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Negotiating service within areas of
responsibilities: Experiences of New Zealand
born Pacific tertiary students

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Abstract

Service within Pacific cultures is a practical way to utilise personal skills and resources to contribute to the needs of others. There is an expectation that Pacific youth play an active part in various areas of serving the wider and as Thomsen, Tavita and Levi-Teu (2018, p.12) state “the first obligation is to the family before anything else”, therefore fulfilling family responsibilities is a key priority for Pacific youth. This dissertation analyses the understandings and experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth with service, cultural obligations and leadership in the home, school/university, and church.

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the complexities involved with New Zealand born Pacific youth navigating responsibilities of service and cultural obligation when operating from, between and in-between two opposing values-based systems. For the New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed for this research, this involved ongoing internal reflection, and constant navigating and negotiating through important relationships. This dissertation takes a strengths-based approach to investigating and exploring lived experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth.

The importance of family was echoed through the literature review and in the talanoa interviews. Serving in and through the family was cited as the primary setting in which New Zealand born Pacific youth observed and developed their service skills. Skills and values such as love, gratefulness, respect, and leadership were all identified as outcomes to Pacific youth serving. Family obligations were deemed one of the key priorities for New Zealand born Pacific youth and attending to the needs of the family often meant evaluating and prioritising the needs of the family over other needs and responsibilities.

While serving others brought forth challenges that New Zealand born Pacific youth had to constantly negotiate values and worldviews, serving the needs of others was cited as important. Not only did serving others and fulfilling cultural obligations bind relationships together, but it also provided New Zealand born Pacific youth with purpose and empowerment. This internal fulfilment was one key element to New Zealand born Pacific youth serving others.

Further research is needed to explore the rich experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth serving others and how this clashes and compliments with various other responsibilities. Strength’s based research is desperately needed to investigate the lived experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth who have deliberately positioned themselves in the ‘negotiated space’ (Le Va, 2009) as agents of both Pacific and Western worldviews and practices. Serving others influences family and personal social,

emotional, cultural, and economic wellbeing, therefore exploring the wide-ranging impacts that serving and giving has on New Zealand born Pacific youth is needed. Deeper understanding will be beneficial to social, health and educational agencies who support New Zealand born Pacific youth with maximising the best of both Pacific and Western worlds.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Asetoa Sam Pilisi

29/11/19

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This dissertation was undertaken in accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee and the final ethics approval was granted on 13th September 2019. The ethics approval number is 19/333 and the notification letter is in Appendix A.

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Kitukituea - #57

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Pacific Islanders should write their own histories, their own versions of their history. Histories written by outsiders, no matter how fair they've been, are still views of foreigners, still views of other people about us. In many ways, those histories have imposed on us views of ourselves that have added to our colonization. We should write our own histories in order to be free of those histories written about us, those images created by other people about us, not only in history books, but in fictions they've written about us. Albert Wendt (as cited in Hereniko & Wilson, 1999, p.90)

Background

This dissertation looked at the lived experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth with service and responsibilities with cultural obligations. This exploration also included investigating understandings and views of leadership. Service within this dissertation encompassed many domestic daily tasks, but also included activities that extend beyond the home and into the community, which can often involve working for and with large social networks. New Zealand born Pacific youth were tasked with fulfilling these responsibilities to their best of their abilities, which involved ongoing negotiation of available resources and important relationships. This dissertation unpacks the complexities associated with serving and fulfilling cultural obligations for New Zealand born Pacific youth with a literature review of relevant research and interview five participants to gain insights to their lived experiences and perceptions.

2013 census data (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) revealed that Pacific communities have a larger share of children than all other ethnic groups and nearly two thirds of Pacific communities are New Zealand born. This has been a growing trend in recent censuses, which happen every five years in New Zealand. This indicates that Pacific communities are a very youthful population and Aotearoa New Zealand is 'home' by birth for many New Zealand Pacific peoples. Therefore, New Zealand Pacific born youth are a key component of Pacific communities and it is their experiences that are crucial to informing and influencing the narratives of growing up as a Pacific person in New Zealand.

Choosing to focus on New Zealand born Pacific youth in this dissertation was a deliberate attempt to contribute to the body of literature that has described facets of the New Zealand experience for Pacific people. Early research included Pitt and Macpherson (1974) looking at the journeys of early Pacific migrants to New Zealand and subsequent studies include Anae (1997), Tiatia (1998), Macpherson, Spoonley and

Anae (2001) which have looked at the various experiences of Pacific people born or raised in New Zealand. This study drew on analyses made in earlier research to give context to the evolving lived experiences of Pacific New Zealanders and put a special focus on New Zealand born Pacific youth and their experiences with service, cultural obligations and leadership.

Personal story

Locating my position within this study starts with the journey from the Pacific during the post-war economic boom of New Zealand. In the early 1960s my maternal grandparents came from Niue to Auckland and were unknowingly joined by my paternal grandparents who came from Samoa. They all came separately as young single workers in search of opportunities for themselves, their families back in their villages and their descendants who would be born and raised in this new homeland. Both my parents were born in New Zealand. Some of their experiences as part of the first waves of New Zealand born Pacific people were captured by Pitt and Macpherson (1974) and later in Anae (1997) and Tiatia (1998).

My father's childhood revolved around family and church. His parents remained committed to Fa'a Samoa (Samoan way of life), therefore despite relocating to New Zealand, made deliberate choices to replicate traditional Samoan practices in their new homeland. His parents were pioneers in the EFKS (Congregational Christian Church of Samoa) movement here in New Zealand, helping set up the first EFKS church in New Zealand in Grey Lynn, Auckland. Serving the church and the wider family, which could involve sending money home to relatives and/or assisting with family settling into New Zealand, were examples of my paternal grandparents' persevering Samoan traditional forms of service and cultural obligations here in New Zealand.

My mother's parents were Christian pastors, involved heavily in the ministry. This involved establishing and building a community of Pacific peoples in Central Auckland. Like my paternal grandparents, my maternal grandparents' service to their family and community involved all elements of their lives. This meant utilising their resources (primarily time and finances) and their networks to serve others. Both families set up in the central Auckland area (Grey Lynn and Ponsonby) and both family homes became the gateway for many extended family and friends into New Zealand. Giving up personal comforts such as having one's own room for privacy or personal space was a luxury. Instead, learning to manage the needs of others above your own was something that both my parents (and their siblings) learned to navigate through.

My childhood through the late 1990s mirrored many of the same experiences that my parents lived through as I spent long periods of my childhood living in my maternal

grandparents' home. While living under their roof, like my mother and her siblings before me, it was not uncommon to have extra people living with us. This meant, sometimes I did not have my own room. Due to my grandparents' ministry work, there were often visitors (planned and unplanned) during the week. Being the youngest in the home meant that I was responsible for various tasks such as guest hospitality or other chores around the home. Looking after guests was my contribution to strengthening and maintaining my grandparents' social relationships. I would see the same hospitality and love that was shared in my grandparents' living room reciprocated to me, my grandparents', or members of our wider family many times.

Sometimes this meant that although completion of homework was enforced by grandparents, if there were guests to be hosted, then this took precedence. I could resume homework once guests had left our home. This meant that early in life I had to learn to reconcile the differences between obligations to my grandparents and the needs of their community status with my schoolwork responsibilities. Both were considered very important, but at times, the time and space to complete schoolwork would be overshadowed by family duties.

Outside of the home front, following my grandparents to various community events to support them was recognised as my role as their eldest grandson. These added responsibilities fostered leadership traits in me that would help me grow and act as a connector between my grandparents and my siblings and first cousins (their grandchildren). If my grandparents wanted information to be passed to all their grandchildren, this was my role as the eldest (and unofficially the leader) to ensure this task was completed. In other times such as birthdays or other important family occasions, my grandparents or my siblings/first cousins would expect me to speak on behalf of the grandchildren. These expectations placed upon me gave me opportunities to develop my leadership amongst my siblings/first cousins and develop intergenerational relationships as a key connector between my grandparents, their children, and their grandchildren.

My life experiences have shown me that when I have been able to fulfil various obligations in serving others, I have been able to develop leadership skills and learn the importance of relationships across the wider family unit. When I have learned new skills or strengthened existing leadership skills, I know this has contributed to my own confidence and wellbeing. In instances where my service or fulfilment of my duties has contributed to the happiness and wellbeing of my grandparents, I know this has fostered wellbeing across our wider family unit. The value of service has been developed and woven into my own worldviews through many of my life experiences, of which some have been described above.

Rationale

The rationale for this study was rooted in my own personal journey with service and cultural obligations. Serving others while fulfilling multiple responsibilities can be complex and this is evident through my personal life experiences. Serving others has empowered and developed me into the leader that I am today; the road to leadership however is not a clear-cut one. The rationale to this study was to help demystify the complexities and present this in a strengths-based study.

New Zealand born Pacific youth form their views on service, cultural obligations, and leadership through a variety of life experiences, which occur in a number of key settings. The key environments evident through the literature on New Zealand born Pacific experiences are the home, school, and church (Anae, 1997; Anae, 2001; Macpherson, Spoonley; Pitt & Macpherson, 1974; Tiatia, 1998).

New Zealand born Pacific youth, unlike their parents or grandparents have had to juggle competing cultural expectations and priorities, meaning they have had to carve out cultural norms that incorporate elements of both Pacific and Western norms (Taule'ale'asumai, 1991). Some of the pressures include fulfilling the migrant dream and the duty of repaying the sacrifices by doing well in academic pursuits (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010), while also maintaining cultural obligations to the extended family or church. Tiatia (1998) and Mulitalo (2001) present this as a dilemma for New Zealand born Pacific youth to navigate through. This tension has contributed to an exodus out of cultural spaces by New Zealand born Pacific youth such as the church to escape such pressures (Taule'ale'asumai, 1991; Tiatia, 1998).

This dichotomy between Western and Pacific worldviews of service and servant traits as effective leadership presents a dilemma that is best described as a 'two worlds' analogy (Rosales-Anderson, 2018). Rosales-Anderson (2018) uses the term 'two worlds' to explain tension that exists for some Māori constantly navigating between different values systems – Māori values and Western values. Rosales-Anderson (2018) examines the journeys of Maori staff operating within a Wānanga setting which is built on Māori worldviews. However due to government funding policies, the Wānanga and those that operate within it need to adhere to various Western worldviews such as neoliberal accountability measures such as KPI's, which can be opposition to Māori worldviews and practices. This can create tensions and frustration for Māori having to operate within this dichotomy, as they are tasked with reconciling the differences, which can be a daily occurrence. However frustrating, Rosales-Anderson's (2018) participants are pragmatic with their approach of needing to bridge the gap by operating with a foot in both worlds. This 'two worlds' analogy (Rosales-Anderson, 2018) resonates with some of the

struggles experienced by New Zealand born Pacific youth when having to reconcile between different values systems –Pacific and Western worldviews.

Are there differences in responsibilities that are shaped and enforced by cultural values as opposed to the responsibilities to school and academic study? It was important to examine how New Zealand born Pacific youth evaluate responsibilities in the different settings mentioned above (home, school and church) and what was done to reconcile any differences that emerged in each setting and across the settings. The experiences in these settings all contribute to how and why New Zealand born Pacific youth navigate through responsibilities service and cultural obligation. This research study was interested in exploring young New Zealand born Pacific youth's understanding of service and cultural obligations and how they develop the skills needed to fulfil these responsibilities. Are these leadership skills or service skills, or both? Literature on the New Zealand born Pacific experiences in the home, school and church was analysed to understand what common narratives have surfaced so far. Five New Zealand born Pacific participants were interviewed using talanoa methods to gain a deep and rich understandings of their experiences. The voices of the five participants help connect the aim of this research study to the current literature of New Zealand born Pacific youth experiences.

Research Questions

The following questions guide the exploration of New Zealand born Pacific youth's experiences and understanding of service and cultural obligation, which are important to this research study. In these research questions the following are highlighted: expectations, traditional service, other forms of service, and other forms of responsibility, experiences, reconciling differences, and leadership development.

1. How do New Zealand born Pacific youth distinguish expectations of traditional service from other forms of service and responsibility?

It was important to explore how New Zealand born Pacific youth view their responsibilities. What is their understanding of traditional service or cultural obligations and how may these acts of service differ from other forms of service? It was key to understand how their understanding of these responsibilities are shaped and whether this influenced the way they fulfil these responsibilities.

2. What experiences do New Zealand born Pacific youth have with different forms of service and responsibility?

Understanding their experiences in a variety of settings will reveal different forms of service and responsibility. Much of the literature that explores experiences of New

Zealand born Pacific youth cite the home, church, and school as key settings. This research study was interested in understanding the different experiences that New Zealand born Pacific youth have with service and responsibilities in these different environments.

3. How do New Zealand born Pacific youth reconcile any differences between forms of service and responsibility?

Operating between Pacific and Western values systems, what do New Zealand born Pacific youth do to ensure they are fulfilling important responsibilities? Understanding what negotiating takes place for New Zealand born Pacific youth helps illustrate what steps are taken to reconcile different expectations and understandings associated to forms of responsibility.

4. How does service and responsibility influence and inform leadership development of New Zealand born Pacific youth?

What are New Zealand born Pacific youth understandings of service and leadership? Do they interrelate? It is important to explore how their personal experiences of service and fulfilling responsibilities informs their leadership development.

Overview of Research Design

To answer these research questions, I employed a qualitative approach which sought to understand the lived experiences of five New Zealand born Pacific youth. Their perspectives, thoughts, feelings and behaviours around service, cultural obligations, responsibilities and leadership were key to the above research questions. As qualitative research allows for the participants to inform the study in which they're involved in (Connolly, 2007), this allowed the five New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed to shape and mould this research study. The above research questions were designed to help reveal the lived realities of New Zealand born Pacific youth, therefore placing them at the centre of this research design was crucial. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) explain that using an interpretive approach to research allows for investigation that is interested in presenting how individuals interpret their world and the meanings behind it.

Pacific Worldviews

For many Pacific peoples, knowledge is vested in the wider family unit and the transfer of skills and knowledge is often passed by older members to younger members. Pacific worldviews place the individual as being connected to all things living and non-living (Tui Atua, 2008). Therefore, Pacific worldviews and the knowledge and skills that flow out

from these worldviews are holistic and multifaceted. Acknowledging that the five New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed were not merely individuals but connected to multiple knowledge sources and worldviews was important for this research study.

Va/Teu le va

Va according to Wendt (1999) describes the related space between separate things and it is the va that brings together and holds the space between things in unity. The Samoan term, 'teu le va' according to Wendt (1999) translates as nurturing and caring for the va – the relational space between separate things. Therefore, to maintain unity in the related space respect between the participants and myself was a key factor for both parties to uphold.

Talanoa

To answer these research questions, it was decided that talanoa interviews would provide a culturally appropriate research method to gaining an understanding of New Zealand born Pacific youth views and experiences with service, responsibilities and leadership. Talanoa interviews provided a platform for Pacific worldviews and languages to be used and appreciated, and as Manueli (2012) states, talanoa is collaborative which allows for the researcher and participants to engage as equals.

Participants Criteria

To support a strengths-based analysis of New Zealand born Pacific youths' experiences and perceptions of service and cultural obligations, it was important to identify youth who were active in serving others. An age range that aligned with the Ministry of Youth Development (2016) definition of youth was utilised and individuals from the four largest Pacific ethnic communities (Samoan, Cook Islands, Tongan and Niuean) were sought to participate.

Participants Selection

Purposive sampling methods were employed to ensure suitable participants were recruited for this research study. All the participants were known to the researcher through a variety of community links.

Organisation of Chapters

This dissertation is organised into five chapters. This first chapter provided the motivation for the research, providing context to my own personal story and an overview of this dissertation's research questions and research design. The second chapter was a literature review analysing the literature relating to the key themes of this research:

service to others, cultural obligations, responsibilities and leadership. The literature was organised into the following themes: Pacific wellbeing, Pacific social capital, Pacific leadership and Servant leadership. The third chapter looks at the methodology underpinning this research and the methods that were used to collect data. The fourth chapter looks at the findings gathered from the five New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed in the talanoa sessions, outlining emerging themes and unique differences from what has been presented in existing research. The fifth chapter was a woven discussion that brought participants voices together theory to present an explanation to their interpretation of their service to others. The final chapter also provided recommendations for further research and a short summary, which formally ends this research. This, however, does not end the talanoa and relationships formed and developed; these for Pacific peoples are always ongoing.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature review can help us understand the journeys that New Zealand born Pacific youth undertake when negotiating responsibilities and cultural obligations. The review begins with exploring holistic perspectives of Pacific wellbeing and how this is important for Pacific individuals and the families that they belong to. Notions of social capital were investigated to understand what social capital is and how this is appreciated and replicated amongst Pacific peoples. Pacific wellbeing and Pacific social capital form the first half of this review. The second half of this literature review examines some of the breadth and depth of Pacific leadership, looking at both traditional and contemporary models to analyse how this may inform New Zealand born Pacific youth leadership understanding and practice. Additionally, as a link to Pacific and indigenous forms of leadership, servant leadership was explored with Indigenous and Western lenses. The four sections provide depth and breadth of some of the literature relating to key themes of this dissertation.

Pacific Wellbeing

[The] majority of Pacific peoples, good health is perceived as a balanced state of physical, spiritual, mental, family and relational wellbeing, that is, more than just an absence of disease. An individual's identity, health and wellbeing are dependent on family connections, heritage, roles and responsibilities. (Samu & Suaalii-Sauni, 2009, p. 120)

Examining the health and wellbeing of New Zealand born Pacific youth was complex and multifaceted. As the above quote exemplifies, health and wellbeing for Pacific people stems from multiple sources and ensuring that there is balance across all domains required deliberate negotiation and navigating. Pacific perspectives of health and wellbeing was therefore holistic and required examination from several viewpoints.

Family was cited by many authors as a core pillar for Pacific cultures (Duitutuaraga, 1995; Ministry of Pacific Peoples, 2011; Seiuli, 2015; Tui Atua, 2008). Various Pacific health models such as Fonofale (ALAC, 2003) and Te Vaka Atafaga (Kupa, 2009) depicted family as central to Pacific worldviews on health and wellbeing. Le Va (2009) affirms that for Pacific peoples, identity was embedded in and connected to family. Using a Niuean perspective for identity, when meeting someone for the first time an individual is often asked, "Ko hai e tau matua haau?" meaning "who are your parents?" This was important to note that from a Niuean perspective (and across Māori and Pacific cultures), personal identity is illustrated in relation to your parents, your family name and wider

cultural connections. Connections to these collective identities came with associated rights and responsibilities for individuals to acknowledge and uphold.

Strong and stable families were considered the foundation for Pacific health and wellbeing (Bathgate & Pulotu-Endeman, 1997). Stability in the family unit occurred when everyone understood his or her responsibilities to each other, therefore family relationships were important. For New Zealand born Pacific youth navigating through these interconnected relationships takes observation, adherence to instructions from elders and many learned skills to ensure that these rights and responsibilities were expressed and experienced in ways that were pleasing to elders in the family.

Being culturally connected was cited as having a positive effect on mental wellbeing (Puna & Tiatia-Seath, 2017). Furthermore, Matika, Manuela, Muriwai, Houkamau and Sibley (2017) stated that from a Māori viewpoint that the ability to engage with cultural contexts positively correlated with self-esteem. This view was backed up by Puna and Tiatia-Seath (2017) who added that when New Zealand born Cook Island youth were able to participate in cultural activities this maintained social and cultural connections, which could enhance mental wellbeing. This could mean that for New Zealand born Pacific youth who are born (and raised) away from traditional homelands, being involved in activities that promoted the language and customs such as funerals and weddings could be enriching life experiences. Additionally, Matika et al, (2017, p.181) used the term “culture-as-cure kaupapa” to denote a strengths-based approach to indigenous wellbeing that promoted healthy engagement with indigenous languages and customs. Service and cultural obligation within the Tongan church according to Fehoko (2013) was a key vehicle for promoting identity formation and maintenance for Tongan youth in the diaspora. These perspectives provide insights to how culture for diasporic youth could nurture and foster positive wellbeing.

Being in tune with one’s spiritual needs was another key facet of Pacific health and wellbeing. This was reflected in several Pacific health models (ALAC, 2003; Kupa, 2009; Thaman, 2002). This could be in the form of Christian faith, or a wider connection to our living and non-living environment (Le Va, 2009). This view provided a holistic perspective to ways in which Pacific people understood and practiced spirituality. Lived experiences for New Zealand born Pacific youth may mean that spirituality could be a “blend of religious beliefs, values and practices based on traditional Pacific, Christian and non-Christian beliefs” (Le Va, 2019, p.25). Fehoko (2013) and Tima (2013) both spoke of the benefits of Pacific youth remaining faithful within traditional Pacific churches, citing spiritual and cultural connections that were important to identity and wellbeing. This multi-dimensional approach to spirituality demonstrated that New Zealand born Pacific youth may draw from several religious or spiritual frameworks to satisfy their spiritual needs.

However, not all experiences of cultural and social relationships have led to positive health and wellbeing of New Zealand born Pacific youth. For New Zealand born Samoan youth, the cultural practice of giving and sharing resources – fa’alavelave has been cited as an economic risk factor for depression (Tucker-Masters & Tiatia-Seath, 2017). Maiava (2001) and Seiuli (2015) both shared the struggles that are associated with being connected to family obligations and the tensions that it created within Samoan families, especially between younger and older family members. A recent New Zealand film commission funded documentary film “For my Father’s Kingdom” (released August 2019) also raised issues in the Tongan community about the large amounts of money given at cultural events and to community projects. These concerns were also reflected in other studies of Tongan youth in the diaspora (Lee, 2003; Lee, 2006) where tension stemming from intergenerational differences had contributed to negative experiences and perceptions of cultural obligations by diasporic Tongan youth.

Pacific wellbeing as presented thus far involved the balancing of multiple facets. Activating these domains as living features often involved appreciating how relationships were formed and developed from Pacific worldviews. This was best depicted in Table 1 below (Waldegrave, Tamasese, Tuhaka, Campbell, 2003) which presents the dichotomy between Pakeha and Pacific/Maori values. New Zealand born Pacific youth were presented with a dilemma. Which values systems and worldviews were more important and relevant for their lives? This ever-present dilemma for New Zealand born Pacific youth presents itself in some of the tensions described in the previous paragraph. These tensions could influence familial relationships, cultural and spiritual connections, therefore impacting on the overall wellbeing of New Zealand born Pacific youth. Balancing these facets was needed to ensure New Zealand born Pacific youth feel holistically safe and well.

Table 1 Pakeha values vs Pacific Peoples/Maori values

Pākehā	Pacific Peoples/ Māori
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual • Secular • Consumer • Conflictual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communal • Spiritual • Ecological • Consensual

Note: Reprinted from “Just therapy – a journey. A collection of papers from the Just Therapy team, New Zealand” by Waldegrave, C., Tamasese, K., Tuhaka, F. & Campbell, W. (2003). Dulwich Centre Publications

Pacific Social Capital

One of the pioneer writers of capital is French theorist Pierre Bourdieu and his early work in the 1970s laid the platform for many writers and commentators to build upon and expand on (Coleman, 1990; Putman, 1993). Bourdieu (1986) identified four types of capital – economic capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital and social capital. Bourdieu (1986) explains capital as collected labour which then can be stored and used as valued shares in exchange with various agents. He described people as agents who interact with other agents based on various levels of stored capital. Bourdieu (1986) framed social capital as the actual or potential resources available to an individual or collective group based on relationships with other individuals and collective groups. Therefore, social capital in the form of relationships may form under the banner of collective groups such as family name, school or tribe in which exchanges may take place to maintain and reinforce these relationships to those who belonged to these groups (Bourdieu, 1986).

Social capital however, rested in the individual, based on their level of investment (Bourdieu, 1986) whereas collective property attributes as in forms of capital according to Bourdieu (1986) were framed as cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) further added that social capital was not uniformly available to members of the collective, but rather those who acquired status and power and generate good will from others will have more social capital available. Therefore, one way of describing social capital according to Bourdieu (1986) was ‘it is not what you know; but rather who you know’.

Symbolic capital according to Bourdieu (1977) was associated with prestige and honour and the power struggle that comes associated with its development and maintenance. Bourdieu (1994) added that symbolic capital plays an influential role in the accumulation of other capital, as prestige and honour relate to power and class.

Social capital according to Coleman (1990) was a system of social interrelated networks between persons and among persons within collective organisations. Statistics New Zealand (2002, p.3) defined social capital as “relationships among actors (individuals, groups, and/or organisations) that create a capacity to act for mutual benefit or purpose.” Furthermore, Statistics New Zealand (2002) added that:

Social capital is the social resource that is embodied in the relationships between people. It resides in and stems from the contact, communication, sharing, co-operation and trust that are inherent in ongoing relationships. It is described as capital because it can be accumulated over time and then drawn on in the future for use in achieving certain goals. Social capital is a collective resource rather

than one accruing to an individual. However, the circumstances surrounding an individual or household may result in their having access to greater or lesser stocks of the community's social capital. (p.3)

This view of social capital by Statistics New Zealand (2002) described a different outlook to Bourdieu (1986) who presented social capital as sitting with the individual. Instead, the above quote claimed that social capital rested with the collective and could be utilised in future projects (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). However, both views of social capital claimed that access was not uniformly spread. Bourdieu (1986) attributed this to individual actors gaining status and power through higher levels of investment, however Statistics New Zealand (2002) did not explain what may be the cause of this uneven access and spread of social capital.

Smith (2018) presented a Pacific perspective on capital in a model that showed interactions between capital products. Natural capital, social capital, human capital and financial/physical capital was described as being all underpinned by culture. Natural capital according to Smith (2018), expresses concerns by Pacific people to the environment, be it here in New Zealand or in Pacific homelands where challenges such as climate change affected the wellbeing of Pacific communities. Smith (2018) described collaboration across Pan-pacific lines to execute large cultural festivals as an example of social capital relationships in Pacific communities. Smith (2018, p.9) posed the question: "How important is social capital for building trust between government and communities? The recognition that Pacific peoples in New Zealand possessed a range of skillsets and knowledge from Pacific traditional knowledge to qualifications accredited by various New Zealand authorities (Smith, 2018). Smith (2018) recognised that a Pacific perspective of human capital incorporated both traditional and contemporary knowledge and enquired what was needed to ensure that traditional knowledge is protected and preserved for future generations. Smith (2018, p.9) commented "income generation was viewed as a collective financial asset which can be used to meet family commitments." Furthermore, Smith (2018, p.9) asked, "how do cultural based stocks reduce vulnerability to external shocks", thus recognising that financial/physical capital from a Pacific perspective was founded on the distribution of finances for the betterment of the family.

The overarching nature of culture presented in Smith's model (2018) revealed that for Pacific people, cultural values and practices inform the accumulation of capital, be it natural, social, human or financial/physical. At times the accumulation of capital for and by New Zealand born Pacific youth may be smooth journeys, and times there can be conflict or tensions. The tension between economic capital and social/cultural capital that New Zealand born Pacific youth sometimes face is explained by Salesa (2017, p.117): "What is clear is that many Pacific people, when forced to choose between economic business success and family reputation or status, seem to put family first in order to

enhance their social and cultural capital.” Status, according to Bourdieu (1994) was considered symbolic capital and as Salesa (2007) has suggested, for Pacific people symbolic capital/social capital can be more important than economic capital. How did these re-organised priorities influence the service activities of New Zealand born Pacific youth? This may be confusing if in Western or neo-liberal spaces Pacific youth were encouraged to pursue economic capital as measures of success.

Therefore, as actors, New Zealand born Pacific youth were faced with complex dilemmas that they are tasked with navigating through. This included fulfilment of duties and obligations to the wider family unit, even when these may be at odds with other responsibilities as described by Salesa (2017) above. These responsibilities were multi-levelled and are best described in a speech by former Samoan Head of State Tui Atua Tamasese Tai’si Efi (Tui Atua, 2008) below:

Pacific or Māori peoples, are not individuals; we are integral part of the cosmos. We share a divinity with our ancestors – the land, the seas and the skies. We are not individuals because we share a tofi (inheritances) with our families, our villages, and our nations. We belong to our families and our families belong to us. We belong to our villages and our villages belong to us. We belong to our nation and our nation belongs to us. This is the essence of our sense of Pacific belonging.

Therefore, service or voluntary activities for Pacific people encompassed values such as duty, cultural obligation or expectation, love and reciprocity (Department of Internal Affairs, 2001; Fleming, Taiapa, Pasikale, & Easting, 1997; Lee, 2003). Tamasese, Parsons, Sullivan and Waldegrave (2010, p.27) provided a definition for cultural obligation “as a sense of duty involving ideas of reciprocity that are embedded in cultural values and social relationships.” Based on the literature presented, serving and fulfilling responsibilities were informed by the importance of relationships and promoting the positive good of the wider family unit. Evans (2001) and Lee (2003) explain that Tongan social relations were enhanced by an appreciation of reciprocal giving based on love, respect and generosity. Fleming et al. (1997) explain that there was a communal responsibility for financial matters and that reciprocity was the glue between family members.

Examining how Pacific leadership was presented in the literature may reveal if cultural leadership principals influenced the mobilisation of actors towards the accumulation and transfer of social capital. Based on Pacific leadership practices and values, what role do New Zealand born Pacific youth play in this quest for collective units to build and maintain social capital/symbolic capital? The next section will unpack Pacific Leadership to understand how hierarchy and values of service for the collective good informs social networks and interconnected relationships.

Pacific Leadership

It is important to provide context of how leadership is understood and practised from Pacific worldviews. This was not only key to understand how social groups operate in the Pacific homelands, but also how this was reproduced in the diaspora; especially amongst second and third generation Pacific people.

Sahlins (1963) categorised two types of leadership 'sociological types' as Big Man and Chief. Big Man was about personal power, status gained through demonstration of skills, status gained and maintained by sharing wealth. Whereas Chief was about power residing in the position instead of the person, authority of permanent groups, status inherited not achieved and could call upon a following without needing to persuade (Sahlins, 1963). Douglas (1979) and Mcleod (2008) challenged Sahlins' (1963) simplistic categorisation of Melanesian societies as Big Men, and Polynesian societies as Chief types; emphasising the richness and diversity within the Pacific region would be impossible to understand using two basic typologies.

It was important to unearth the cultural values that Pacific leadership was built on to help explain how leadership was organised and practised with Pacific contexts. Taleni, Macfarlane, Macfarlane and Fletcher (2018, p.178) claimed that:

Pasifika leaders come with wisdom and passion that are underpinned by values such as fa'aaloalo (humility and respect), tautua ma finau (service), soalaupule (shared decision making), auau fa'atasi (communal collaboration) fetausia'i (reciprocity), tofa liuliu (adjustable decision) and tofa saili (collaborative wisdom). These principles are enveloped with the great value of alofa (love).

Furthermore, respect and deferment to elders was an important cultural value upheld in the family and across the unit. This honour placed upon the older members of the extended family, village, church or other communal settings meant that leadership within the Pacific context was often occupied by older members (Mcleod, 2008).

The attributes described by Taleni et al (2018) correlated with the characteristics needed of a Samoan traditional leader – the matai. Taleni et al. (2018) added further by stating that within a Samoan framework leadership was about being serving the needs of the aiga (wider family), and only once these responsibilities were being fulfilled will someone be bestowed with a matai title. This formal recognition of a matai title bestowment would demonstrate to the Samoan extended family what leadership looked like. These values further emphasised the importance of Pacific leadership being informed and influenced by the responsibility to lead others from a position of service and most importantly love.

Typically, in the Pacific, leadership was best demonstrated in the form of leading the collective unit; be it the extended family or in a wider village setting. This could involve mobilising of labour for large projects, redistribution of resources or enforcing the adherence of village customs and norms. Sanga (2005, p.2) explained that communal purpose in the Pacific often included, the “desire for peaceful living, adequate shelter, strong familial relationships, cultural survival and satisfied spiritual needs”. Leadership in the Pacific therefore was holistic by where physical, cultural and spiritual needs of communities need to be addressed and developed.

In New Zealand, Pacific worldviews are often shaped by Polynesian lenses as the four largest Pacific ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga and Niue fall within the Polynesian triangle. In Samoa and Tonga, inheritance and individual skills and talents that one possesses were important ingredients to leadership (Mcleod, 2008). Literature on leadership in the Cook Islands and Niue has largely been examined within the realm of political leadership pre and post self-government status (Crocombe & Crocombe, 1990; Jonassen, 2009, Sisson, 1994). In the case of Niuean social structure Loeb (1926) has commented on Niue’s unique egalitarian framework which has operated without monarchies or chiefly systems. Status for Niueans has been grounded in the family name and these unique features still underpin relations within the family and across extended family units. Less has been presented in the literature about Cook Islands and Niuean leadership outside of the political sphere into family, church and other communal spaces.

The Cook Islands community represents the second largest ethnic group within the New Zealand Pacific communities, and Niue was the fourth largest (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Both ethnic communities have been experiencing rapid language loss among 2nd and 3rd generation (Glasgow, 2010; Starks, 2006 & Tukimata, 2018) which has presented many challenges for Cook Islands and Niuean leaders. More dedicated research on Cook Islands and Niuean leadership and social relations is needed to illustrate the diversity that exists within Pacific communities. Furthermore, since both countries have significant populations now residing in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) investigating the perspectives and practises of those born in New Zealand is vital.

Sanga (2005) however raised concerns that he considered as current hurdles to effective Pacific leadership. Concerns over vision, style, competence, and character were all raised, with issues examined at village and national level. Mcleod (2008) explored notions of good governance in the Pacific and shared similar concerns as Sanga. Participation, fairness, decency, accountability, transparency, and efficiency was

practiced at varying levels, with traditional customs being at odds with the needs of contemporary Pacific political leadership (Mcleod, 2008).

Sanga (2005, p.7) stated that there are more strengths at village level, highlighting that women leadership “appears strong, alive and with a proven track record”, thus exposing leadership at the national level most concerning to address. This presented an interesting opportunity for more women to be involved in leadership, however as Mcleod (2008) points out, this is not unique to just the Pacific. In Fiji and Tonga women could hold chiefly rank (Mcleod, 2008) and in Samoa women too could hold chief titles (Anae, Tominiko, Fetui & Lima 2016). The first Samoan supreme ruler was a young woman named Salamasina, to whom was the first person to hold all four paramount titles of Samoa (Tominiko, 2014a). A father’s sister in Tongan society holds special power and influence. Highest respect was given to a child’s father’s eldest sister, which is the mehekitanga. Gifford (1929, p.17) stated “her person, food, clothes and bed are *tapu*, she often controls matrimonial destinies of brother’s children.” The examples provided illustrate how in various forms Pacific women have been afforded leadership and status.

The quote below by Dinnen (2000) helped depict one view to the challenges facing Pacific leadership.

It is widely claimed that amidst the changes wrought by modernisation, traditional or, more practically, rural leaders, are losing the authority they once possessed. Simultaneously, others claim that the picture is not one of an absence of authority, but rather that there is an excess of authority. (p.12)

Presented earlier in this section was that authority was gained through service. This was a mutual relationship in which authority was conferred on leaders that have been given the respect to lead and promote positive outcomes for many. Authority, when implemented well could provide positive outcomes for many, however when authority was misused or abused it could lead to several breakdowns in relationships between leaders and the people that are affected by their authority.

Sanga (2005, p.8) singled out poor character as the “hidden cancer” of Pacific leadership. Huffer and Schuster’s (2000) study revealed region wide dissatisfaction with leaders operating in national governance roles. Lack of transparency and selfishness (Huffer & Schuster, 2000) correlated with similar concerns over character such as mismanagement of funds, unfair public dealings, and disregard for morality standards (Sanga, 2005). Possible examples of poor character have been evident to some extent in sport, the church, and politics. Mismanagement of funds in Pacific sports bodies has gained quite a bit of attention in the New Zealand media. Veteran broadcaster, Toleafoa John Campbell in particular has pushed for transparency and accountability on behalf of Manu Samoa rugby players and the wider Samoan community. Allegations of board

mismanagement of funds and other governance issues have surfaced in various media coverage. This has been often highlighted around the build-up and aftermath of Rugby World Cups (Burnes, 2014; Skipwith, 2014; New Zealand Herald, 2015). The Tongan Rugby League Board has also been through rough times with similar accusations about misuse of power and funds (Stewart, 2019). News of the national side coach being sacked, threats of a players' boycott standoff and tension between the Tongan Rugby League board with the Tongan government and the International Rugby League Federation have surfaced in media reports (Radio New Zealand, 2019). Sanga (2005) adds that character concerns were not limited to just politicians, but also church leaders have faced criticism over the abuse of power and mismanagement of funds. Some of these criticisms also surfaced as part of the narratives of tension that exist for some New Zealand born Pacific youth with church leaders (Tiatia, 1998; Tima, 2014) and other institutions within Pacific communities.

However, there was some optimism about Pacific leadership. Rethinking Pacific leadership and being hopeful for progress and change did exist across the region.

Pacific peoples have, as yet, not fully acknowledged and utilised the leadership strengths that they have already got. The examples of women and ordinary credible leaders are examples of such strengths. The hope is that Pacific Islanders will 'rediscover' that much of their leadership answers are within, not without. It is further hoped that this 'rediscovery' might lead to a renewed mindset, thereby fuelling greater leadership, as opposed to leadership paralysis (Sanga, 2005, p.9).

Hau'ofa (2008) presented a liberating view of Pacific being and leadership. The shifting of the Pacific as a "sea of islands" rather than "islands in the far sea" (Hau'ofa, 2008, p.31) redefined the Pacific (and Pacific leadership) from a strengths-based approach. Therefore, understanding Pacific strengths and furthermore the strengths of New Zealand born Pacific youth and their lived experiences and perceptions was important.

Pacific servant leadership was therefore based on leadership that provides benefits and good outcomes for the collective, rather than solely the leader. These traits resonated with foundational values of servant leadership in Western literature and the next section will look at how servant leadership has informed the organisation of people and their interactions with their leader(s).

Servant Leadership

Servant leadership has its roots in spiritual, cultural, and contemporary leadership literature. An early example reflects its Judeo-Christian roots, where Jesus demonstrated servant leadership to his followers (Sendjaya & Sarros, 2002). In the Leadership Studies field, literature about servant leadership usually identified Greenleaf (1977) as the

foundational text. In this, Greenleaf (1977) defined a servant leader as one who puts others before himself/herself, which is supported by other authors as a defining feature of servant leadership (Russell & Gregory Stone, 2002; Youngs, 2003). Placing others' needs before yourself resonated with an ancient Samoan proverb, 'O le ala o le pule, o le tautua', which translates as 'the path to leadership is through service.' Therefore, as stated in the previous section, using Samoan/Pacific perspectives, leadership was about serving one's family, church, village, and community, which contrasts to some orthodox models of leadership that place emphasis on leaders retaining power and exercising it (Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016). Auntry (2001) added by commenting that servant leadership was not about what others can do for me, but what can I do for them? Putting others first, therefore was a fundamental element of servant leadership.

Greenleaf (1977) emphasized trust, respect, and service as fundamental values to a servant leader. Spears (1998) expanded on Greenleaf's descriptions of a servant leader and offered 10 key features of a servant leader, listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualization, foresight, stewardship, commitment to growth of people and building community. Like other leadership models and theories, leadership was not just set of traits or characteristics but as McGregor (1960) stated leadership is better described as the complex relationship between characteristics and attitudes of the leader, followers, and the environment.

Promoting others' interests before your own could be viewed as selflessness and humility. Mcfarlane (2011) highlights that humility and meekness using Western perspectives may be considered as weak and ineffective leadership traits. This may question Western society's views towards servant leadership as an appropriate model for leading others. Gandolfi and Stone (2018) comment how servant leadership in organizations and in wider society are often wrongly perceived as laid back, however they further assert that servant leaders are "proactive, ambitious and driven as any other leader" (p.265). However, as presented earlier in this review Pacific notions of leading others (primarily the family unit) was firmly rooted in serving others' needs rather than one's own. A leader who then serves others' needs was then seen as effective and traits that promote serving the collective unit were embraced by Pacific families and communities (Seiuli, 2016; Mafile'o & Tanusiakiheloto, 2010; Taleni et al, 2018).

Transformational and servant leadership were often linked as very similar leadership models, however Bass (1990) stated that sacrificing self-interest for the betterment of others is not a feature of transformational leadership. Furthermore, Van Dierendonck (2011) pointed out that humility, authenticity, and interpersonal acceptance are features of servant leadership that were not explicit features of transformational leadership.

Focusing on the relationship between leader and organization Van Dierendonck (2011) stated:

Transformational leaders focus on organizational objectives; they inspire their followers to higher performance for the sake of the organization. Servant-leaders focus more on concern for their followers by creating conditions that enhance followers' wellbeing and functioning, thereby facilitate the realization of a shared vision. (p.1235)

This was a key element to how servant leadership and transformational leadership differ. While there are similarities between leadership models, Van Dierendonck (2011) placed followers' needs above and before the organization. Therefore, as the literature has suggested, servant leadership was more in tune with the holistic development of the follower and prioritizing their needs is core to their leadership style. This selfless approach to leading others has been presented in the literature looking at Pacific leadership, where the needs of the collective were presented as a key priority for Pacific leaders.

Conclusion

From the literature search undertaken for this review there appears to be currently no strengths-based research looking at how Pacific youth have been able to successfully manage competing expectations of service, cultural obligations, and leadership. The experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth with service and cultural obligations have not existed in isolation from other experiences. Rather these experiences were intertwined with wider experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth with home, school and church cited as key settings that shape and inform attitudes towards identity and wellbeing. Rosales-Anderson's (2018) 'two worlds' analogy provides a view for New Zealand born Pacific youth in terms of positioning, movements, challenges and opportunities. This review has sought to present literature that describes the unique journeys that New Zealand born Pacific youth live, with a focus on service and responsibilities. This review provided the platform for further insights to be gained by interviewing New Zealand born Pacific youth to share their experiences.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The nature of this study involved investigating the lived experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth, focusing on their understanding and views towards service and responsibilities. The research question: “Negotiating service within responsibilities: Experiences of New Zealand born Pacific tertiary students”, aimed to investigate the complexities involved with New Zealand born Pacific youth navigating responsibilities of service and cultural obligations when operating from, between and in-between two opposing values based systems, Pacific worldviews and Western worldviews. This involves internal reflection and negotiation; as well as negotiating and navigating various relationships. This chapter was divided into two parts, firstly the methodological approach that was used to inform the research design and secondly the methods used to collect data.

Qualitative Approach

This research study sought to understand the lived experiences of five New Zealand born Pacific youth with responsibilities and service, therefore a qualitative approach to this research design was appropriate. As this research study aimed to give New Zealand born Pacific youth a platform to share their experiences, a qualitative approach was key to exploring the views, thoughts, feelings, and behaviours of participants. Connolly (2007) asserts that qualitative research allows for inquiry to be formed from the perspective of the participants, rather than the researcher.

Hancock (1998, p.2) described qualitative research as “Concerned with the social aspects of our world and seeks to answer questions about why people behave the way they do, how opinions and attitudes are formed, how people are affected by the events that go on around them, how and why cultures have developed in the way they have and the differences between social groups.” This breadth and depth that qualitative research allows for was important for this study to appreciate a holistic view of service, leadership, and cultural obligations from the perspectives of New Zealand born Pacific youth. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) explained that an interpretive approach to research seeks to investigate and reveal how individuals interpret the world in which they live and the meanings behind their actions. “Reality is seen as mind-dependent and socially constructed” (Chilisa, 2012, p.32), therefore utilising an interpretive paradigm to examine lived experiences was suitable for understanding how and why New Zealand born Pacific youth construct their understanding of serving others.

Phenomenology

To capture the voices of New Zealand born Pacific youth I decided to use social phenomenology research, which is qualitative, pragmatic, interpretive and grounded in the lived experiences of people (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). An interpretive paradigm seeks to understand the lived of experiences of people, thus was fitting for this research study on cultural obligations and responsibilities. A qualitative approach was used to explore how New Zealand born Pacific youth understand service and responsibilities therefore placing the participants' views at the centre of this study rather than the researcher (Connolly, 2007).

An interpretive paradigm seeks the lived experiences of people. It sees reality as "mind dependent and socially constructed" (Chilisa, 2012, p.32). Social phenomenology is less concerned with the essence of experience, but rather on how humans give meaning to their experiences with their own interpretations and perspectives. This was important to state, as this research study was not concerned whether New Zealand born Pacific youth understood and acted out service in line with traditional custom and convention, but rather have their own interpretations of what service and cultural obligations meant to them, as told through their experiences.

Utilising phenomenology allows for participants' experiences to be viewed holistically. The methodology for this research aligned well with social phenomenology, as it aimed to explore how New Zealand born Pacific youth understand and experience responsibilities and cultural obligations of serving others.

Neuman (2011) stated that theorising is always taking place irrespective of context or environment. Furthermore, he implied that different theories act as filters to our understanding of information. Suppes (1974) unpacked theory into five key areas: argument by analogy, reorganisation of experience, complexities of issues, transformation of a situation and trivial empiricism. For this specific research study, reorganisation of experience and transformation of a situation was key to framing and understanding the experiences and perceptions of the participants. These factors acknowledged the way that people interpret what happens to them was based on past experiences, and that new experiences could bring new understanding.

I have acknowledged that my participants may have different perspectives pertaining to cultural obligations and responsibilities. However, I saw this as enhancing on my research topic that will add value to the research and formulise criticism and discussion.

Pacific Worldviews

It was important to acknowledge that the Pacific is vast and diverse region consisting of numerous sovereign states and culture. There are shared values across the Pacific and these commonalities also have surfaced as part of New Zealand born Pacific lived experiences. However, it was important to understand that Pacific ethnic groups have distinct languages and customs that validate their worldviews (Sanga, 2004). Anae (1998) and Belford-Lelaulu (2015), cautioned about the liberal use of New Zealand born Pacific/Pasifika as a term, as it masked great diversity among many distinct Pacific ethnic groups. Le Va (2009) listed the following points as key competencies for health workers to understand and embed as culturally appropriate practice:

- Applies an understanding that Pacific people and their respective cultures are unique, and that each Pacific culture had its own distinctive values, protocols, processes and language.
- Recognises that each Pacific family brings with it a broad spectrum of cultural, historical, social and political diversity.
- Recognises the concepts of family, the structural make up of Pacific families and traditional Pacific authority systems. Acknowledge the existence of the extended family and is sensitive to cross cultural and intermarriage contexts.
- Recognises contemporary Pacific sub-cultures and their influence on traditional Pacific cultures.
- Is aware of the values of spirituality and ancestral honour that underpin some Pacific family and community relationships.
- Acknowledges that Pacific people's sense of identity and belonging may be connected to family, village and church.
- Acknowledges that Pacific cultural processes are relationally bound and so require sufficient time to be carried out appropriately.
- Understands the value of, and difference between, ethnic specific and pan Pacific approaches to service delivery in Pacific mental health, and the influence of these within clinical and organisational contexts. (p.21)

The above points were extremely important to this research. They provided much needed context to me as a Pacific researcher researching Pacific youth and the diverse Pacific worldviews that shape our experiences and our understandings of them. These values provided a holistic approach to the research design, data analysis and the relational responsibilities of this research.

This study involved participants from four distinct ethnic groups – Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands and Niuean young people. Participants were encouraged during the talanoa process to use Pacific languages and concepts to explain any of their lived experiences. This was important to position their lived experiences in context with what was authentic to them and their understandings.

I have Samoan and Niuean ancestry and have experienced cultural expressions of service, leadership, and cultural obligations from these cultural lenses' in the cultural homelands – Samoa and Niue, and here in New Zealand. Therefore, as a New Zealand

born Samoan Niuean I acknowledged that through my own lived experiences, and that of my families that I am connected to I have familiarity with Samoan and Niuean cultural concepts. However, familiarity with Tongan and Cook Islands concepts was less known. It was important that Tongan and Cook Islands worldviews were respected and given the mana (honour/dignity) they deserved.

It was important to acknowledge that many of the cultural concepts described below were of Samoan or Tongan origins. It was considered however, that they have been suitable to engage with Cook Islands and Niuean participants and the cultural concepts that they have shared about.

Va and Teu le Va

Va (Samoan) or vaha'a (Tongan) are often translated as relationship between people. Poltorak (2007) suggests that a better way to frame these terms is by viewing va and vaha'a as relatedness from one person to another. This places the relationship between people as a connection based on commonalities. Wendt (1999) added by stating that va is the space between that relates, that brings separate things and holds the space between things in unity. This was important to acknowledge that va exists between family members, wider family members and other relationships within community. Therefore, being aware of the value and influence that va carried on each individual was important for me to understand. Understanding these unseen values supported authentic and meaningful talanoa.

Teu le va is a Samoan phrase that was underpinned by values and beliefs which can guide respectful and polite communication between parties (Ponton, 2018). Acknowledged was that in the relational space, there was not emptiness but rather shared history, cultural relatedness, shared language, and customs that connected people together (Manueli, 2012). Wendt (1999) translates teu le va as nurturing and caring for the va, va being the relationships. Teu le va helped explain what the related space looks like and what was needed to maintain healthy relations between myself and the participants.

Anae (2005) recognised the special connections the Samoan (and Pacific) people have with each other, which called for certain principles to be adhered to ensure genuine and authentic communication flowed out of relationships. Respect was paramount and understanding the roles in which people play in various settings could provide context to how conversation between parties were to be carried out. A Niuean approach to building rapport with clients was offered by Le Va (2009) through a values-based approach for health workers. This gave insight to how the Samoan phrase teu le va may be applied from a Niuean cultural perspective. Le Va (2009) provided the following as attributes to

guide culturally appropriate engagement:

Fakauka (patience), fakalilifu (respect), loto holoilalo (humility), manako ke gahua (passion for the job), fuluola e tau tauteuteaga, mahani kapitiga (good appearance and friendly), Malolo e taofiaga ke he tau aga mo e tau mahani fakamotu (strong values and belief system), taofi ke mau ke he talahauaga (lives by their word), fakakite e tau mahani kua mitaki (positive manner and behaviour), understanding of cultural values and lagomatai (support) (p.20).

Therefore, put simply, caring and nurturing for the relational space between the participants and me was key to this research, especially in relation to the talanoa interviews. In a wider context however, it was important that the va was bound by mutual respect which promoted healthy relationships beyond this research. This was crucial as the participants were all known to me, so to ensure long lasting relationships teu le va (nurturing and caring for the relationship) needed to be acknowledged and applied throughout the research process.

Talanoa

Talanoa is a well-known research methodology for Pacific and non-Pacific researchers when exploring Pacific research areas. Talanoa was suitable for working with Pacific participants because the talanoa conversations allow for building trust, which was key to ensuring participants feel safe to share their stories (Otonuku, 2011). As talanoa is a Pacific methodology designed to elicit dialogue (Vaiotei, 2006), the responsibility of building that trust and creating a culturally safe space for participants was placed on myself as the researcher. Using cultural customs and language was welcomed and celebrated as a key feature of talanoa and separated talanoa as a research methodology built on Pacific worldviews (Vaiotei, 2006). Therefore, being confident and comfortable with Pacific values was important to ensuring the talanoa exchange was purposeful and meaningful.

As the participants were all known to me this normally may have provided some relational concerns, however Vaiotei (2006) stated that in the context of utilising talanoa, having a relationship with participants was imperative to promoting free flowing exchange of information. Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2012) explained that talanoa was a popular method to obtaining data for Pacific researchers or when working with Pacific participants, as it allowed for deep and wide exchange of history, knowledge and expressions of the heart. This was made possible through a mutual understanding built on shared cultural values beliefs. All talanoa interviews were organised to be one hour in duration, however as talanoa is collaborative, the terms for how long the exchange lasted was based on both the participant and me. If the talanoa was free flowing, then

that indicated that there was malie (Vaiioleti, 2006) in the exchange. At the forty-five-minute mark, the participants were notified that fifteen minutes remained to our agreed time. Participants were given the option to conclude at the sixty-minute mark or continue with the free-flowing nature of the talanoa.

Talanoa is collaborative, which places the researcher and participants as equals (Manueli, 2012). As such, acknowledging the va, or the relationship between the participants and me was key to the quality of the talanoa. Bryman (2012) explains the key role of the researcher in a qualitative study is to listen. Therefore, by adopting a talanoa approach my role as the researcher was to give time and space for participants' stories to be heard and valued.

Wendt (1999) explained va as "the space between, the between-ness, not the empty space, not space that separates but the space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning" (Wendt, 1999, p. 402). Therefore, the connectedness space between the participants and me was built on mutual respect. Teu le va' emphasised the need to care and nurture relationships (Wendt, 1999). Therefore, caring for relationships was crucial to building trust, and this talanoa methodology goes beyond surface rapport but meaningful reciprocal relationships.

Participant Criteria

To explore the experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth it was necessary to collect first-hand experiences from members of these communities. In using the Ministry of Youth Development (2016) guidelines 'youth' is defined as between the ages of 12-24 years of age. For the purposes of this research, I defined 'youth' as the upper end of this age bracket as tertiary aged youth, 18-24.

I decided on a sample of five participants. To ensure that this study could be completed with the richness and depth desired, a pragmatic approach was applied to the sample size. Selection criteria was that the participants were of Pacific descent, aged between 18-24 and currently studying at a tertiary institution. The four largest Pacific ethnic groups in New Zealand: Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands and Niuean, were identified to draw participants from. This was important to ensure that the worldviews and experiences explored through talanoa interviews would be reflective of diverse Pacific communities.

This research design took a strengths-based approach to exploring the views and experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth. For this reason, each of the participants had to be actively involved in serving their families and/or communities in various capacities.

Reaching an event split in a group of five was impossible, however a two to three gender split was the closest possible. Therefore, throughout this research references to New Zealand born Pacific youth participants have included views and experiences of youth ranging between the ages of 18-24 and have ethnic affiliations to the Pacific nations of Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands and Niue.

Participant Selection

In qualitative research, sampling is used to provide and reveal aspects of social settings or deeper understanding of complex situations, events, or relationship (Neuman, 2011). Purposive sampling methods were employed to ensure I had suitable participants who fit the criteria. A list was made of known contacts who fit the criteria and were known to me through a variety of community settings. Individuals were approached by telephone or email and asked whether they would be interested in participating in the research. Follow up conversations were had to make sure individuals were aware of the purpose of the research and that their involvement was voluntary. This element was important to navigate to ensure previous relationships did not influence voluntary participation.

The final selection of participants was made up of three males and two females. Due to their large population base within Pacific communities, two participants were identified from the Samoan community, with one each from the Cook Islands, Tongan, and Niuean communities. They were all New Zealand born and Auckland residents. The talanoa interviews were conducted at Auckland University of Technology City or South campuses.

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Institution
Mikaele	20	Male	Samoan	University of Auckland
Taga	18	Male	Niuean	University of Auckland
Fina	21	Female	Samoan	Auckland University of Technology
Lavinia	21	Female	Tongan	University of Auckland
Teokotai	22	Male	Cook Islands	Auckland University of Technology

Ethical issues

Being a New Zealand born Samoan/Niuean presented itself with both opportunities and challenges to undertaking this research. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) present this as a balancing act:

The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one; it is to be acutely tuned in to the experiences and meaning systems of others – to indwell – and at the same time be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand (p.123).

Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner and Steinmetz (1991), further claimed that it was key for qualitative researchers to place themselves in the research. For this research study I acknowledged that I am a New Zealand born Pacific person also so I may share similar lived experiences as those expressed by the participants. As I already knew the participants, interconnected through relational ties that span over ethnic, community, educational, religious, and other affiliations this had to be acknowledged also.

From a cultural lens, using the Samoan practice and embodiment of tatau there are a few parallels I would like to draw upon. The tatau tufuga is the master practitioner who has had skills and knowledge passed down to them and through their practice of tatau was able to pass on this knowledge to others. For the tatau tufuga to tattoo another person, with either the pe'a (male body tattoo) or malu (female body tattoo) he or she must have gone through the journey of pain and struggle. That personal experience was thus necessary to becoming a tatau tufuga, adding credibility and personal connection between tatau tufua and person being tattooed (Solomona, 2019). Tominiko (2014b) also emphasised acquiring knowledge and experiences as building credibility in the tatau process. Therefore, drawing from this cultural process that frames a practitioner's legitimacy through first-hand experience, I believe that it was important as the researcher to have had my own first-hand experiences with cultural obligations and negotiating of these responsibilities.

Insider research positioning does not stay static, but rather these movements are fluid (Boulton, 2000 and Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999) and that insider/outsider status was more appropriate positioning for me in this research. It was acknowledged that while I am also a New Zealand born Pacific person like the participants, I am at least 10-15 years older than all the participants. The age gap could present itself with differences in generational understanding and experiences. Furthermore, ethnicity and gender differences may place me as an outsider with participants and their worldviews with responsibilities and cultural obligations. It was important to provide a safe space for Cook Islands Tongan and female perspectives to be valued in this research.

As I am no longer consider of youth age by the Ministry of Youth Development (2016) standards of ages 18-24, by conventional Western standards I fall out of the youth age bracket. However, often the term 'youth' is more liberally applied in Pacific cultures. It is not uncommon for church youth groups to involve ages from primary aged to grandparents. Therefore, in various community settings, I may still be considered youth.

Validity

To strengthen the validity of the participants' voices, transcripts were sent to participants for checking. Foreign concepts to me, such as Tongan or Cook Islands terms were clarified with the participants to ensure appropriate understanding and context. Participants' feedback meant that I could appropriately interpret their experiences and world views. A glossary has been made to ensure that all Indigenous terms are presented appropriately.

Data Analysis

An interpretive phenomenology approach was deemed appropriate to analyse the data collected. The aims of this dissertation were to understand the lived experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth with service and cultural obligations, therefore as Conrad (1987) explained, gaining an 'insider approach' is helpful. An interpretive phenomenology approach supported this quest to understand experiences from the lens' of the participants by putting their realities as based on their interpretations (Chiilisa, 2012) at the core of this analysis.

The talanoa interview transcripts were printed and each transcript was read multiple times. I read the transcripts line by line to identify anything interesting or significant that the participant was trying to say. The first few readings I made notes on the side margins any key words or themes that related to the research questions. As I read the transcripts more, I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the talanoa interviews and any emerging relationships between talanoa interviews. This process allowed me to become intimate with the participants voices and possible meanings behind their experiences. It was these experiences that I was interested in interpreting and presenting. A master list of themes was created which became the base for further analysis.

This list of themes was analysed to investigate any relationships between themes. Some themes were merged, while others were validated as standalone themes. Reading over the themes repeatedly allowed me to further analyse the themes and apply a theoretical order to them. Key relationships between themes were identified as complimentary themes or contradictory, which became a separate but related list of tensions. This list of tensions was used to create a theoretical model explaining the lived experiences of the participants in the discussions chapter.

This theoretical model was developed by using Hau'ofa's (2008) "Sea of Islands" essay. I used the sea as an analogy for service. "Islands in the far sea" (Hau'ofa, 2008, p.31), is presented as a worldview driven from colonial powers who have romanticised about

the Pacific and furthermore economists who have focussed on the small islands separated by a large ocean. Hau'ofa (2008) described how problematic this was, especially for those within the region who had become captive to the limiting descriptions of what 'Islands in the far sea' suggested. Instead, Hau'ofa (2008) implored for a paradigm shift in which the Pacific could be viewed as, both from the outside and from within. Hau'ofa (2008) presented the sea as the connector of islands which encompassed rich languages, cultures and worldviews. He re-presented the Pacific as a "Sea of Islands" (Hau'ofa, 2008, p.31), thus shifting the emphasis to the big sea rather than the small islands was the paradigm shift that Hau'ofa explained as liberating and empowering for people within the Pacific. Hau'ofa's re-imagination of the sea, became the encouragement needed to analyse and present the participants views with the mana that it deserved.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the views of the five New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed about service, cultural obligation, and leadership. The talanoa process provided a platform for the youth to share their personal experiences and how these experiences have shaped their worldviews. Participants were encouraged to use Pacific languages and values to explain any values, practices, or worldviews authentically. The following themes provided insights to the tensions that New Zealand born Pacific youth face when fulfilling responsibilities using Rosales-Anderson's (2018) 'two worlds' analogy. This involved negotiating and reconciling differences between Pacific and Western values systems and this chapter gave voice to their challenges, concerns, successes, and empowerment as New Zealand born Pacific youth.

The following themes emerged as a result and are presented in this chapter as key findings direct from the talanoa interviews. They are: serving others as gratefulness and love, observing others and developing to serve, serving within hierarchical structures and, managing relationships and finding self.

Serving others as gratefulness and love

Being grateful was described as an important personal attribute by all participants, as this showed they were aware of other people's sacrifice or service. Therefore, serving others demonstrated that New Zealand born Pacific youth were grateful for opportunities and experiences and as Mikaele explains is at the core to serving:

I think really at the centre, the core of why we serve has really come from gratitude for our own experiences and what we've gathered is that through serving is this is our way of showing gratitude, showing love towards others. (Mikaele)

Mikaele's association of service to gratitude was also reflected by Lavinia:

That is just how I see service is that and for me, why it's important, is because it's my opportunity to give something that I received. (Lavinia)

All five participants credited their parents and family members for providing opportunities for them, and it was expected that they would serve the wider family as part of their responsibility as an active member of the family. All five participants cited the wider family as the key institution in which service took place. It was within and through the wider family unit that expectations to fulfil cultural obligations and responsibilities were taught and learned. Fina expressed her gratefulness for opportunities afforded to her and that

her academic pursuits were not just for her, but a wider network of people that have been part of her journey.

I think sometimes we take it for granted, but being at uni is a big opportunity, not only because I'm doing something for myself, but I'm representing my family, my parents, my grandparents and everyone who's been a part of my journey and my life. So yeah, I'm very grateful to be here. (Fina)

Therefore, gratefulness promoted the idea that these opportunities came with responsibilities. Mikaele, Lavinia and Fina shared that being grateful meant that they were responsible to serve others as a means of 'giving back' or serving the family meant making the most of opportunities that were presented to them. The New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed expressed service from a strengths-based position, in which values such as love, gratefulness and responsibility to their families could be developed and appreciated.

Serving from the heart

Most of the participants added that service strongly connected with the heart. Teokotai stated that, "Good service is entirely from the heart. I think that is number one." Taga supports this by explaining if "there is no heart in it and so that's when they do a disservice to themselves really about doing a half job". Both Teokotai and Taga claimed that heart is an influencing factor to what service is to them, and if someone is not fully invested in serving others then this is a missed opportunity to fully embrace the values associated to service and obligations to the family.

Fina shared that serving wholeheartedly without any expectations of anything in return is something that she valued.

I think giving out of that is knowing that you've helped someone or you've served someone with a whole heart and with the intention of not wanting to get something in return. Just giving with your all and giving out of love is a big thing that I value. (Fina)

Boundaries to serving others?

Most of the participants shared that there were little boundaries guiding how much love or gratefulness one could show through their service. Teokotai was the only participant to explicitly place boundaries to giving and serving others. He was able to articulate that in order for you to serve others you need to be operating well in all facets of life, so if serving others meant that you were stretching yourself (and your resources), then perhaps there should be boundaries in place to giving and serving others.

Yes, I think that 100% exists. I think there is a limit to serving whereas if your service is being detrimental or is lowering other aspects of your life, then therefore maybe that service isn't good even if the intention is good. (Teokotai)

Fina, Taga and Lavinia however had different views to boundaries to giving and serving others. Fina shared that when serving with a whole heart, feeling as if you have given too much will not cross your mind.

I don't think that there's such a thing as giving too much. I think when you give with your whole heart and out of love, you never feel that way. (Fina)

Taga provided a simplified view of giving. He too did not feel there needed to be boundaries applied to giving or serving others.

For me personally I don't think there is such a thing as giving too much or even giving too less, I don't reckon there is such a thing. Giving is giving.... I suppose it depends on the way you look at it really. (Taga)

Lavinia presented a change a heart in her opinions about doing too much. She realised that when she served others by giving, she received something in return. Lavinia shared that she "used to think there was a thing called giving too much." However, she had a change of mind based on her experiences with giving and serving others. She added that "I've come to realise that every time I give, I receive. But not that I want to receive anything back, but that it works in cycle"

Therefore, according to Lavinia giving and serving others perpetuates the cycle of giving and receiving. While she used to think there should be limits to giving and serving, she realised that every time she gave, the cycle of reciprocity meant she would receive at some stage.

Selfishness and self-care

Most participants did agree that there was a degree of selfishness in not serving others.

That is just how I see service is that and for me, why it's important, is because it's my opportunity to give something that I received and that without giving back it's like I'm being selfish and not grateful. That's why I feel like it's important for me to do that, if that makes sense. (Lavinia)

Not wanting to be perceived as selfish and ungrateful or present herself as such, Lavinia shared her motivation to serve. Again, being grateful for opportunities was highlighted as important and giving back is an acknowledgement of this. However, Fina and Lavinia presented views that show that it was not always that simple. It was not black and white to conclude that not serving others was being selfish and that a Pacific young person had totally forsaken expectations to carry out responsibilities to and for the wider family unit.

I've had this debate with my parents. It's gone both ways. I don't think it's selfish, but sometimes it is. Sometimes we can be focused on ourselves and we can't always attend to others or we can't always help them in the best way that we can. But I think just showing presence and you don't even have to like give money or

food or anything; you could just like give your time and things. Yes, it can be selfish, but no, if that makes sense. (Fina)

Fina presented a 'two worlds' analogy (Rosales-Anderson, 2018) where she acknowledged two interpretations to not serving the needs of others. She alluded that serving others showed that someone was being grateful, however serving others may not always be possible. She presented an understanding of service as contextual and that it was not a simple analysis to say that if someone does not serve (with money) then they were being selfish. Lavinia also presented a similar view of not serving others as an indication of selfish behaviour.

Yeah, I reckon it is selfish to not serve others, but it's also what people define as service. Some people see it as something like giving your time and energy and sometimes it could even be your knowledge and wisdom, being able to be of service and help someone else understand something that they wouldn't have unless you told them. I don't know, I sound confused. (Lavinia)

Lavinia and Fina's framing of service alluded to there being a stronger attachment to service as providing financial support to others. However, both widened their scope to describe service to others as a wide range of value enriching contributions, be it time, energy, knowledge, and wisdom.

Teokotai shared that although his brother does not serve the wider family, "I don't think people would view him any different or negatively. He is still like who he is. He's still my brother. He is still family." Teokotai provided a different view that not serving others may mean someone like his brother would not be viewed negatively (as selfish).

Mikaele articulated the tension that may arise from being selfless and serving others while forgetting about self-care. He stated, "I think one of the biggest disadvantages that we do is a lot of the time our love goes out to others and all this stuff and we often neglect ourselves." Mikaele suggested that forgetting to look after your interests may have a downfall. He added further with:

That's one of the challenges that we face in our communities that it's important for us to look after ourselves too. I think sometimes we can get too focused on serving others when in order for us to be able to serve others, we have to be [strong] mentally, physically and spiritually. (Mikaele)

Mikaele explained that focussing on others all the time may leave someone vulnerable and that to be able to serve others the young person, the leader, the community leader needed to be strong in all facets of life.

Teokotai also suggested that stretching beyond capacity to serve others was not healthy. What is presented is a holistic view of serving others and a consideration of how that may affect the individual.

I think there is a limit to serving whereas if your service is being detrimental or is lowering other aspects of your life, then therefore maybe that service isn't good

even if the intention is good. (Teokotai)

All participants however were able to present serving others as a vehicle for empowerment, purpose, and leadership development. Lavinia shared how serving others could positively influence wellbeing.

Definitely with wellbeing, in terms of wellbeing, I think service helps give purpose just for me. For me that helps my wellbeing because then I know kind of, or like it gives me direction of what I need to do. It just gives me a sense of purpose and that's so important because I feel like my wellbeing is based on how I feel and if I feel that I'm doing enough or if I need to do more. (Lavinia)

Teokotai also used the word empowerment, and linked empowerment to spiritual health.

Yeah. I think it feels like your personal happiness and it also affects your social happiness with others, how you interact with others. Empowerment is good for your spiritual health. (Teokotai)

While Mikaele was the only that explicitly talked about self-care, Teokotai did allude to the costs associated with serving others with a disregard to other areas of your life. All participants were able to identify the benefits to serving others, however not all were able to critically analyse the costs associated with serving others. Self-care according to Mikaele is a community issue, although the same urgency was not shared by other participants.

Observing others and developing to serve

As the previous section outlined, the family unit was expressed as the key institution in which service to others took place. This was where New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed cited as their primary source of observing service to others by fulfilling cultural obligations or responsibilities.

Role Models

All participants cited family members as role model examples of service to others. All participated cited parents or grandparents.

My grandfather is probably one example, he is a village leader, a village chief, so I think he has served the people for quite a while now, I think over 30 plus years. (Taga)

My grandparents on my mum's side, they were one of the founders of our cultural group here like Manihiki Cultural Group. They help set up the Manihiki Hall in Otara. That is like a gathering place for my people. (Teokotai)

Taga and Teokotai's examples of service described leadership by elders in their families connecting to wider collective identities, such as village or island groups. Both Taga and Teokotai presented service to others as leading others for the benefit of the collective.

Taga's grandfather and Teokotai's maternal grandparents demonstrated that traditional connections and acts of service to these relationships could be expressed away from their Island homelands. Their examples of service to their people further suggested that service and leadership had the ability to connect people together.

For me, he (grandfather) was a generous man and that was his service and his legacy in the writings, so that the Samoan culture continues for the next generations and for us to add another layer on the work that he did. (Mikaele)

Mikaele also cited his grandfather as a role model who he had observed fulfilling cultural obligations and managing various responsibilities. Mikaele used the generosity of his grandfather as a marker of his service to the Samoan community. Service to the Samoan culture was presented by Mikaele as his grandfather's legacy and that there was the opportunity for others to further this work. The opportunities for the next generations to contribute to his grandfather's legacy suggested that there were responsibilities and expectations for the service of previous leaders to be complimented by others' contributions of service.

I think for myself personally I serve because I have seen examples of service. I think growing up I didn't really know that that's what it was called, like service. I just kind of always saw examples of my grandma and my mum and my dad and my grandfather's just giving time and energy as well. (Lavinia)

Lavinia further added that she had observed elders in her family giving time and energy. These observations have influenced her service to others and whilst she did not know that these constituted as service, she observed the importance placed upon service during her childhood by adults in her family and had chosen to follow their examples.

I would say my parents are big influences on serving others and those responsibilities around that. (Fina)

All participants shared with reverence and humility about role models in their lives and their service and example to others. They expressed with delight and gratefulness that they had been exposed to what service, cultural obligations and leadership looked like. In turn, they have learned from these role models and have followed their examples.

Service in/to the church

All the participants interviewed cited the church as a key setting where they had observed service and where they were expected to fulfil responsibilities that had been bestowed upon them. Observing her mother's service in the church Fina shared how she was able to develop her own leadership in supporting her mother's service.

Being at church, being raised in a Christian church, has really helped that leadership. Helping out with my mum's class. My mum's a Sunday School teacher, so helping out around that and becoming a youth leader at church as well, so being able to serve the young people and to help them as well. (Fina)

Fina and Mikaele both mentioned the church as a key setting for their parents' and families' service to others. It is in and through the church that the participants were able to observe service in a variety of forms.

It's just something that we see all the time. We see our parents giving their time, their service and also like in other ways, not only at work but church as well, which is a big thing. (Fina)

I think from a New Zealand born Samoan perspective, I think tautua can be seen through different ways. We see it through our family members, the way they serve the church. (Mikaele)

Lavinia was the only participant to identify her church leaders as demonstrating service. Furthermore, her religion's practice of not paying clergymen for their church leadership duties is also unique amongst religious denominations popular with Pacific peoples. She pointed out that her church leaders volunteer their time.

I would think of my church leaders. They serve personally from the religion that I'm part of, you volunteer time and you give time and you don't get paid for your service. (Lavinia)

Teokotai also shared that the church is the place for where serving and giving can take place. Helping out was cited as service and through his personal choice of going to church more, he was positioned to help others more.

That's when I started more or less started going to church more, going to funerals and helping out in that sense. (Teokotai)

Service outside of the family unit

While service was cited primarily within the realm of the wider family, three of the participants, Fina, Lavinia and Taga cited that serving others could be part of your occupation.

My mum, her role is serving others. Not only is it her role, but that's what she loves doing and she's good at it. (Fina)

I feel like service can also be done by your job. Sometime people's occupations that they have is that is what's required. For example, my dad works for the ADHB (Auckland District Health Board) and his service is that he works with Maori communities in terms of drinking water, like water treatments and what not. (Lavinia)

Fina and Lavinia's examples of service in the workplace was a parent. This role modelling by Fina's mother and Lavinia's father further exemplified to them that serving the needs of others was important, and in the workplace, this may involve serving the needs of non-family members. This presented service in a different light to what has been presented thus far in this research study. For Fina and Lavinia, firsthand observations of service to others outside of the wider family unit provided wider views and experiences to how service to others could be expressed.

Those people there, they serve others, whether it's a job they do, whether they are a teacher or something. (Taga)

Taga also supported this notion that serving could happen outside of the family unit and that through your job you could serve others.

Serving within hierarchical structures

Status

Participants shared that status influenced how and why responsibilities were distributed across the family. The following section analyses how hierarchy influenced service to others and what experiences the New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed have had with navigating hierarchal structures and relationships.

Eldest sibling

All participants identified the eldest sibling as key to providing leadership to younger siblings and supporting parents and their responsibilities to serve the wider family unit and other commitments.

Two of the five participants, Fina and Lavinia were the eldest child in their families. They both mentioned the mantle of responsibility that is associated with being the eldest child/sibling. The expectation to lead is felt from a young age, therefore both Fina and Lavinia have spent large chunks of their young lives negotiating these added responsibilities to serve others as the eldest child/sibling.

From a young age, like for me personally, being the eldest and only girl in my family, I have this responsibility to serve my family, serve my church and my community. (Fina)

I'm the eldest in my family and I'm also a girl compared to.... there's nine of us and so there's always been an expectation on me that I was to lead. (Lavinia)

Serving others for the eldest child/sibling was best expressed in the home, where extra duties were placed on the eldest to be a leader and role model to younger siblings. Lavinia described these extra responsibilities as like being the second mum.

I would say for me I have become the second mum in my household. I feel like at first I felt like I didn't, I thought it was a burden and it was kind of like, oh why do I have to do this? She is just sitting there. Like what the heck. What has my life come to if this is this why I was born (laugh)? So, I used to have a lot of resentment in terms of fulfilling responsibilities, but as I have gotten older, I've realised how important my role is to be able to do that for my family. (Lavinia)

She initially described these eldest child expectations as burdensome and questioned the unfair distribution of duties in relation to her younger siblings. However, she noted that as she grew, she had come to appreciate her role in the family.

The importance of the eldest sibling with responsibilities and extra expectations to serve the family was also shared from the perspectives of the youngest child/sibling. The remaining three participants, Teokotai, Taga and Mikaele were all the youngest child/sibling in their immediate families and all echoed what Lavinia and Fina had expressed.

I think naturally in our setting if you are the older siblings you are born to lead the rest of the flock that come after. Then for the youngest you are there support them and how they roll. (Teokotai)

I think its different expectations for siblings. Well, obviously, the older siblings at first will kind of get a lot of the pressure and stuff, a lot of the expectations. (Mikaele)

The importance of the eldest child/sibling was emphasised by all five New Zealandborn Pacific youth interviewed, thus promoting the preference for leadership to be placed upon older family members rather than younger family members. Teokotai as the youngest child/sibling in his family supported this view:

Because I'm the youngest of my siblings, so I'm not meant to play a leadership role because I am the teina, that's my role, to be lower. (Teokotai)

The mantle of leadership did come with added expectations and responsibilities. This could be considered burdensome as expressed by Lavinia, however both her and Fina shared that these extra expectations and responsibilities to act as good guides to their younger siblings had been instilled in them from a young age. Lavinia and Teokotai provided examples what these pressures looked like in their families:

I think it's hard because I'm not only eldest child in my family, but I'm one of the eldest grandchildren or granddaughters on my mum's side and that looks like me being there at like family events and handling certain things that my aunties and uncles can't. (Lavinia)

Then it's even more pressure because our dad is the head of our family. He is the oldest. I am the youngest son of the oldest son. His older son is not there, it is my job to help. (Teokotai)

Eldest sibling privilege

What two of the participants identified was that there was privilege associated with being the eldest sibling. Both Mikaele and Teokotai are the youngest in their families and both shared their views on the freedom attributed to the eldest sibling and their commitment to their responsibilities.

It's all symbolism because the oldest child tends to... everything tends to gravitate towards the... they could do nothing for their whole lives.... You have the younger ones who've always been there and then you have the oldest one who tends to do whatever they want. (Mikaele)

It's like my older brother, he is meant to lead, but he doesn't want to..... So that dynamic of the older sibling and the younger sibling therefore, like if he's not going

to lead then I guess that there is an expectation that the rest of us to carry the slack. (Teokotai)

The freedom to not serve others and lead in family situations did not surface for the two eldest siblings in this research, Fina and Lavinia. However, for Mikaele and Teokotai, they described some of the freedoms afforded to their oldest sibling to not fulfil their responsibilities and obligations.

Gender differences

All five participants shared that female roles in service activities were different in nature to male roles. Therefore, a sister or brother could both be expected to serve, but the actual duties could vastly differ, and actual tasks associated with family events is what many of the participants used to articulate these differences.

They (female siblings) have more, like womanly things. So they have things like that to prepare...they're expected to at lead in the kitchen, things like that or lead in other material things like tivaevae, mats and all these other things. (Teokotai)

Girls in Samoan culture, you would usually see girls inside or you'd always see girls and boys separate from each other. Girls tend to be the ones who are inside or who are staying home with their parents, looking after their parents, whereas sometimes the boys are seen as to be the ones going to work or working outside, doing all that physical stuff and things. So yeah, there is a difference I would say. (Fina)

Both Teokotai and Fina stated the domain in which females were expected to serve and fulfil responsibilities to the wider family was within the domestic realm; keeping order in the home, leading in the kitchen by cooking and other duties that are situated indoors. Fina, added that males were expected to fulfil duties outside, doing physical tasks. Lavinia also emphasised this idea that female roles were inside and male roles outside:

The men are outside and the women do all the stuff inside, whereas like for me being a Tongan female who is born in New Zealand, those roles are blurred, but it's because I'm the eldest. (Lavinia)

Lavinia and Fina were both the eldest sibling in their families. Thus, double expectations of being the eldest and having female-based responsibilities was something that both have had to navigate. It was not expressed by either as 'double the responsibilities', as both took their eldest and daughter/sister responsibilities as part and parcel of their lived experiences.

As a male, I feel that the girls, there are a lot more high expectations, especially for girls. Not only serve, but kind of do out there tasks for the family, so clean, cook, do all that stuff and also stay at home, no boyfriend, no that, no this, no that. (Mikaele)

While the framing of female roles in collective service activities may seem as being relegated to domestic duties, Teokotai alluded to the mana that surfaced from women

cooking and keeping things clean. While the men can stand there and talk, he shared that the women were doing everything.

The men can stand there and talk but the women are the ones out back doing everything. They are the ones cooking the food, they are ones that are keeping it clean. (Teokotai)

Mikaele also presented a view that was uplifting of females and the roles they occupied in the family. From a brother's perspective, Mikaele acknowledged that using Western lenses, the duties associated with being a daughter or sister may be viewed as restrictive, but he provided an alternative Samoan view that was wrapped with love.

I think from a Western view, it's seen as very... restrictive, but then as a Samoan you see it as love because you're protecting them [sisters]. (Mikaele)

Younger and Older people's service

The key role of a young person was to serve the needs of the family; all participants shared this sentiment in various ways. When asked to articulate what that looked like or what that meant to them as a younger person, participants shared that listening to elders for instructions and guidance was part and parcel of serving the wider family's needs.

Yeah. I feel like younger people are expected to serve more and older people are the ones that tell you what you need to do. (Lavinia)

I think it is a service thing at a young age but then as you get older, you're the one being served, so you are in service at a young age but then as you get older you're being served by the younger. (Taga)

Both Lavinia and Taga shared that it was the role of younger people to serve. Older people's roles in the family were described as giving out instructions and being served upon. Therefore, from the viewpoint of the young people interviewed, status and power rested with older members of the family. Mikaele provided insights to some of the frustrations that may surface for Pacific youth.

A lot of the times you often get kind of pushed aside because they [elders] see you as young, wimpy and don't care if you're a matai, you're still a little shit. (Mikaele)

Mikaele's frustration provided some insight to the challenges associated with serving within hierarchical structures, such as the wider family unit. As expressed by Lavinia and Taga, authority was preferentially placed into the guardianship of elders in the family. Mikaele was the only participant to explicitly share about this frustration, rather the remaining participants were aware of their positioning (in relation to the elders) and accepted that everyone had a role, and their role as young people was to listen to the authority of the elders.

While the above sections have emphasised that serving the family was a key task for young people rather than older family members, Teokotai provided insight to what the expectations of service and cultural obligation may look like for his father.

Then it's even more pressure because our dad is the head of our family. He is the oldest. (Teokotai)

So, although service has been singled out by some of the youth interviewed as primarily driven by younger members of the family, it was apparent through Teokotai's experiences that there may be levels to responsibilities and cultural obligations. Therefore, the expectations to serve into these needs may be greater.

I think because I'm younger, so like the level of pressure, I can see in others the pressure, like if I'm looking at my dad. I think I would be a bit more, his pressure is much more like stronger like you have to do this blah, blah, blah, whereas for me because I am younger, I think the load of pressure has not come on to me as of yet. (Teokotai)

According to Teokotai, expectations and pressures associated with serving may gradually increase with age or experience. This perhaps may be explained that with increased rights (to be served upon) also comes increased responsibilities (to further serve others). This appears to be true in the case of Teokotai's dad.

The power and status afforded to older members in the family have been described above. This sometimes was demonstrated as older members being in charge of delegating responsibilities to fulfil; and other times this was demonstrated as greater responsibilities to serve the wider family that was described by Teokotai as more pressure than a younger person.

Power sharing

Lavinia was the only participant who shared an example of a young person being in charge of the wider family unit. All the other participants shared that they operated under the authority of older members of their family, and it was their role to follow instructions.

It's kind of rare to be in a family where you see a young person telling older people what to do. I only share this because I personally have a friend who is in that position where she is the shot caller and for me it's weird. (Lavinia)

She's only 23 so for me it was like interesting as because that's way different, but yet her family are comfortable with her doing that and acknowledge the work she does and they are quite happy with it because it means they don't need to think about it. They just do, kind of thing. (Lavinia)

Lavinia provided an interpretation to why her friend may have been given the mantle of authority and leadership, which she attributed to her education.

I think that a lot of it has come from the way she looks. She kind of gets mana because of her education and a lot of it's... like they give her those responsibilities. (Lavinia)

Lavinia then concluded by mentioning that 'they' (older family members) gave her those responsibilities. Therefore, although her friend was in a position of authority and leadership for her family, this is only permissible by the older family members giving these responsibilities to her. Her own comments, "its weird" denotes that for her (and in the case of the other participants) this was not normal practice.

Managing relationships

Commitment to family is paramount

Fulfilling responsibilities to the family was something that all participants spoke of with such pride. All participants articulated that their contribution to the needs of the family was something they deemed important. Taga mentioned that you must juggle both (cultural obligations and academic responsibilities) but added that cultural obligations were more important.

It's a juggling game, but then again if I had to choose uni over cultural obligation, I would jump to the cultural obligation first. (Taga)

Lavinia, shared that based on her decisions university study was not as important as family and cultural obligations. Connection to family was paramount.

Based on my choices I would say that my family and cultural obligations are way more important, but I know that education is important. I feel like for me it's better that I'm connected to my family and that I'm close to them. (Lavinia)

Serving to teu le va

Serving others was identified as key to maintaining a variety of relationships. In earlier sections it was described that all participants stated that the family unit was the primary source for service and cultural obligations.

Fina and Teokotai shared about representing the name and honouring the legacy or interests of elders in their families. This was described as a contributing motivator to serving or contributing to collective activities. Thus, the relationship between the participant and a respected older family meant that part of their responsibilities and obligations was to carry on their good name and reputation.

It is being the eldest, if your parents can't go, you're seen as the one to go and represent or to give on behalf of your parents. That is like a responsibility in a leadership in that way as well, to give. It comes with like knowing, because I'm the eldest in my mind it's like, oh, my parents can't go so I should go. (Fina)

Fina explained that "because obviously my other family saw that my parents weren't there, but I was there on behalf of them, so they were really happy to see that someone came and not no one at all." So, in this instance, Fina was able to bring happiness and wellbeing to other family members by representing her parents and being there for the

wider family in their absence. Fina's attendance also kept social ties strong for her parents in their absence, thus maintaining social relationships and capital between family members.

Teokotai explained that since family members are interconnected it was important to uphold the status of other family members. He says:

It's important. It is much like your actions affect your families, your parents and everyone else, so we are like a collective in the sense that... so because they created these things, it's not an obligation, but it's something that we should carry on as well and hold on to those things. (Teokotai)

The legacy created by other family members should be carried on, and one way someone could serve and fulfil cultural obligations was to preserve the family name/status. Therefore, according to the participants, service unto others in the family was important as outlined earlier in this chapter, but service on behalf of others was also important. This promoted unity and connectedness in the related space between individuals. This connectedness fostered healthy relationships and wellbeing across the family and these connections across social groups further developed and maintained social capital that were intertwined with social relationships.

Free will vs obligation

Feeling obliged to fulfil duties and tend to responsibilities was something that most participants described as challenging at times. Navigating complex relationships along with university study, or other commitments required a variety of skills and support from others. Fina and Taga articulated that there were times where they had no choice but to serve by tending to family commitments. Fina described service to family as an obligation or duty.

I would say there is a difference between you have to and you want to. The example of like family, you have to give if there's like a funeral or a birthday, obviously you have to give, but in the same way we want to give as well because we want to help our families and things. (Fina)

Taga elaborated by pointing out that he did not have a personal choice towards this sense of duty, but rather it was passed down to him. Therefore, this left him with no choice but to fulfil these responsibilities

And then it's like - but I have to, it's my obligation, it's my duty. I didn't choose to do it, it has kind of been handed down to me and now all of a sudden I kind of have to do it. (Taga)

Taga continued to explain his perceptions of cultural obligations and that given the dilemma of choosing between responsibilities to the family and volunteering, "I would most probably definitely choose the cultural obligation first and then the voluntary time."

I think there is a huge difference between the both but then again, they are both under the title of service. Of course, one is a cultural obligation but then the other one is because you want to do it, you do it in your cultural aspect, but you want to do it outside of that cultural context. (Taga)

Taga suggested that “the other one”, meaning volunteering may involve more free choice. He added by noting that while they were different, they were also the same. Taga added, “So you wanted to go and take your own time and serve others besides your family or within your cultural community.” Therefore, according to Taga serving within your family or within your own cultural community could be considered volunteering.

So, there are key difference at the same time but they come from the same type of service. It's a funny thing to explain because they are both under the title of service, but they are both from different sides, I guess. (Taga)

Mikaele provided further insights to obligations, by sharing the obligations associated with the roles that he held and the relationships that connected to him.

As a son I'm obliged to be obedient to the teachings of my parents. As a brother I'm obliged to protect my sisters and family. As a youth leader I'm obliged to live by the sermon that I preach. As a matai I'm obliged to serve the village, family and church heavily. (Mikaele)

Not all participants connected strongly with the feeling of obligation or feeling forced to serve or give to others though. Teokotai in particular, shared his views on obligations.

I don't like to use the word obligation as much because I don't think you are obligated to do it. I think it's a choice. I have never actually felt myself in the situation where I have to give. It's more or less like I have always wanted to. (Teokotai)

Teokotai presented his service to the family as based on free will and without the pressures (implied or otherwise) that other participants have mentioned. He mentioned that “sometimes people come up to me and like my service or like am I obligated to this, am I obligated to do this?” While others may view his service or commitment to cultural responsibilities as an obligation, Teokotai had responded to others with, “It's like, oh no not really, at least I didn't see it as being like that.” Therefore, from Teokotai's perspective he feels he has chosen to uphold the various responsibilities that he was accountable for, and while this may seem as an obligation to others, he did not see it that way.

Lavinia's experiences show that serving based on free will or because of a sense of duty or obligation was hard to distinguish.

I definitely know what you mean by have to and you want to, but I think personally for me those lines have blurred where I can't recognise what the difference is. Sometimes, I feel like, not sometimes, but I know for myself, is that the things that I have to do are blurred with the things that I want to do now and that they become one thing. It's kind of hard to separate them. (Lavinia)

Therefore, serving others because of free will or serving because of obligation was complicated and this was represented in the participants' views. A variety of participant responses proved how tricky this can be and based on interpretation, cultural obligation could be considered service by choice, a duty with no choice, or a mixture of both depending on the situation.

It's a game

Some the participants felt that along with the pressures to serve came the impression that serving and giving to others at times was a game. Taga presented his view of Niuean serving:

I think all Pacific Island nations have their own way of service, their own way of leading. I think in a Niuean way it's a lot of... I think it's a game really - who can be the humblest? (Taga)

A feature of Niuean serving according to Taga was therefore who can be the humblest in their service and giving to others. Status for being the humblest may be a source of pride or something that those 'playing the game' were wanting to achieve.

Teokotai claimed "if you don't give enough money or if you're the family of the deceased and you are not picking up the slack it's like a huge shame and that reflects on your family." Therefore, according to Teokotai, shame would be placed upon the family if responsibilities such as giving money was not appropriately responded to.

Mikaele, added by stating the following:

You really hit the nail on the head, the fact to not show any form of weakness because again, it goes back to the honour and mana and idea and you showing that kind of side kind of shows weakness. (Mikaele)

In the movements of the 'game', Mikaele stated that showing weakness reflected badly (on the wider family unit). Therefore, showing strength and commitment to cultural obligations was desirable to ensure the wider family name and mana was doing well in the 'game'. The desire to advance in the 'game' was further expressed by Mikaele:

You hear your family doing one, the money, and obviously you really want that to increase because you want the prestige and the mana. (Mikaele)

Navigating multiple relationships

Taga shared about torn loyalties between two villages that he was connected to and was questioned by fellow villagers about his loyalty. Therefore, relationships were not always complimentary of each other and to serve the needs of one relationship may cause tension in another relationship. This presented Taga with a tricky situation:

I have always been asked – why are you going to the other village for? Why are you going to Hakupu for, you're a Liku boy! (Taga)

Being asked to prioritise relationships could create stress and tension. Taga shared his frustrations below, however he shared what he felt was the right way to being true to himself, which meant maintaining relationships to both villages:

At first when they started telling me – why you going to your Hakupu side? At first I was like, are they actually saying this to me? I thought about it, and hey, at the end of the day I come from two villages and I'm gonna split it down the middle and treat them equally the same. (Taga)

Mikaele shared a situation where he was asked to financially contribute to his mother and grandmother for the same family event. As Mikaele points out below, loyalties can be tested when multiple family members are expecting your service.

So when there's a fa'alavelave it's a bit awkward because my parents would demand money, but then my grandma would go, um, you didn't raise him. So there's that awkward tension. (Mikaele)

Mikaele, like Taga was stuck in the middle feeling the pressure to choose one relationship over the other. This is an area of unexplored tension, but Mikaele and Taga touch upon the stress that it can cause towards personal wellbeing.

Cross cultural relationships

Teokotai commented on cross cultural differences (between Cook Islands and Samoan practices) in expectations of service and different attitudes towards monetary contributions. He commented that his sister had to navigate this with her in-laws, and this created some tension between her and her own family.

My sister, her partner is Samoan. There is always like a negative, my parents are always saying about the amount of money they give, but they can't give that money to our family, but that's because in our family we don't expect excessive amounts of money. (Teokotai)

Teokotai shared the frustrations of his parents over their daughter contributing at higher levels to her in laws. As the tension suggests, Teokotai's sister may be perceived to be showing more love and gratefulness to her in laws rather than her own family, which has raised some concerns from their father.

Mikaele however, presented the view from the other side of having non-Samoans as in laws, who by marriage are now are involved in their family matters. He presented a positive view of when in laws understand the Samoan way of operating.

Like for example, we have in laws who are not Samoan but understand the whole kind of love thing. (Mikaele)

Therefore, serving multiple relationships can be between family members, between village groups or even cross culturally. The participants who were able to articulate the tensions that can exist in the relational space spoke that navigating through this can be tricky. Serving others according to the participants was not always straight forward and

sometimes it involved reflection and evaluation of multiple factors, such as closeness of relationship or how the other person/group may react to your decisions.

Internal pressures

All participants identified the pressure to serve and fulfil cultural obligations was not solely based on family expectations or external pressures to serve. All identified that it was indeed complex, and a key feature was the internal pressures they placed on upon themselves. This involved reflection and negotiation of their own experiences and the values they chose to uphold. Mikaele shared about that inner voice played an influencing factor to him serving.

I think that voice to serve not only comes internally, but it comes from the stuff that you see, your experiences. (Mikaele)

Mikaele's reflections demonstrated that there was negotiation occurring between someone's thoughts and what they see. This may mean, that Mikaele might not want to serve or contribute to a cultural obligation, however based on his experiences his inner voice might convince him otherwise.

Lavinia shared "for me it's definitely internal. It's kind of a mentality that I've set up for myself and an expectation that I do for myself, but then I think a lot of it has been built upon what I've seen and observed in my family." Lavinia placed personal expectations on herself based on the values that she felt were important. Her own accountability measures kept her grounded in matching her activities and contribution to activities with her values. In other words, she emphasised and self-enforced a 'practice what you preach' policy.

Teokotai, also provided insight to the inner voice that guided his service. He presented a view that 'you only know what you know', so in this instance when you know what associated cultural roles and responsibilities look like, then you should be fulfilling these. Using the same analogy, if 'you only know what you know', then cultural roles and responsibilities will feel like external pressure. Therefore, according to Teokotai when you were in tune with cultural protocols, then like Lavinia you will keep yourself accountable to important values such as serving and giving to others.

I think for my own experience, more personal, I think when you are engaged in the culture therefore you know your own responsibility of what you should give. When you are not as engaged then it seems like it is external, because who is engaged will be telling the one out, hey you need to do this. (Teokotai)

Conclusion

This chapter has been used to present the voices of the New Zealand born Pacific youth participants who have shared about their experiences and views of service, cultural obligations, and leadership. Their views were analysed and presented in themes to demonstrate some of the shared views and experiences of growing up as a Pacific young person in New Zealand. As shown in the above themes and sub-themes, fulfilling roles and responsibilities associated with being a Pacific person can be complex and challenging, especially in New Zealand where operating between Pacific and Western worldviews can bring forth many challenges and opportunities.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

“Su’esu’e manogi e su’i ail au ‘ula, fatu ai lou titi aua ou faiva malo – searching for fragrances to fashion a garland and skirt, to grid the pursuit of your political aims.” (Suaalii-Sauni, Tuagalu, Kirifi-Alai & Fuamatu, 2008, p.1)

Introduction

This dissertation has sought to bring the lived experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth of serving others, obligations, and leadership to the fore. As with my own experiences of serving others, while difficult at times, there has been a ‘sweet fragrance’ when I have been able to fulfil my duties and uplift others’ needs before my own. This chapter is interested in presenting the ‘fragrance’ (Suaalii-Sauni, Tuagalu, Kirifi-Alai and Fuamatu, 2008) that is associated with threading together beautifully gathered flowers and leaves that celebrates achievement, love, and pride. The ‘sweet fragrance’ does not ignore the time and effort to gather the resources and prepare the lei, but rather appreciates this labour of love by celebrating the lei’s beautiful appearance and ‘sweet fragrance.’

This discussion chapter aims to be like a lei or flower garland, beautiful in sight with a sweet-smelling fragrance.

Analysing service through Epeli Hau’ofa

I use Hau’ofa’s (2008) presentation of the sea to draw upon analogies important for this discussion chapter, which seeks to interpret the views and experiences shared by the New Zealand born Pacific participants of this study. I make the link between Hau’ofa’s descriptions of the sea with descriptions of service. There are multiple ways to views service and this is evident through the participants’ rich and diverse lived experiences. However, for this section of the discussion chapter I would like to draw upon two opposing views (very similar to Table 1 in Chapter 2: Pakeha values vs Pacific peoples/ Māori values) as presented in the table below which is a summary of Hau’ofa’s (2008) “Our Sea of Islands”:

Table 2: Service through Epeli Hau'ofa (2008)

“Islands in the far sea”	“Sea of Islands”
The sea separates the islands, creating isolation and disconnection from each Other	The sea is what holds the islands together
The sea is carved up by imaginary boundary lines that restrict movement	The sea is vast and is boundary-less
Small island states – small scale economies, small land masses, lacking major resources	Rich in relationships, language, culture, love and service
Small scale economies – dependence on larger aid nations and relatives in the Diaspora	Interdependence

Using an ‘Islands in the far sea’ lens, service separates and creates isolation from each other. Teokotai and Mikaele shared about their oldest sibling not participating and contributing to wider family responsibilities. Serving using this approach, the focus is on giving and doing things for others as a loss of resources, rather than the good that it brings about. Serving others is framed by boundaries and serving others does not fit with neoliberal views of economics where resources are prioritised for profit. This view of smallness, lacking resources and being isolated is reiterated by Hau'ofa (2008) in the following quote:

Small island states and territories of the Pacific, that is, all of Polynesia and Micronesia are too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres of economic growth for their inhabitants ever to be able to rise above their present condition of dependence on the largesse of wealthy nations (p.29).

Participants in this study often used financial giving or monetary contributions as an example of service. This view could influence people to look at service as draining and focuses on the lack of resources to serve and isolation from models of wealth. This limiting view creates a deficit approach to what service is and what it can do. Rather than serving to connect and unite just as the va holds separate things together (Wendt, 1999), using “Islands in the far sea” lens highlights the disconnection that comes from service. All the participants shared about the pressures associated with (explicit and implicit pressures) serving others, but none displayed dissatisfaction. Rather, all the participants shared that the benefits of serving others outweighed the negatives.

A ‘Sea of Islands’ lens takes a different vantage point where serving is an important connector just as the sea unites islands together as a common entity. When looking at serving others through this approach it becomes clear that service is what binds relationships. All participants identified serving others, especially the wider family was key to promoting family wellbeing and harmony. Boundaries are done away with as the sea is vast, therefore serving is vast and boundary-less. Some of the participants

articulated that serving others or giving to others had no boundaries. No amount of time or resource should be spared in acts of service. Serving with a 'sea of islands' approach acknowledges that relationships, language, culture, love and service are deep and meaningful resources that neoliberal or Western models could not fully comprehend and appreciate.

Serving others and fulfilling cultural obligations therefore has the ability, like the sea, to connect and bring people together. Serving is viewed as multi-faceted, rather than simple transactional activities between Pacific youth and their surroundings. Hau'ofa's (2008) presentation of the sea, provides the shift in outlook.

There is a world of difference between viewing the Pacific as "islands in a far sea" and as "a sea of islands." The first emphasises dry surfaces in a vast ocean far from the centres of power. Focussing in this way stresses the smallness and remoteness of the islands. The second is a more holistic perspective in which things are seen in the totality of their relationships. (Hau'ofa, 2008, p.31)

Negotiated Space

The above dichotomy presents two very different ways of looking at service and cultural obligations. Rosales- Andersen (2018) study looked at Maori navigating between Maori and Western worldviews and the tension that comes with the movement to and from opposing values-based systems. These frustrations lead to pragmatic measures by her participants to ensure as Maori they were comfortable in both worlds. Tiatia (1998) speaks about this clash of cultures for New Zealand born Pacific youth in the home, church and school, which lead young Pacific people to leave traditional spaces to escape the pressures of being caught between cultures. Anae (1998) also presents a similar situation and has coined 'time out' as an escaping mechanism used by New Zealand born Samoans to cope with responsibilities and obligations to the family and church. However as 'time out' suggests, this is a temporary movement or a sabbatical from fulfilling responsibilities to the family, and when the individual is better positioned with resource or time then they will return to the fold to resume duties. These narratives form what has been described as the "New Zealand born crisis" (Mila-Schaaf, 2013). None of the participants shared about having a break from responsibilities, rather they shared that connection to the family and showing love was important. Serving the family acknowledged that relationships were paramount and everyone fulfilling their roles promoted wellbeing across all levels in the family. Analysing the participants interviewed in this study experiences and voices; I suggest that there is another way to viewing this.

These spaces in which the participants have chosen to position themselves in and around can be considered 'cultural classrooms' (Fehoko, 2013). In these cultural classrooms, interactions with Pacific languages and customs, holistic learning experiences are nurtured.

Many of the participants also expressed the importance of committing to academic studies and other responsibilities placed on them. This sometimes may be at odds with the wellbeing needs or pursuit of mana activities of the family. Nevertheless, the word *balance* was used several times in the talanoa interviews, and all participants shared the need for *balance* was a result of being exposed to two different worldviews and practices. Therefore, another approach is needed to explain the lived experiences of the New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed for this dissertation.

Le Va (2009, p.10) uses a model called the "negotiated space" which describes the "interface between different world views and knowledge systems." A Western way of looking at serving others and fulfilling cultural obligations can be described using Hau'ofa's (2003) "Islands in the far sea" analogy and a Pacific way of looking at service can be described using his "Sea of Islands" worldview. However, the views of the participants in this study present elements which could be said to be drawn from "two worlds" (Rosales-Andersen, 2018) and what Taumoefolau (2013) presents as 'in-betweenness'. The following quote from Le Va (2009, p.10) further explains what this interface between two worlds looks like, "The negotiated space is a place of balancing, weighting, sifting, and deliberating. It is a conceptual site where traditional knowledge bases are potentially expanded, innovated and adapted."

Therefore, as suggested by Le Va (2009), the participants of this study expressed views and movements of service and obligation that denote the meeting and merging of different worldviews. This space that participants occupy is not solely Pacific, nor is it solely Western. Rather based on Le Va's (2009) description, the negotiated space is the space in which the New Zealand born Pacific youth participants balance, weigh, sift and deliberate what service and responsibilities means to them and how that informs their relationships and the activities to strengthen these.

Using Le Va's (2009) concept of negotiated space, below is a diagram that merges this model with Hau'ofa's (2008) concepts of the sea, which I have used as an analogy for service. This diagram is used to demonstrate what service and responsibilities looks like for the participants of this study who are positioned within this negotiated space, where principles from two different worldviews are expanded, innovated, and adapted to suit. As a result of analysing the findings from the talanoa interviews, I present 'service

negotiated space' as an area that the participants of this study are located and move within and around to fulfil their responsibilities and cultural obligations to serve others.

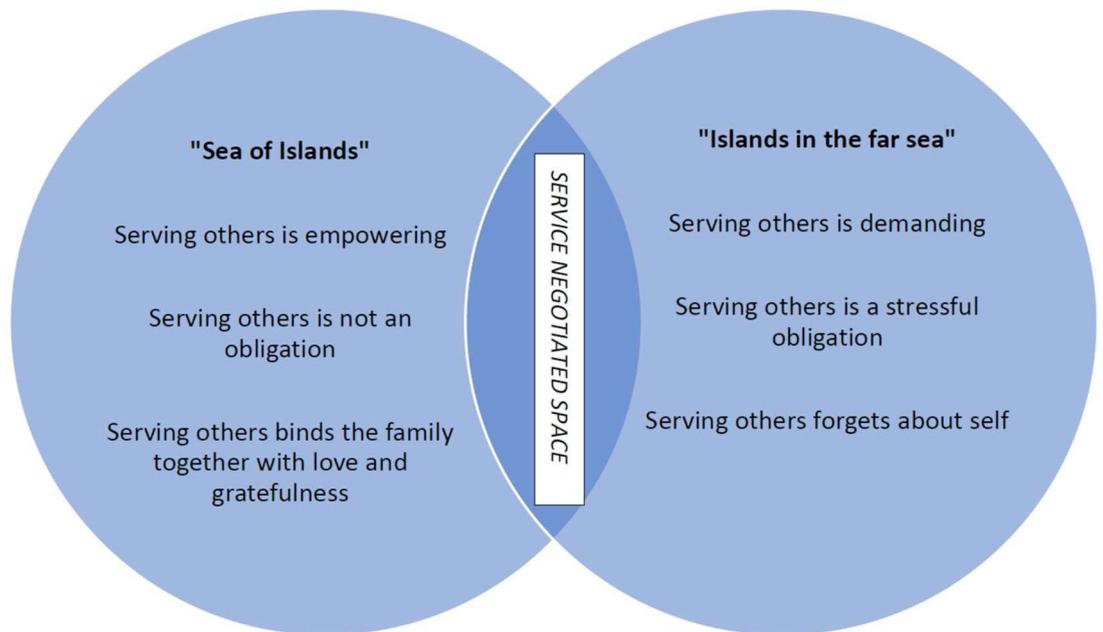


Figure 1: Service Negotiated Space Model (Using Hau’ofa, 2008)

The tensions that exist for the New Zealand born Pacific youth participants demonstrate the space in which negotiation and evaluating takes place. Many of these tensions, just as the sea’s waves are always moving. These tensions for the participants of this study, live, move and evolve in the ‘service negotiated space.’

Table 3: New Zealand Born Pacific youth participants service tensions

Serving because you want to	and/or	Serving because you have to
Not serving does not mean you are selfish		Serving shows you are not selfish
Your own wellbeing is important to serving other people		Serving is putting someone else’s wellbeing before your own
Serving is about genuine love, not about being seen		Serving is about doing it for/on behalf of your family
Serving is empowering and gives you purpose		Serving is demanding

Challenges and tensions to serving others and fulfilling cultural obligations were real, however participants spoke with conviction the need to balance other priorities such as study and work with fulfilling responsibilities to the family and wider community. Rather

than opt for an 'either or' approach, participants shared the need to juggle responsibilities through smart negotiating. It was identified that through navigating through multiple responsibilities and operating from different values-based systems, wider skills and knowledge was gained from these experiences. Participants saw this as added value to their skillset, resiliency, confidence, and worldviews.

'Service negotiated space' is the area in which the participants positioned themselves to observe the leadership practice of their role models. Elders and role models provided guidance and correction which influenced New Zealand born Pacific youth to develop their own leadership understandings and practice. Servant leadership traits such as putting the needs of others was adopted and embraced by all the participants of this study and valued as a key component to their service to the family. While servant leader may seem appropriate in organisational management and leadership examples (Greenleaf, 1977; Spears, 1998; Mcfarlane, 2011), the term servant leader did not resonate with all participants. Rather, being a son, daughter, matai, Sunday school teacher were titles and roles they were more comfortable with and serving others was a requirement for all these identities. Identifying as leader was more reserved for older members of the family, with youth contributing to the greater good through their service. However, for some of the participants, tenants of servant leadership were applicable to their identities outside of the family environment, where duties such as being a prefect of sports captain further enhanced their experiences of serving others and leadership.

'Service negotiated space' may seem like many contradictions but these are expressions of the lived realities for the New Zealand born Pacific youth interviewed. The participants of this study see the value in both Western and Pacific concepts, world views and practises. Rather than forsaking one for the other, participants have found both useful for them and have opted to act as dual citizens, by holding passports that allow access into both spaces. Instead of being stuck in a crisis that denotes frantic movement between values systems or jumping in and out of respective worldviews, participants of this study identify areas in which values and worldviews collide and complement each other. This is the area in which they live, breathe, serve, give, and negotiate their relationships with others. In the same way that water particles may collide with land, this presents opportunities in the same way that water particles merge to create synergy. This 'service negotiated space' is a strengths-based approach to New Zealand born Pacific youth fulfilling obligations to others. "Culture as a cure kaupapa"(Matika et al, 2017, p.181) informs this model which shifts away from analysing culture and its practices from a deficit lens. Rather as the participants of this study have identified, their commitment to service and cultural obligations are deliberate and meaningful. Their actions provide meaning to their world and the various relationships within them.

Implications

Mikaele and Teokotai were the two participants who cited the need for self-care measures to be better appreciated and applied in the community. A balance to serving others was needed if it meant that the holistic being was being cared for. More research in this area would help investigate how New Zealand born Pacific youth can get the best of the worlds, by not forgetting duty of care to self when serving others. This especially important for educational institutions, social and health agencies who have an interest in understanding Pacific youth wellbeing and mental health. Deeper understanding may help provide tools, which may support young Pacific people wanting to get the best of both worlds.

Taga and Lavinia both shared their experiences and views with prioritising cultural and family obligations over university studies. While this may sound as back to front priorities, both shared that serving others was important, therefore it was not straightforward to decline opportunities to serve others. Feeling empowered and having purpose was cited as benefits of serving others and giving back, so it was not clear that fulfilling these responsibilities were detrimental to academic studies of the participants. However, as stated in the findings chapter, a balance was needed and was advocated by most participants. Understanding the complex relationship that some New Zealand born Pacific youth have with serving others is important for educational institutions to understand. While serving others and fulfilling cultural obligations may come at a cost, holistic analyses are needed to fully understand how the benefits of service can be gained in conjunction with academic pursuits. This can influence educational institutions and their delivery of co-curricular service and volunteer programmes for students and broaden the understanding of academic staff who are charged with monitoring academic and pastoral support.

Lavinia, Fina and Taga spoke how serving others could be incorporated into someone's job or career and this was shown through their parents. What tensions arrive for people working in these roles? How do people navigate the needs of the people they are serving with the needs of the organisation? Exploring and understanding the complexities of competing relationships, using both Pacific and Western worldviews could be beneficial for young people who exit university wanting to continue serving others in their professional careers.

As evident in Teokotai and Mikaele's experiences there are differences in expectations and responsibilities of service and obligations between Pacific cultures. This is consistent with Le Va's (2009, p.21) assertions that "each Pacific culture has its own distinctive values, protocols, processes and languages. Therefore, further study could explore

different Pacific ethnic's group's protocols and processes associated with serving others. This could build upon what has been shared by Teokotai and Mikaele to paint a clearer picture to how diverse the Pacific is with service and cultural obligations.

As practices evolve in the negotiated space it is also helpful to investigate how these changes affect service for Pacific peoples in other areas. Serving extended families through remittances has been explored by a few writers and serving the extended family by becoming a matai has been looked at by (Sauvao-Va'auli, 2017). How will changing attitudes and practices affect service and cultural obligations such as caring for elder family members or serving the traditional churches? These are possible areas to explore that help further expand on the narratives of what it means to be a Pacific person in New Zealand.

More strengths-based research is needed that looks at New Zealand born Pacific youth negotiating and navigating between Pacific and Western values. How does the 'service negotiated space' apply to wider practices of New Zealand born Pacific youth in the home, church and school/university? More research is needed to understand how Pacific youth in the diaspora shift and evaluate worldviews and values that are important to them.

Exploration of Pacific diaspora youth with decolonisation of knowledge, custom and practices is needed to expand on the evolving experiences with home, church, and school/university. This may help illustrate deliberate attempts by New Zealand born Pacific youth to positively engage with Pacific worldviews and practices. Again, more strengths-based approaches are needed to build upon Hau'ofa's (2008) paradigm shift.

Understanding that the Pacific is not homogenous but rich and diverse of many unique Pacific identities was highlighted by multiple authors in this dissertation. This was key for the methodological approach of this research. To maintain and enhance the mana of the Pacific cultures represented in this dissertation, it was important for Samoan, Cook Islands, Tongan and Niuean worldviews and values to be authentically presented through the participants' lenses. As illustrated by Teokotai and Taga, intercultural differences in serving and giving can surface because of intermarriage. Therefore, further ethnic specific research is needed to explore and investigate service, cultural obligations and responsibilities from different Pacific ethnic worldviews and experiences.

Recommendations

Acknowledging that New Zealand born Pacific youth are constantly drawing upon two or more values-based systems is important, therefore adherence to cultural practices are constantly evolving. This involves utilising both traditional and contemporary methods to

serving. This is important for families, churches, and other social groups such as schools and universities to appreciate as New Zealand born Pacific youth attempt their best to fulfilling these responsibilities.

Serving others is a crucial part of belonging to collective units; therefore, they are a constant feature for many Pacific peoples. This means students' educational institutions need to be aware of this added responsibility to serve family and other collective groups. The responsibility is equal or more for community leaders as they are often tasked with responding to the family/community has needs as well as meeting employment performance indicators. Relationally, *teu le va* informs not only commitment to educational or work responsibilities but also the need to tend to these relationships to family and community.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this research study has been the size of the sample size. Due to time and resource constraints, the number of participants was limited to five. For the same reasons, plans for a focus group hui with all participants had to be reconsidered.

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate and explore the complexities involved with New Zealand born Pacific youth navigating responsibilities and cultural obligations. As the literature review (Anae, 1998; Tiatia, 1998; Taumoefolau, 2013) and the participants talanoa interviews have presented some of the complexities arise as a result of Pacific youth operating from, between and in-between opposing values-based systems – Pacific and Western worldviews.

All participants shared that service to the family was paramount and placing the needs of others before your own was a way to show gratefulness and love. For most participants, responsibilities to other activities and priorities such as academic studies were important but to a lesser extent. The strength of inter and intra family relationships were identified as important and all participants had experiences with service to develop and maintain the social capital capacity of the wider family unit. Maintaining social status or *mana* was often one of the key motivations behind prioritising responsibilities and obligations over other responsibilities such as academic study. However, the need to balance multiple responsibilities was expressed by all participants as key. This balancing act involved ongoing reflection and guidance from role models such as parents and grandparents.

This research sought to provide a strengths-based approach to New Zealand born Pacific youth and their experiences with both Pacific and Western worldviews and practices. While tending to multiple responsibilities and relationships is complex and not without challenges, the New Zealand born Pacific youth in this study identified many positive outcomes that arose from serving others. Tensions between Pacific and Western worldviews could be mitigated through negotiation and navigation. Serving others was beneficial to collective groups such as the family or church; as well as beneficial to the individual serving, such as developing leadership skills and feeling empowered. These benefits mirror the outcomes of my service to my family, where I have contributed to the wellbeing and social and social capital of my family, but also I have felt purpose and empowered when I have placed the needs of others before my own.

Using “culture as cure kaupapa” (Matika et al, 2017, p.181) this research has sought to investigate and explore the positive experiences that New Zealand born Pacific youth have had with cultural customs and practices. Culture however does not stay stagnant, but rather evolves with time and as evident through the participants of this study, attitudes and practices of service has and is evolving. The ‘service negotiated space model’ presents their experiences and understandings of service, cultural obligations and leadership as a moving and constantly evolving sea. The sea never sits idle, rather waves are constantly moving and reshaping as it searches for things to connect with, be it land, sea creatures or with other parts of the sea.

As more of the Pacific communities are born and raised here in New Zealand, understanding their views and experiences are becoming more important for both Pacific and non-Pacific leaders. New Zealand born Pacific youth experiences in the home, church and school/university have wide effects on individual and collective wellbeing. Investigating how New Zealand born Pacific youth contextualise the cultural practices, customs and values passed down to them by elders will illustrate how and what service and cultural obligations may look like in future generations. This also illustrates how New Zealand born Pacific youth find opportunities in the tensions presented before them to provide solutions to their dilemmas. As alluded to above, this research has sought to position New Zealand born Pacific youth, not in crisis but into strengths-based positioning. This presents New Zealand born Pacific youth as hopeful and excited for gaining the best of both worlds – Pacific and Western worldviews.

Further to Albert Wendt’s (cited in Hereniko & Wilson, 1999) statement that calls for Pacific peoples to tell their own stories, it is important for New Zealand born Pacific youth to tell their own stories. New Zealand born Pacific youth who are active in serving the wider family unit, serving the church and other collective groups while maintaining balance with multiple facets need to be in charge of presenting these narratives to the

world. As with my own personal story, I have been (and continue to be) tasked with serving others as my personal contribution to the greater good of collective groups such as the wider family unit or church. These experiences have enabled me to serve, lead and show gratefulness and love to others. These values have been instilled into my childhood and have been since used in my personal and professional journeys. This dissertation has been an act of service unto New Zealand born Pacific youth who have upheld and continue to uphold their responsibilities to the family and other collective institutions.

Serving others is and has been cited as a lifelong value that has benefits to the individual and the collective. Thus, ensuring that serving others remains a central part of the lived experiences of New Zealand born Pacific youth is key to ensuring that holistic wellbeing is promoted among our communities. The New Zealand born Pacific interviewed have demonstrated that living and operating from, between and in-between opposing values-based systems can be achieved, and it is hoped that more Pacific youth in the diaspora can find their balance.

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Glossary

Cook Islands Māori terms

Teina – younger sibling of the same gender.

Manihiki – is one of the fifteen Islands that make up the Cook Islands group. Manihiki is located in the northern group of islands.

Tivaevae – traditional Cook Islands quilts, used mainly as bedspreads or wall hangings. These are made in collective groups of ‘mama’s’ (older Cook Islands women).

Samoan terms

Tautua - service

Matai – Samoan chief

Fa’alavelave – life interrupting event(s) where one’s normal schedule is disrupted such as weddings or funerals. Fa’alavelave cultural obligations often mean contributing money, time and other resources to support the wider family during this interruption

Niuean terms

Hakupu – village in Niue

Liku – village in Niue

Tongan term

Malie - good, pleasing, pleasant, interesting, splendid, fine, very satisfactory

Māori term

Wānanga – in the New Zealand education system a Wānanga is a tertiary education institution that provides education in a Māori cultural context.

Māori/Pan Pacific term

Mana - honour/dignity/respect/status

Appendix A: Ethics Approval



Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

Auckland University of Technology
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13 September 2019

Howard Youngs
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Howard

Ethics Application: **19/333 Negotiating service within areas of responsibilities: Experiences of New Zealand born Pacific tertiary students**

I wish to advise you that a subcommittee of the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) has approved your ethics application.

This approval is for three years, expiring 12 September 2022.

Non-Standard Conditions of Approval

1. Please begin the Information Sheet with an introduction about the researcher, including their name.

Non-standard conditions must be completed before commencing your study. Non-standard conditions do not need to be submitted to or reviewed by AUTEC before commencing your study.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the [Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research](#) and as approved by AUTEC in this application.
2. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using the EA2 form.
3. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using the EA3 form.
4. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form.
5. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
6. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
7. It is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. You are responsible for obtaining management approval for access for your research from any institution or organisation at which your research is being conducted. When the research is undertaken outside New Zealand, you need to meet all ethical, legal, and locality obligations or requirements for those jurisdictions.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

For any enquiries please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz. The forms mentioned above are available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>

Yours sincerely,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Manager
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Asetoa Pilisi

Appendix B: Research Tools

Participant Information Sheet – Page 1



Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:

2 September 2019

Project Title

Negotiating service within areas of responsibilities: Experiences of New Zealand born Pacific tertiary students.

An Invitation

Fakaalofa lahi atu, Talofa lava and warm Pacific greetings my name is Asetoa (Sam) Pilisi. I am a Master of Educational Leadership student in the School of Education at Auckland University of Technology and I am undertaking research as part of a 60-point dissertation to complete this qualification. I am inviting you as a New Zealand born Pacific tertiary student to participate in this research project.

What is the purpose of this research?

As a New Zealand born Pacific male (Niuean/Samoan), I have been fortunate to have been raised in a variety of 'village' settings that have contributed to my outlook on my place in this world, which have associated rights and responsibilities. Serving others or serving a bigger cause has always been part of my life. The purpose of this study is to understand how New Zealand born Pacific tertiary students understand service and responsibility. I am interested in finding out how New Zealand born Pacific tertiary students understand responsibility and their service experiences. These views will shape the outcomes of this research and provide some insights for future research for the benefit of the Pacific communities in New Zealand and abroad.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

For this research study I have chosen to use a purposive sampling method to identify potential participants who fit the criteria below:

- Identify as Pacific
- Born in New Zealand
- Currently studying at tertiary level
- Between the ages of 18-24
- Engage with various levels of service and fulfilling cultural obligations

As a result of existing community relationships and networks I have identified that you fit the above criteria and I'd like to offer you the opportunity to be involved as a participant.

Potential participants who don't meet all the above criteria will not be considered for this research.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you are willing to participate in this research, then you will need to complete a consent form which I can provide you to read and sign. Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You can withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or

Participant Information Sheet – Page 2

allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

If you are willing to participate, I will arrange a time to come and interview you. This can be arranged at the institution/campus that you study at. I will conduct the interviews. The interviews will be one to one and will take approximately 60 minutes and these will be recorded. Following the interview, you will be given an opportunity to check and amend transcripts before the results are analysed. Should you choose to withdraw from the project you can do so without question at any time within four weeks of the interviewing taking place. You can let me know.

What are the discomforts and risks?

I don't foresee any discomfort or risks associated with participation; however, support will be provided if there are unforeseen discomforts that may arise. This is listed below:

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

AUT Health Counselling and Wellbeing can offer three free sessions of confidential counselling support for adult participants in an AUT research project. These sessions are only available for issues that have arisen directly as a result of participation in the research and are not for other general counselling needs. To access these services, you will need to:

- drop into our centres at WB219 or AS104 or phone 921 9992 City Campus or 921 9998 North Shore campus to make an appointment. Appointments for South Campus can be made by calling 921 9992
- let the receptionist know that you are a research participant, and provide the title of my research and my name and contact details as given in this Information Sheet

You can find out more information about AUT counsellors and counselling on <https://www.aut.ac.nz/student-life/student-support/counselling-and-mental-health>

Additionally, I have asked for the support of a Pacific community minister to provide any cultural or spiritual guidance if the need arises. His contact details are:

Pastor Stephen Mataia
021544034
steve@wordoflife.nz

What are the benefits?

Participating in this research will contribute to completing my Master of Educational Leadership. This research study is part of a 60-point Dissertation.

Participating will contribute to the body of literature that tells the lived experiences of New Zealand born Pacific young people.

How will my privacy be protected?

Any information used for from the interviews will be shown to you before it is included in the dissertation report. You will have the ability to review the information and withdraw any of the information provided. Pseudonyms will be used in the final dissertation report eg. Participant 1

What are the costs of participating in this research?

Time involved in this research will consist of one interview, which will take approximately 60mins and any travel time to and from the location of the interview. So, time to factor could be between 1-2.5 hours factoring traffic at different times of the day. There is no financial cost to the participant.

Participant Information Sheet – Page 3

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

1 week will be given to consider this invitation

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

A summary of findings will be made available to all participants. The dissertation will also be readily available through AUT's Scholarly Commons which is free to access.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, *Dr Howard Youngs*, howard.youngs@aut.ac.nz, 921-9999 ext 9633

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, *Kate O'Connor*, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Sam Pilisi

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Howard Youngs

howard.youngs@aut.ac.nz

921-9999 ext 9633

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 13 September 2019,
AUTEK Reference number 19/333

Consent Form



Consent Form

Project title: Negotiating service within areas of responsibilities: Experiences of New Zealand born Pacific tertiary students

Project Supervisor: *Dr Howard Youngs*

Researcher: *Asetoa (Sam) Pilisi*

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet, dated 2 September 2019
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one):

Yes No

Participant's signature:.....

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):
.....
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 13 September 2019 AUTEK Reference number 19/333

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Talanoa Interview Prompts

Research Questions:

- 1) How do New Zealand born Pacific youth distinguish expectations of traditional service from other forms of service and responsibility?
- 2) What experiences do New Zealand born Pacific youth have with different forms of service and responsibility?
- 3) How do New Zealand born Pacific youth reconcile any differences between forms of service and responsibility?
- 4) How does service and responsibility influence and inform leadership development of New Zealand born Pacific youth?

The following talanoa prompts may not necessarily follow the sequence below, but will flow in tune with the rhythm of the talanoa

Narrative Talanoa prompts

Can you talk about your understanding of serving others?

Who, in your eyes are good examples of serving as part of fulfilling their responsibilities?

Why?

Can you talk about your personal style(s) of leadership?

What do you get out of serving? Eg whats in it for you? What does your family/village/church etc get out of your serving?

What are some of the differences of responsibilities/cultural obligations between?

Older and younger generation?

Male vs female

Oldest/older siblings vs youngest/younger siblings

Strong with culture/language vs not as culturally equipped

What do you think are ways that service/responsibilities/cultural obligations is played out in the family/church/village settings?

Are attitudes to service changing here in NZ? Why/why not?

In your eyes – what are some of the differences between serving because ‘you have to’ rather than ‘you want to’

Is there such a thing as giving/serving others too much?

Appendix C: Support Letter

30 August 2019

Word of Life Church

5 View Road Henderson

Auckland 0612

To whom it may concern,

My name is Pastor Stephen Mataia and I am the Senior Pastor at World of Life Church in Henderson, Auckland. We are a multicultural church that is closely connected to serving the needs of our local community, West Auckland.

In the capacity of Word of Life Senior Pastor, I am involved in supporting sporting, cultural and educational community projects and events. I am more than happy to provide support to Sam Pilisi's project, interviewing New Zealand born Pacific youth about responsibilities, service, leadership and cultural obligations.

I know Sam from our sporting days more than a decade ago and keep in contact through our local American football club. Although Sam doesn't attend Word of Life Church, I am more than happy to support his research project.

I have offered my support should any of the research participants need spiritual or cultural support I am happy for my contact details to be made available to the participants. As a community Pastor I am more than happy to connect with people in their communities.

Yours faithfully,

Pastor Stephen Mataia