EMBEDDED IN A CULTURAL FRAMEWORK



This chapter will present recommendations based on the themes that have arisen from the participant feedback. The recommendations will be presented in a cultural framework.

The purpose of this study has been to better understand the barriers and challenges faced by Pacific leaders working in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. The study also explored successful public sector interventions designed to improve the outcomes for Pacific communities whilst identifying the various leadership structures and models that support and define this Pacific leadership.

This chapter will utilise the themes with recommendations following each theme that will be aligned to a cultural metaphor known as the Tuiga, a Samoan headdress traditionally assigned to Samoan men and women in authority, or their offspring.

The themes of this study are 1) Negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific and Western constructs of leadership; 2) Creating safe environments for Pacific public sector leaders; 3) Valuing Pacific leaders as knowledge experts; 4) Access to equal employment opportunities; and 5) Growing Pacific leadership.

In this chapter I introduce a cultural metaphor of the Tuiga as a framework to position the findings of this research in a cultural context. The Tuiga is a Samoan traditional headdress. Although the focus of this study is on Pan Pacific cultures, it is hoped that the framework provides an opportunity for other ethnic specific Pacific nations to consider their own

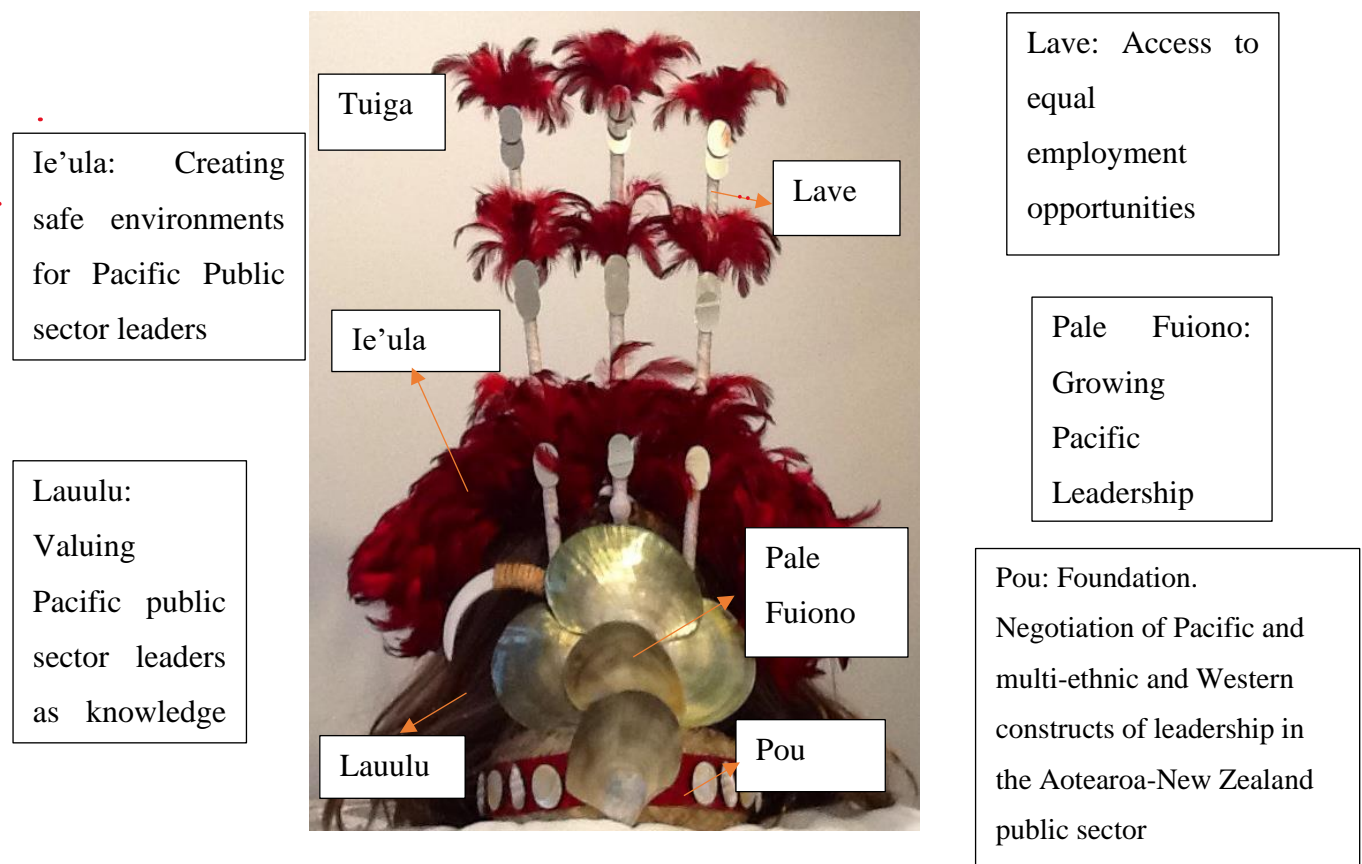
headdress or cultural symbols and how they can resonate with their own ethnic-specific ancestral knowledge, thus aiming to respond to the inequities and power struggle Pacific leaders experience. The public sector can utilise the Tuiga Framework as a way of grounding approaches that will address intersectionality through ethical and transformative leadership approaches.

Cultural Metaphor of Pacific Leadership

Cultural metaphors such as Fonofale (Pulotu-Endemann, 2011), Vaka Atafaga (Kupa, 2009) and Pacific Niu (Core Education, 2015), as discussed in Chapter Four, the Pacific Leadership chapter, have been used by Pacific researchers and theorists to depict and anchor cultural meaning within a Western background. This is to ensure that Pacific people's cultural contexts are at the forefront of the development of knowledge.

This chapter will provide the Tuiga as the cultural framework as the key themes of this study align with the five parts that make up the Tuiga: the pou (siapo foundation) Negotiation of Pacific and Multi-ethnic and Western Constructs of Leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector; the lave (triple staff or upright framework) Access to Equal Employment Opportunities; the pale fuiono (forehead band) Growing Pacific Leadership; the 'i.e. 'ula (a bundle of feathers) Creating Safe Environments for Pacific Public Sector Leaders; and lauulu (tufts of human hair) Valuing Pacific Public Sector Leaders as Knowledge Experts. The authentic material used to make the Tuiga represents the most precious of materials, signaling the place of the Tuiga in the hierarchical structures of fa'asamoa.

Figure 11: The Tuiga, aligned to the five themes



The intended outcome of using the Tuiga as a cultural framework is to engage public sector leaders to utilise the framework as a way of supporting and adequately resourcing their Pacific public sector leaders. By adopting the Tuiga framework, the public sector would be acknowledging its commitment to addressing the needs of Pacific people as employees of the New Zealand public sector. Acceptance and integration of a cultural framework is a signal of commitment by government agencies to ensure the worldview of Pacific people are encapsulated in its governance, policies, and operational systems.

Tuiga as a Metaphor

The Tuiga ceremonial headdress was created centuries ago in the island country of Samoa in the South Pacific. The Tuiga as a symbol of leadership is used to distinguish rank and status amongst Samoans who carry chieftain titles. Decisions about who wears the Tuiga are made by a collective within the Samoan village who consist of aiga (family) and villagers alike. Only certain family members of rank and status and who carried the chieftain village title of which the Tuiga is associated can wear it. When tribal wars occurred, the Tuiga was worn by chiefs.

Tuiga were also worn by the chief's manaia (son) or taupou (daughter) during important village ceremonies such as saofa'i, the bestowing of chieftain titles (Si'ilata, 2018).

The location of the use and purpose of Tuiga provides a platform to consider its use in the past compared to how it is used today. The role Tuiga plays in the life of Samoans today has changed insofar as it is now seldom used by matai and manaia, but more by taupou. The authentic and precious materials have been replaced with artificial versions depicting the five parts of the Tuiga.

The Tuiga elevates and distinguishes the wearer of unblemished character, as a sign of respect to the villagers. The decision on who wears the Tuiga is undertaken by the family, villagers, with final permission by the head chief of the village. The role of the wearer is to always maintain peace (paia auuli). When disrespect or harm has taken place, the wearer of the Tuiga has a role to kneel in front of all the chiefs and ask for forgiveness. Once the Tuiga is on the head, the role of the wearer is to be the pacifier, to protect the village as it is a symbol of service.

Historically, the Tuiga was made of the finest of materials to signify the important role the wearer holds. Traditionally the actual hair of ancestral lineage was added to the headdress to signify the important connections to the past. The Tuiga can be uncomfortable to wear – in the example of young women – their hair is braided into the actual headdress; however, the wearer bears the pain because of the honour bestowed upon them by the family and village.

For the purpose of using Pacific cultural metaphors, the use of the fale (Samoan house) (Pulotu-Endemann, 2011) and vaka (pacific canoe) (Kupa, 2009) have traditionally been used to anchor cultural concepts. Although the Tuiga is considered more as a decorative item with lesser significance than those above, it is symbolic in supporting Samoan people to undertake their cultural traditions (Si'ilata, 2018).

Using Tuiga as a metaphor supports the grounding of a Pacific worldview in the context of leadership. The Tuiga symbolises the pre-colonial cultural symbols that were held by the people of Samoa and have existed for many years. The colonial influence started to marginalise the traditional hierarchical structures with the introduction of religious ideology which, over time, has minimised the importance and connections to cultural practices such as the role the Tuiga play in the lives of Samoans.

Throughout this study, five key themes emerged that signal the need to acknowledge the challenges and barriers experienced by Pacific leaders in the public sector. Correspondingly, the critical parts of the Tuiga consists of five components, Pou, Pale Fuiono, Lave, 'Ie 'ula, and Lauulu. For the purposes of this study, I have applied the five themes of this study to be situated within these five components of the Tuiga thus: Negotiating multi-ethnic Pacific and Western paradigms of leadership (Pou); Developing young Pacific people as leaders of Pacific and public sector leadership roles (Pale fuiono); Pacific leaders have equal access to employment opportunities (Lave); Creating safe environments for Pacific public sector leaders ('Ie 'ula); Valuing Pacific leaders as knowledgeable experts in their field (Lauulu).

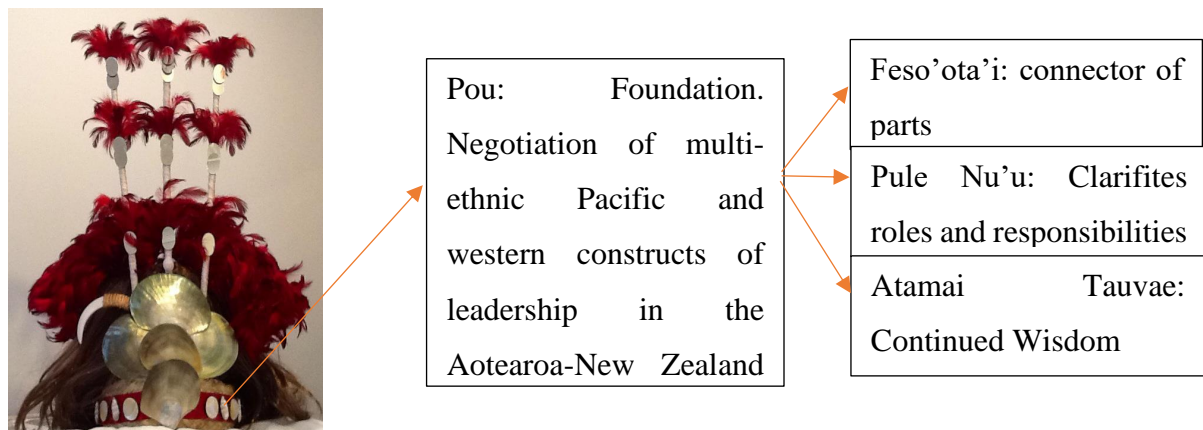
I have chosen to use the Tuiga to assist in grounding the themes in a Pacific context because the Tuiga represents the anchoring and connecting of traditional cultural practice. As a Pacific women leader, the Tuiga framework provides a pathway to be a leader to other Pacific women who wish to pursue a career in the public sector. More importantly the Tuiga will enable future Pacific women leaders to navigate the public sector without the barriers and challenges that our generation experienced, as given our experiences, the aim should always be to improve the environment so Pacific leaders can be effective in their field.

Pou: Negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific and western constructs of leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand Public Sector

The pou, which is made of siapo (tapa cloth), is the foundation of the Tuiga. The siapo provides the base of the Tuiga that the remaining parts sit within. The pou signifies the negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific and western constructs of leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector. New Zealand-born Pacific leaders are integrating Pacific and western practices. The pou signifies the bringing together of the two worldviews as equal parts. The strands of tapa that make up the siapo are representative of the multi-ethnic groups. The siapo is significant in many Pacific ethnic groups and is considered an authentic and traditional form of art in Aotearoa that many New Zealand-born Pacific, and westerners, admire as making up the authentic and diversity of Pacific and New Zealand. The pou plays the most important role of the Tuiga as it is the base which holds everything together.

If the pou is taken away from the structure of the Tuiga the remaining four parts will fall apart.

Figure 12: Pou: Foundation: Negotiation of multi-ethnic Pacific western constructs



The pou acts as the anchor and connector of all parts of the Tugia, it is the foundation with which all parts will connect and intersect.

The pou has a role to share oversight from the different parts and to ensure that there is clarity in terms of roles and responsibility and how these are connected and transmitted through the different parts of the Tuiga. The pou represents the combination of knowledge holders, such as those Pacific people who continue to practise and hold authentic traditional knowledge, from a Pacific and western perspective so future generations have connections and linkages regardless of environment.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study that racist and discriminatory practices exist in the public service, it is recommended that:

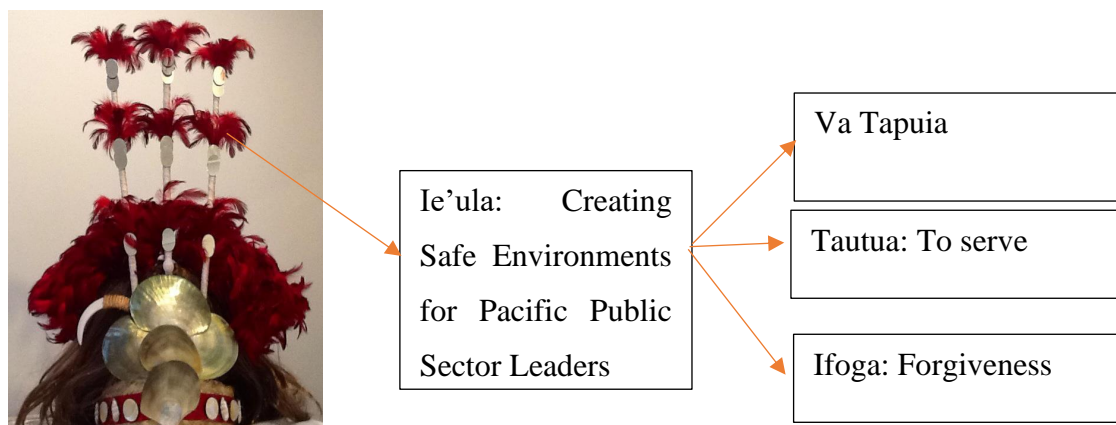
1. The Ministry for Pacific people and the Public Service Commission (feso'ota'i) coordinate a whole-of-government cross-agency strategy considering all policy, funding and workforce development investments and systems to monitor progress against outcomes for Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand (atamai tauvae).
2. An authentic collaboration (pule nu'u) will take equal consideration of Pacific and western perspectives of leadership. Such action would include an audit to ascertain the extent to which racist and discriminatory practices exist – including within the policy, funding, and human resources units.

Procedural fairness must be a feature of all human resource strategies and practices if the public service is to successfully engage Pacific leaders to support the organisation to achieve better outcomes for Pacific people.

Ie'ula – Creating safe environments for Pacific public sector leaders

The ie 'ula (bundle of red feathers) were made up of rare *sega* (parakeet) feathers. The feathers were reserved for chieftainship and considered to be sacred. Correspondingly, the sacred spaces in which Pacific people lead are considered to highlight the values intrinsic to the wellbeing of Pacific people, so they feel free to be themselves and to practise cultural values and norms across any space within the public sector. *Va tapuia* defines the importance of sacred relationships. *tapu-ia* meaning sacred, *va* meaning relationships. Those relationships will be held in high esteem and, based on the success of navigating the space of sacredness, will produce harmonious outcomes for Pacific people.

Figure 13: Ie'ula, Creating Safe Environments for Pacific public sector leaders



Recommendations

Given the findings of this study in relation to Pacific public sector leaders' experiences of behaviours that reinforce stereotyping, stigmatisation, unconscious bias, and ethnic maltreatment, it is recommended that:

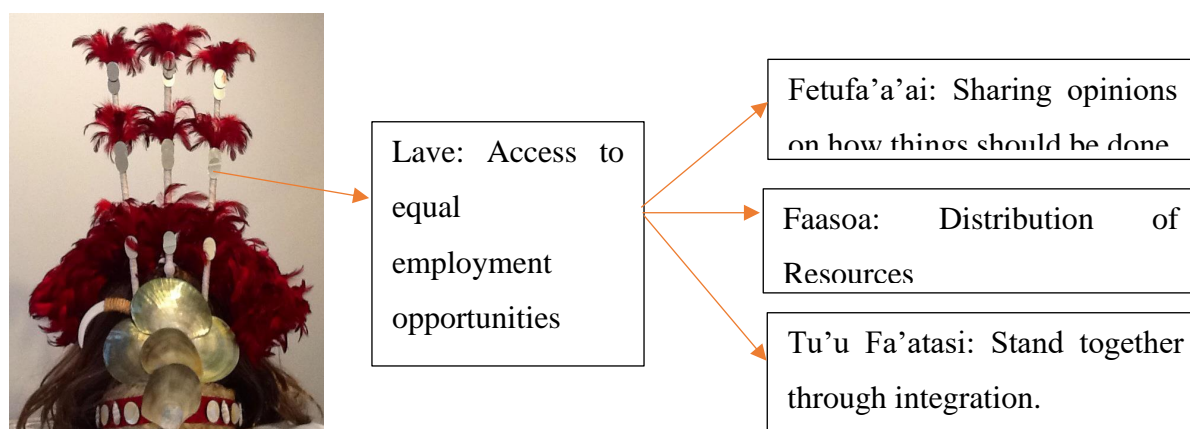
1. Chief executives and board leadership provide role-modelling and strong expectations that the agency will address racist and discriminatory practices that contribute to these experiences.

2. For Pacific staff to better meet their obligations to both their communities and their organisations (tautua), relationships between the public service and Pacific staff need to be healed and mended (ifoga) and, for this to be effective, Pacific staff must be consulted about how this can occur.
3. Rebuilding trust through the public service's commitment to address racist and discriminatory practices will assist in the healing of the relationship (va tapuia).

Lave –Access to equal employment opportunities

The lave (five-staff) are formed as upright framework of equal length and size. The lave signifies the bringing together of key government agencies and communities to collaborate on the development and monitoring of a key strategy to address the challenges experienced by Pacific leaders. The role of such a strategy is to ensure that those who participate in leadership, do so equally.

Figure 14: Lave: Access to equal employment opportunities



The lave, the highest structure of the Tuiga, has a 360-degree view of the environment; thus, it represents the whole of the public service sector and the community.

The five staffs are equal in size signaling the need for the agencies engaged to participate as equal partners with the same level of decision-making power. The distribution of resources relates to the term *fa'asoa* (to give out, to distribute).

Recommendations

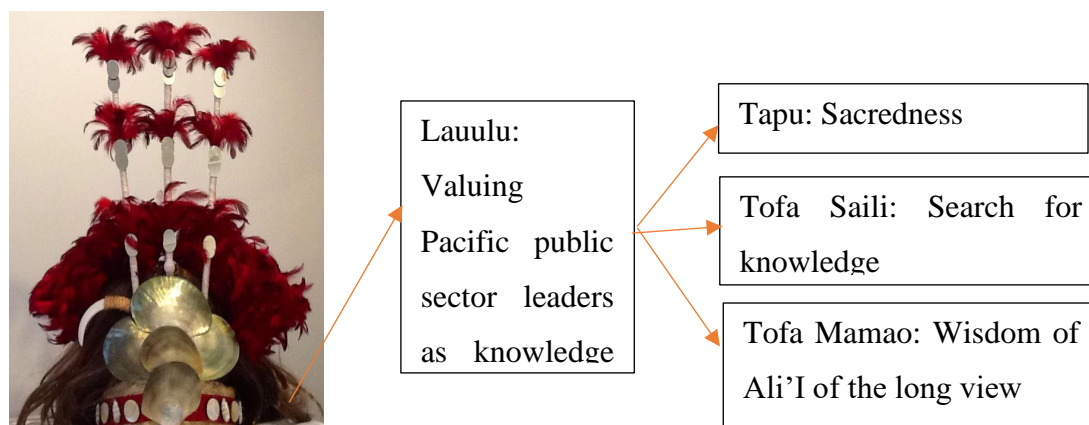
Based on the findings of the study that Pacific public sector leaders feel they do not have equal access to opportunities for promotion and development, it is recommended that:

1. Opportunities are made available for Pacific public sector leaders and staff to regularly connect within their own organisations by way of internal networking activities, as well as cross-agency (Tu'u Fa'atasi). Such action would ensure that Pacific people are empowered to share information and build on ideas that would best serve Pacific communities (Fetufa'a'ai).
2. Further to this, chief executives, and tier two managers are advised to seriously consider the concerns and solutions raised by their Pacific staff; and by so doing develop recommendations where they and their direct reports will be held accountable. It is further recommended that chief executives' actively plan and commit resource and budget for these events to ensure Pacific staff are not disadvantaged by having to advocate for resources in addition to the roles and responsibilities they are employed to do (Faasoa).

Lauulu – Valuing Pacific Leaders as knowledge experts

The lauulu (human hair) is material that is used with mana due to its link to the most sacred or tapu part of the body which is the head. The hair can be associated with key family members who have passed away as a sign of the important connections to the past leadership. The significance of the lauulu to Pacific leadership in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector is the valuing of Pacific leaders as knowledge experts in their history. The significance of ancestral human hair reinforces the importance of intergenerational history and lineage as over time the collection of hair derives from those who have passed on and are seen to signify those who in the past have held leadership roles. This ritual is seen to connect the past with the future.

Figure 15: Lauulu: Valuing Pacific public sector leaders as knowledge experts



The significance of the lauulu and the key theme, Pacific leaders as knowledge experts, connects knowledge with the sacredness of the head and its parts. When I consider the act of transmission, I think of the term *Tofa Saili* (search for knowledge). The Samoan meaning of *Tofa Saili* is anchored in the belief that one is in constant search for knowledge and the ability to continue to search for understanding of the earth and of life. The term *Tofa mamao* describes the wisdom of the ali'i (paramount chiefs) having the long view. This emphasises the ali'i having a futuristic outlook. Tapu is a Polynesian term meaning sacred and taboo. Tapu reinforces the connections between humans and all things, the gods, cosmos, environment, the self, and other humans.

Respecting Pacific leaders as knowledge experts supports the idea that the process of experts gaining their knowledge appropriately sits within the application of *Tofa Saili* and *Tofa Mamao* and the relevance to the metaphor of Tuiga is placed within that part referred to as lauulu. The lauulu depicts the connections with the tapu (sacred) part of the body, being the head. The Tuiga sits on the head of chiefs and people of status, and, in the worldview of Samoans, the head is the most tapu part of the body. The Tuiga transmits information and intelligence from one part of the Tuiga to other parts.

Recommendations

Based on the findings Pacific public sector leaders expressed concern and disappointment that their knowledge and experience is not valued, it is recommended that:

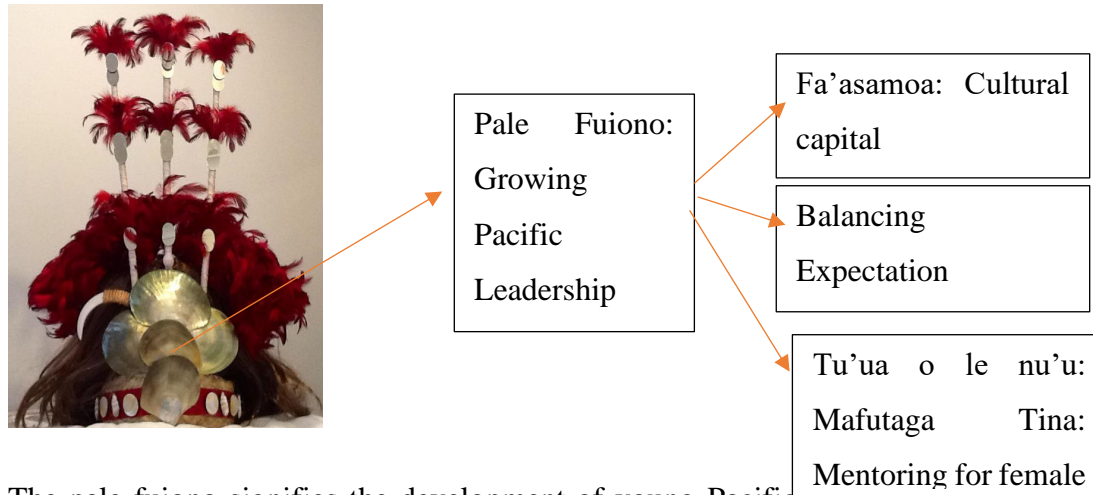
1. Pacific public service leaders and the communities they serve must be given sovereignty over the quantitative and qualitative data held by the Government agencies. Sovereignty will ensure collection, analysis, and distribution of data is undertaken within the Pacific worldview.
2. Policy development should be approved on the basis that Pacific evidence has been used within the development of all services and programmes.

Pale Fuiono: Developing Pacific Leadership

The pale fuiono (shell forehead band) is made up of precious shell pearls such as the nautilus shell that was imported from Tonga. The shells are woven into the headband that sits across the forehead of the chief, manaia, or taupou. The pearls are appropriately placed at the forehead

in clear view, the pearls are forward facing with the ability to see what is coming. In the light they shine brightly providing the ability to see the pathway ahead.

Figure 16: Pale Fuiono: Growing Pacific leadership



The pale fuiono signifies the development of young Pacific people as the future leaders of Pacific and public sector leadership. In a Aotearoa-New Zealand Pacific leadership context, the leadership in the public sector is held by our young and surrounded by the Pacific villages who provide sustainable support by ensuring connections, mentoring and, most significantly, passing on cultural knowledge.

Recommendations

Based on the study's findings in relation to the perceptions of young people employed in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public service, it is recommended that:

1. The onus is on the public sector to develop and resource a multi-agency, whole-of-sector Pacific public sector leadership programme. The programme should integrate current Pacific focused leadership development programmes (fa'asamoa). Such a programme would be able to build on and consider current approaches by the public service such as scholarships, apprenticeships, and mentoring programmes (tu'ua o le nu'u: mafutaga tina).
2. The relevant government agencies provide sustainable funding for current Pacific leadership development programmes, so they become sustainable. These programmes include but are not limited to Mana Moana; MSD Te Aratitia, Te Aka Matua, Pacific Helava; Tupu Tai, study scholarships in health, housing, and education.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented a cultural metaphor of the Tuiga as a way of anchoring recommendations based on the findings of this study. While the attributes in this study have focused on Samoan terms and definitions, future research should pave the way for other ethnic-specific definitions of cultural attributes should be conducted by those Pacific nation groups who hold this worldview, this was a limitation of this study. While some initiatives identified in this study are underway, the onus is on the New Zealand government and public sector to adopt the measures and actions outlined in this study, to provide support for Pacific leaders and Pacific communities.

CHAPTER TEN: MY FINAL THOUGHTS FOR PACIFIC LEADERSHIP

Pacific public sector leaders' roles have been established in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public sector to address Pacific people' poor socio-economic outcomes. It is fair to say that based on the findings of this study, Pacific leaders have been treated immorally. They have faced unjustified and excessive racism and institutional discrimination to the point that their advocacy and representation of Pacific people has been ineffective, resulting in a lack of progress in addressing Pacific people' issues.

This study is a timely reminder as historical injustices against Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand are now being acknowledged. Between 1974 and 1976, New Zealand police officers raided the homes of Pacific families in the early hours of the morning, and carried out spot-checks in the streets, hunting for Pacific people who had overstayed their visas. The Prime Minister of Aotearoa-New Zealand has accepted responsibility and will offer an apology; recently, she was quoted as saying, "While we cannot change our history, we can acknowledge it and we can seek to right a wrong" (Ardern, 2021).

This study has opened the door to an array of opportunities for current and future Pacific leaders to be acknowledged for the skills and knowledge they bring to the public sector. The onus is on the chief executives and their managers of public sector agencies to accept responsibility for the way in which Pacific leaders have been treated and to use the recommendations of this study to begin redress the ongoing, systemic undermining of Pacific leaders.

For Pacific leaders, it is hoped that this study brings to life the reality of their journeys in the public sector, and that this study adequately acknowledges the commitment Pacific leaders have given to the cause, the aim of which is to ensure all Pacific people live a prosperous and abundant life in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

In summary, the aim of this study was to explore the experiences of Pacific public sector leaders working in the Aotearoa-New Zealand public service. What is needed now is the will and authentic sector-wide commitment to making improvements happen. It is hoped that the recommendations here will provide the public service with some guidance on how they can be committed to improving outcomes for Pacific people by better supporting Pacific leaders.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet



Walking the Tight Rope: Pacific leadership in the New Zealand public sector

INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Taima Fagaloa. I am a candidate for a PhD in Education, School of Education, Victoria University of Wellington. I am also the Director of the Pacific Health Directorate at Capital and Coast District Health Board.

The aim of my research is to explore the experiences of Pacific leaders in the New Zealand public sector. This information sheet is designed to help you decide if you wish to take part in the study. It is to be read in conjunction with the attached consent form.

The purpose of this study

My research will focus specifically on the issues of Pacific leadership in the public sector. I hope to use this research to find out how Pacific people have dealt with barriers and conflicting demands to becoming leaders.

To help me ensure its values to Pacific people and government agencies, I am undertaking a set of interviews with a range of people with expertise to share on the topic of what leadership in the Pacific context means for future Pacific generations.

What does the study involve?

I am keen to talk to you in person or over the telephone at a time and place convenient to you. To date I have explored a range of themes of possible relevance from the literature. I would like to explore those themes, and others that are important to you.

The discussion, which I expect will take about an hour, will start with some general conversation around examples of Pacific public-sector leadership and challenges. I am interested in your views on the qualities of past and present leadership that can contribute to developing future Pacific leadership, and what you see as challenges for future leaders that may be different from ones facing current leaders.

With your permission I will audio-record the conversation to assist me to make an accurate record. The information you provide will be used for my thesis and any oral presentation that I will make as part of my doctoral programme.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

All information will be treated in a confidential manner and your name will not be used in any publication arising out of this research, however as prominent leaders, it is possible that you may be identified, any quotes used will be by gender.

All of the research will be kept secure in my office or in a password-protected computer. I am required to retain this information for five years following the completion of my doctorate, after which the information will be destroyed.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have questions you would like to ask or alternatively you can contact my PhD supervisors.

Researcher: Taima Fagaloa, Candidate PhD in Education
School of Education, Victoria University
Email: taima.fagaloa@vuw.ac.nz
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Supervisors Dr Cherie Chu, Victoria University
Email: Cherie.chu@vuw.ac.nz; telephone 04 472 1000

Dr Jenny Neale, Victoria University
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This research has been approved by Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee.

Appendix 2: Participant Consent Form



Walking the Tight Rope: Pacific leadership in the New Zealand public sector

Consent Form

This consent form outlines my rights as a participant in research being conducted by Taima Fagaloa, School of Education, Victoria University of Wellington.

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:

- My participation is entirely voluntary.
- I have the right to refuse to answer any question or to stop the interview and withdraw my answers, at any stage of the interview;
- The information I provide will not be used for any purpose not disclosed on the information sheet;
- All data will be securely stored until five years after the completion of the doctoral thesis, when it will be destroyed;
- My name or any identifying information will not be disclosed as part of the research write-up;
- If I have any further questions I can contact one of the researchers listed on the information sheet.
- If there is anything I forget to say at the time of being interviewed, I can contact the researcher within two weeks of being interviewed;
- That I can access a summary of the key findings, I have recorded my address below.

Declaration:

I, _____ agree to be interviewed for this research.

Signed: _____ (Participant) Date: ____/____/____

Address: (to receive a copy of the interview notes or report:

—

Appendix 3: Interview Guide

The changing face of Pacific leadership in the public sector: A preliminary investigation

The objective of this project is to conduct preliminary key informant interviews for the purpose of investigating the proposed focus areas with a view to sharpening the focus for the topic of my doctoral research.

Pre Focus discussion will be around:

1. Dialogue on the history of Pacific Leadership in New Zealand
2. Discuss examples of Pacific leadership
3. Explore challenges for Pacific leadership past, present and future

Leadership

What do you see are the strengths for Pacific born or New Zealand born Pacific leadership in the future?

What do you see are the challenges for Pacific born or New Zealand born Pacific leaders in the future?

(Probe specific Pacific skills and experience as well as how Pacific culture is integrated into Government activity)

Transfer of Knowledge

How would current Pacific leaders contribute to the development of Pacific future leaders?

What do you see is important for future Pacific leaders to know about in relation to advocating for Pacific people in a Government or Community setting?

What key attributes, skills and experience must Pacific leaders possess if their intention is to take up representative roles in Government and Community.

How do you see the transfer of knowledge occurring between current and future leaders (probe: what is essential to know).

Public Sector representation

How do you see the Government system working with Pacific representatives if representation is effective?

What changes to the current public sector environment, need to be made for Pacific representation to be effective?

Finally,

What do you see could the current doctrine of by Pacific for Pacific?

Is there anything else that should be explored in this study?

Appendix 4: Interview Participants

Interviewee	Ethnicity	Experience	Gender	Location
A	Fiji	MOH	MALE	AUCKLAND
B	Samoa	MSD	FEMALE	WELLINGTON
C	Samoa	MOH	FEMALE	WELLINGTON/AKLD
D	Samoa	NGO	FEMALE	AUCKLAND
E	Cook Island	MPIA	MALE	WELLINGTON
F	Cook Island	TERTIARY	FEMALE	WELLINGTON
G	Samoa	NGO/MOH/ DOL	FEMALE	WELLINGTON
H	Samoa	DOL	MALE	WELLINGTON
I	Samoa	PARLIAME NT	MALE	WELLINGTON/AKLD
J	Samoa	PARLIAME NT	MALE	WELLINGTON/AKLD
K	Samoa	MPIA/DPM C	MALE	WELLINGTON
L	Tokelau	MPIA	MALE	WELLINGTON
M	Fiji	MPIA/MOH	MALE	WELLINGTON
N	Niue	PLUNKET	FEMALE	WELLINGTON
O	Niue/Māori	NGO	FEMALE	WELLINGTON
P	Samoa	MBIE	FEMALE	WELLINGTON
Q	Samoa	NGO	MALE	WELLINGTON
R		MPP	MALE	WELLINGTON

Interviewee	Ethnicity	Experience	Gender	Location
S	Samoan	NGO	MALE	WELLINGTON
T	Samoan	Treasury	MALE	WELLINGTON
U	Tonga	MOE	FEMALE	WELLINGTON
V	Samoan	Counties DHB	FEMALE	AUCKLAND
W	Samoan	NGO	FEMALE	WELLINGTON

Appendix 5: Human Ethics application approval



Phone 0-4-463 5205
Email stephen.marshall@vuw.ac.nz

MEMORANDUM

TO	Tutaima Fagaloa
COPY TO	
FROM	Dr Stephen Marshall, Acting Convener, Human Ethics Committee
DATE	26 May 2016
PAGES	1
SUBJECT	Ethics Approval: 22851 Walking the Tight Rope: Pacific leadership in the New Zealand public sector

Thank you for your application for ethical approval, which has now been considered by the Standing Committee of the Human Ethics Committee.

Your application has been approved from the above date and this approval continues until 26 May 2019. If your data collection is not completed by this date you should apply to the Human Ethics Committee for an extension to this approval.

Best wishes with the research.

Stephen Marshall,
Acting Convener, Victoria University Human Ethics Committee