TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

THE POLICY PROCESS – PACIFIC PEOPLES: A VOICE TO BE HEARD TERTIARY EDUCATION STRATEGIES IN NEW ZEALAND 2002-2020.

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DECLARATION

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Linda Tinai Aumua

Signature: 

Date: October 2022

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ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a case study on Pacific Peoples' engagement with policy processes, specifically in the development of the New Zealand Tertiary Education Strategies between 2002-2020. In the 2002 Tertiary Education Strategy, Pacific Peoples were prioritised. However, over the course of nearly 20 years, which included five strategies and directives under two governments, this community was further marginalised and has now been removed as a priority within the Tertiary Strategies. The shifts within this policy have left this community without clarity, positioning and direction as their place diminished within each strategy. Yet, research and statistics in tertiary education continue to reveal the growing gap towards achieving parity.

Knowing this, an examination of the policy process was undertaken to review how this community was engaged, and to understand the experiences and challenges that were faced. Utilising a qualitative case study methodology, underpinned by Talanoa, and working within a Fijian framework, both Pacific and non-Pacific participants were interviewed to ensure a non-biased view. Participants represented the private training sector, tertiary providers and those who held government and policy positions.

The study found that leadership in its many forms was found to be of significance in, for example, agendas, political positioning, distrust, structural racism, and structural discrimination. These were just some of the many findings on the factors that inhibited Pacific Peoples within the consultation process. Intellectual and emotional connectedness, knowledge of communities, one's culture, and the differing values by which one is guided were revealed, as were the structures that hold the power of influence.

It is known that education is exploited within politics and often used as a platform to position oneself or one's party; hence, politics and policy are closely intertwined (Wu, et al., 2018). It is therefore vital that indigenous and minority communities learn to navigate the corridors of policy processes and to stand as well, equally, on

political platforms to position themselves to be able to engage. But it is most important for ministers, ministries, and policy advisors alike to listen, be informed by research, know their communities, know how to engage, and understand the disparities.

This knowledge could create a shift in the policy process and address the inequities in tertiary education policy and ultimately begin to shape and change the rhetoric that continues to exist today, if only one would listen to the voices!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ERO	**Education Review Office**
ITO	**Industry Training Organisation**
KPPAT	**Kapasa Pacific Policy Analysis Tool**
MBIE	**Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment**
MoE	**Ministry of Education**
MP	**Member of Parliament**
MPIA	**Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs**
MPP	**Ministry for Pacific Peoples**
NELPs	**National Education Learning Priorities**
NZ	**New Zealand**
NZQA	**New Zealand Qualifications Authority**
PITPONZ	**Pacific Island Training Providers of New Zealand**
PTE	**Private Training Establishment**
TEC	**Tertiary Education Commission**
TEI	**Tertiary Education Institute**
TEOs	**Tertiary Education Organisations**
TES	**Tertiary Education Strategy**
TPK	**Te Puni Kokiri**

GLOSSARY OF FIJIAN TERMS

Kava	**Crushed root crop, used as a traditional drink.**
Kaivalangi	**A European or White person**
Va	**A recognised space adhering to protocols or custom**
Vanua	**Group of villages that identify a person's connection.**
Veidoki or Veirokovi or Veiwekani	**This identifies a social order based on mana, respect, integrity and in being sincere in your work or willingness to engage.**

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Chapter Introduction

The research focuses on understanding challenges faced by the Pacific community in New Zealand and their engagement in policy processes using the Tertiary Education Strategies 2002-2020 as the case study to examine this process. The policy process in this case would have been carried out by the Ministry of Education (MoE) and the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) and, later, in partnership with the Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment (MBIE).

Policy is fundamental for any citizen, community, or group to be engaged in and policies delivered by government should undertake a series of processes to ensure that policy is based on good research and consultation to obtain positive outcomes for citizens (Arini et al., 2010; New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2017). Within this process is the influence of actors or political influencers and institutions who have the ear or mandate of the government of the day (Considine, 2005; Wolf & Eppel, 2021). Yet, it is not as simple as this, as within and amongst the process are people. People themselves are complex, especially when they bring with them their political propositions, cultural norms, values, leaders, perspectives, and influencers. In addition, the foundations of policy are embedded into the nation's processes that are different from the country itself, in this case, the Parliamentary system is based on the Westminster Model (Chen & Palmer, 1993).

Research reinforces the view that many indigenous and minority groups struggle to ensure that policies address their needs, culture, language, and differences within various sectors (Duncan, 2004; Durie, 1998; Harman, 1998; Kumar, 2009; Nursey-Bray et al., 2009; Simon-Kumar, 2018), and these challenges are like those experienced by Pacific Peoples. The term Pacific represents several different nations, with different cultures, languages, and ways of being, yet they are defined through this New Zealand policy as one people (Macpherson et al., 2001).

The findings of this research will propose ideas around strengthening the public policy process and recommendations that will create a more profound understanding for policymakers and communities of how policies can be better constructed while ensuring that communities participate and interface in these processes. Furthermore, the research will provide advice that will enable policymakers to better understand the constraints and challenges of communities. Ultimately, it is the intention of the thesis to highlight the unequal participation and engagement of communities in policymaking processes.

New Zealand has released five Tertiary Education Strategies (TESs) while this research was written. The TES 2002-2007, TES 2007-2012, TES 2010-2015, TES 2014-2019, and lastly, 2020 and beyond. Within each strategy is a reference to improving the educational outcomes of Pacific people. However, there is also a shift in how Pacific people have been identified and incorporated.

1.1 Background to the Study

This study is crucial as it investigates why Pacific people first struggle to engage in public policy processes. It subsequently suggests that the lack of engagement continues to result in inequities in educational outcomes in the tertiary sector. In 2002 Pacific people were identified as a priority population within the tertiary sector, noting that Pacific people were not achieving at the same level as non-Pacific people. Some 18 years later, inequities in tertiary outcomes remain. Key policies such as the series of TESs have been the primary tool used to influence Pacific people's tertiary education outcomes. In 2002 it was recognised at the time that Tertiary Education Organisations (TEOs) required a change in political will and commitment to enable Pacific populations to better participate in tertiary educational opportunities and achievement. The TEO vehicle was the government's mechanism to enable these changes through substantive policy reforms intended to capture Pacific community leadership, engagement, and positioning. However, in 2022 the inequities continue.

Within the New Zealand (NZ) educational policy structure, TEOs are the executing educational agencies of the TES and policies. Therefore, this research will examine the TESs between 2002 to 2022 and provide findings on how Pacific people have

been involved, consulted with, and engaged in developing tertiary policy. The study will further explore the reasoning and rationale for the tertiary educational policy shifts which occurred despite the focus that is needed to achieve equitable educational outcomes for Pacific people.

The researcher brought to this study experience in education, as a student, a teacher, in management and in senior management. Throughout these years, the researcher experienced the unpredictability and inconsistency of institutions in developing and maintaining meaningful outcomes within the tertiary sector, having witnessed the many challenges communities have faced in trying to attain educational progress through the system.

The researcher has observed the behaviour of institutions responding to government policies and the limited commitment TEOs have in building equity in their systems so they might maintain their institutional aspirations. However, having been an insider in these institutions for many years and subsequently having been part of the system that has enabled the disregard of communities has been the constant fuel and momentum for this research. Further, the researcher has witnessed the reality of institutional and policy tensions that have been driven primarily by economic money-making and competitive outcomes rather than a desire to deliver equitable educational opportunities and outcomes for communities who need them most.

Being privileged as a young Pacific teacher and being brought under the wings of great Pacific leaders in the sector who were amongst the first Pacific migrants to New Zealand from the 1950s has fed the researcher's desire to see this research complete. These Pacific leaders were not people who were stationed at positions of influence; they were the first Pacific Island Liaison Officers that were placed initially within government institutions to advocate for and support Pacific people. Such people were Arron Masters, the first Pacific Liaison Officer at the University of Auckland, Tupai Pepe, the first Māori and Pacific Liaison for Manukau Institute of Technology, Lucy Atiga at Unitec Institute of Technology, Margarita Auta from Canterbury Polytechnic and Alitasi Lemalu at Otago Polytechnic, to name a few. These leaders came together and formed their own small Pacific group called Tagata Pasifika Staff in Tertiary Education (now called Association of Pacific Staff in Tertiary Education (APSTE) to try to advocate to support Pacific students and each

other. Alitasi and Tupai shared stories with me, as I rubbed shoulders with these giants into the late evenings, about their desire to support Pacific people.

Now, 40 years on, Pacific people have entered institutions and become not only the students but teachers, heads of departments/faculties, researchers, professors, academic support, and gained leadership positions. During this research the appointment of the first Pacific Vice-Chancellor of a New Zealand University, Professor Damon Salesa at Auckland University of Technology, was confirmed. We acknowledge the leaders of the past to whom we owe much for our development and positioning in tertiary institutions. Yet, the disparities remain.

1.1.1 The Beginning of Educational Policy for Pacific People

The background and impetus for this study starts with recognising that the educational system in New Zealand was established in the mid-1800s with its roots deeply embedded in colonialism and Christianity with the arrival of British missionaries in New Zealand (Wood et al., 2021). The European schools were assimilatory with the primary intention of establishing social control, assuming that Māori needed to be educated in the ways of the Pākehā by nurturing or strictly disciplinarian, and being, in either case, paternalistically racist. Subsequently, over the years the education system has grown with those principles remaining intact (Jones, 1991).

As the Pacific community in New Zealand grew from the late 1950s with waves of migration from the Pacific Islands, the education system was further tested to adjust to a growing, ethnically diverse community. However, what history has now shown us is that adjustments were not made to accommodate diversity but rather the system was further strengthened to ensure it remained colonialist in approach and reaffirmed the one-size-fits-all approach and policy (Hassall & Stephens, 2021). By the 1980s, several educationalists began to recognise that the system was not working for Pacific Peoples, and the growing and alarming signs of large numbers of school leavers and youth leaving the compulsory sector without achieving qualifications became evident (Anae et al., 2002; Biddulph et al., 2003; Highfield, 2010; Jones, 2018).

Subsequently, over time, the government of the day established several community education providers to respond to this crisis, including establishing the first wānanga in 1981, formally recognised under the Education Amendment Act 1990 (Hawke, 1988). The principle and substance of this policy initiative are that other educational options were created for non-achievers in the system. Policy initiatives were born to deal with others who could not survive in the educational system, which required TEOs to be more responsive to meet the high unemployment demands and retraining to respond to the labour market (Crawford, 2016). Again, this initiative reaffirmed the Government's inability to respond to a structural change for its diverse and growing populations (Hawke, 1988).

An analysis of educational policy at this time would suggest that the government did not understand nor had the political will to change the NZ mainstream education system. Rather, it moved to find other pathways for non-achievers and failures in the system. The non-achievement sector, or the private training establishments (PTE) sector as it is better known, grew in the mid-1980s to be one of the largest service-provider sectors in NZ. During this growth in the 2000s, PTEs were often larger than government state-owned education institutions, signaling further that the compulsory sector was in a dire situation and the government was clearly at a loss as to how to manage the ongoing fallout of students failing (Crawford, 2016). The impact and burden fell marginally disproportionately on Māori and Pacific communities.

Yet, Codd (2002) emphasises that education is a keystone to a democratic society where the opportunity to build inclusive and cohesive societies can exist and where citizens should thrive in the economy. This clearly was not so for particular communities.

Over several decades, there have been significant developments in NZ in tertiary education outcomes for minority and indigenous communities (Highfield, 2010; Meehan et al., 2017). However, despite these advances, Pacific communities have failed to achieve equity in educational outcomes with non-Pacific people or mainstream NZ.

Many developed countries have undergone reforms in the past 20 years to try to improve educational outcomes for minority and indigenous groups (Durie, 2011; Hassall & Stephens, 2021; Hirsch & Scott, 1998; Kumar, 2009; McConaghy, 2000; Simon-Kumar, 2018). This involved initiating various approaches to try to engage in policy and with policymakers, as well as establishing political positions, such as the Minister for Indigenous Australians established in 1968. However, it was not until 2019 that Australia appointed its first indigenous Minister in the role.

Similarly, New Zealand has had a Minister for Māori Affairs since 1947, previously known as Minister for Native Affairs. Of the 44 Ministers, only 12 have been Māori (NZ Parliament, 2011). As for Ministers under the Ministry of Pacific Peoples, formerly known as Pacific Island Affairs, of the 13 appointed, only five have been Pacific. These positions were established to engage in policy to support the position of indigenous-minority peoples (Whimp, 2019), which questioned their effectiveness in policy intended to represent a people.

NZ has undertaken several reforms under the NZ TESs between 2002 and 2020. These are TES 2002-2007, TES 2007-2012, TES 2010-2015, TES-2014-2019, and TES-2020 and beyond, undertaken as part of governments' commitment to improving educational outcomes for minority and indigenous communities.

This research intends to examine and explore these experiences from various stakeholders, including Pacific community leaders who participated in the government's policy process across NZ.

It is intended that the findings from the research will enable communities to understand the challenges faced and help improve future policy processes that are developed to lift specific communities and populations' outcomes. In addition, it is intended to understand how to engage constructively and practically in developing public policy processes, while understanding the challenges, through advocacy, engagement, and dialogue.

Thus, it is intended to obtain greater insight into the findings and understanding from past learnings, knowing what has worked for minority and indigenous groups and

what has failed them. Research has indicated that these community groups struggle to participate in policy processes and, subsequently, are unable to ensure that policies address their needs, culture, language, and differences within various sectors (Duncan, 2004; Durie, 1998; Harmen, 1988; Kumar, 2009; Nursey-Bray et al., 2009), meaning that, often, policies can cause even greater disparities from a failure of recognition or ability to engage with communities.

It is intended that the research will show how this community interfaced with policy, identifying what worked in favour of or against the process. Moreover, on reflection and in hindsight, it will show the ways in which it could be improved.

> Public policy is one of the central processes through which our communities respond to major social, economic and environmental problems. They shape and determine the health, welfare, education, and the developmental opportunities of every citizen. The flexibility and creativity found in policy systems are therefore of interest and significance at every level of social life. (Considine, 1994, p. 2)

The limited research findings available to determine how Pacific communities are valued and how communities have had to conform to policy processes have been a challenge (Anae & Mila-Schaaf, 2010; Banks, 2009; O'Sullivan, 2008). Much of the research has required an analysis of other minority groups' experiences, such as Aboriginal and Māori, who have faced similar challenges. Yet, little has been revealed on how they are to engage in the process (Muthu & Grzeszczyk, 2011).

A prime example of this is Clanton, an Aboriginal actress who was interviewed on ABC Australia in a segment for *Questions and Answers* in 2018, stating that, "non-Indigenous Australians need to keep their mouths shut and start engaging the Indigenous community in the political decision-making process" (Clanton, 2018).

Another example is a document presented at the 2017 National Constitutional Convention by Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islanders, the Uluru Statement from the Heart (2017). This document was presented to the Turnbull Government with a request to have their statement considered along with the need to have an Aboriginal

Advisory to enable inclusiveness in policy decisions. However, this request was declined.

The struggle for this indigenous community has been a prolonged and contentious struggle with the government to gain access to policy. Therefore, this research may be utilised by other communities, indigenous or minority groups who seek a place to be heard, who wish to draw from lessons learned and have a greater understanding of policy processes.

Observing and being a part of the TES at differing stages and within different roles in TEOs has been an experience of the researcher best described as being part of the incoming and outgoing tides as new TESs are delivered to the sector, watching, and participating as TEOs redirect their large entities to face the oncoming and changing currents. Some changes have been turbulent, and others have gently swayed with change unnoticed.

The TESs are the navigational guides that provide direction, and what is contained in them determines how a TEO responds to meet compliance and funding. This means that while TEOs are the executing arms of government strategy, by the nature of their structure, they are also mostly wholly owned government entities. Subsequently, their incentives are often driven by funding rather than educational outcomes. TEOs' Investment Plans (previously called Charters) are adjusted, and strategies are placed to meet the desired outcomes and new directions.

The Education Act 1989 provided opportunity for several early pioneers to enter the tertiary sector. This enabled support from the inside, to support Pacific students. This strategy was primarily driven by Pacific communities and leaders advocating for mainstreaming Pacific people into institutions. Opportunities were also driven by Māori communities, which set up their first wānanga, Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Wānanga O Aotearoa, in 1984 (Pollock, 2012). The drive by those meeting the needs of Maori and Pacific communities grew substantively. By 2000, wānanga enrolments grew to 70,000 and PTE enrolments grew to 54,741 (Pollock, 2012). This brought tension within the sector having communities respond to their people and the need to address these communities in tertiary policies.

Over the years, Pacific colleagues within the tertiary sector have also adjusted to meet the needs of students and fought for the right to have Pacific positions within their institutes. They have suffered at the loss of their positions at the slightest movement or restructure of institutions and have advocated for each other to maintain positions. Amongst it all, they work tirelessly with the community and staff to support Pacific students, invest time in the curriculum and teaching pedagogies to work within the mainstream to understand Pacific better, and engage with Pacific communities.

Many Pacific staff question why the shifts over the years, why the unpredictability, why Pacific staff constantly have to tread in moving waters, why Pacific positions are not stable, set in place as a structure required by an institute, and why this is not acknowledged, when this is a growing, young population set with their eyes on tertiary study.

Yet, for TEOs, people are valued in dollars, numbers still matter, and institutional success is first measured on financial gain and growth. It is still a numbers game (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2017).

When researching Pacific Peoples and policy processes, there was little written about Pacific policy processes in education for NZ, and less so for the tertiary sector and, in particular, the TESs (Wolf & Eppel, 2021). Most of the findings on Pacific Peoples in New Zealand were based around advocacy for change or the activity to try to change policy (Anae & Mila-Schaaf, 2010).

Various other sectors revealed the challenges, changes and, specifically, the desire to address Pacific inequalities through policy in the Pacific, such as health (Snowdon et al., 2010), the need to address social policies and address social change issues (Ravulo et al., 2019), and developing reports to direct government to look at Pacific Peoples and utilise research to inform policy development in education (Anae & Mila-Schaaf, 2010).

There are reports commissioned by the government that identify Pacific Peoples as needing to be addressed in policy (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2017; Spoonley, 2020), as well as by The Treasury (Crawford, 2000). There is also research on policy and policy development in New Zealand but not explicitly addressing Pacific Peoples in education policy (Codd, 2002; Codd & Sullivan, 2005; Duncan, 2004; Shaw & Eichbaum, 2011).

However, Maaka and Flerasa, (2009) make mention of indigenising policymaking and utilising Indigenous Grounded Analysis within mainstream policy processes. They mention that, for too long, policies have maintained post-colonial processes, resisting change and the need to transform for all to live together; policies must engage politically with indigeneity.

This research will look to the community and leadership to gain this insight to provide the answers to the importance of inclusion in the process. Further, there will be an examination of models of policy in New Zealand and Australia which will be investigated with the intention of referring to these models to look for the commonalities, discrepancies, or gaps to find a new way of engaging in policy with minority or indigenous peoples of Aotearoa NZ. This will enable the research to view models of policy processes based on the findings and consider whether a new model is required to ensure inclusiveness, fairness, and righteousness in the process, to attain an opportunity to be successful and enabling, and with an opportunity to reach a level of equity, giving Pacific people better outcomes in education and, possibly, health, housing, and socio-economic levels.

To identify these challenges, the research will firstly identify policy processes and then delve deeper into three specific policy frameworks and examine their processes (Considine, 2005; Hoppe, 2017; Shaw & Eichbaum, 2011) and compare them with a NZ and Australian policy framework. Further, it will identify how indigenous peoples engage with and are included in the process, examining various countries and their indigenous peoples' experiences (Maaka & Fleras, 2009; Neale, 2004).

Furthermore, the study will examine government documentation released at different intervals through the years that encapsulates Pacific Peoples' positioning in education and identify where the need to address the disparities is clearly indicated.

1.2 Aim of Research

The overall aim of the study is to identify the policy process undertaken by the MoE to incorporate Pacific Peoples into the TESs from 2002 to 2020 and to analyse this process against policy frameworks (Althaus et al., 2018; Came, 2014; Considine, 2005; Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2014; Durie, 1998; Hoppe, 2017; Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2021; Shaw & Eichbaum, 2008; Walt, 1994).

The research further attempts to understand the participation and experience of the Pacific community and their interface and engagement with government policy processes, specifically with the TESs. There is an inherent belief that public policy and policy processes provide an opportunity for communities and stakeholders to engage in this process and advocate for their interests. Furthermore, what is intended and understood is that when a government develops policy, they are responding to a legitimate need or issue that requires intervention, or a decision that necessitates the movement of government resources to respond (Considine, 2005; Stone, 2012).

The research seeks:

1. to examine the role of key stakeholders within the Pacific community, Pacific leaders, and government officials during the Tertiary Education Strategy policy process,
2. to examine and explore the role of policy institutions in the development of the Tertiary Education Strategies and how they may have influenced the educational reform agenda,
3. to examine and analyse the political economy in which Pacific communities are a priority population for educational outcomes within the Tertiary Education Strategies, and

4. to analyse and chart the policy process of the New Zealand Tertiary Education Strategies from 2002-2020.

1.3 Significance

This study is significant for several reasons. Firstly, the research is essential for NZ and Pacific communities as NZ strives to improve its tertiary educational outcomes for Pacific people, indigenous and minority groups. Many policy efforts to improve educational outcomes have failed, as the disparities continue to exist (McLaughlin, 2003; New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2017). This community is important as Pacific people comprise 14% of the NZ population. This increase has occurred over the years since the 1960s when the migration of Pacific people in NZ took place, as people were attracted to the industries and work/labour availability.

Over the past years' migration has slowed however, Pacific communities now have 4th, 5th, and 6th generation NZ-born. The population now increases naturally, where one Pacific woman has three children compared to the rest of the NZ population, where one woman has two children. Low mortality rates accelerate this. The median age of Pacific people is 21 years compared to the NZ population at 36 years. The Pacific community is highly urbanised at 97% with 66% of the community living in Auckland alone (Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010)

Knowing these statistics, policy advisors and writers must focus on this growing, young population, as this community is essential to the future workforce. Having success in the tertiary sector enables their greater contribution to a growing economy.

Secondly, the outcomes of this research will provide policy writers with a better understanding of how to engage with minority and indigenous communities in NZ, understand the challenges and hopefully identify a process in which to engage appropriately.

Thirdly, Pacific Peoples will be provided with some historical background on the processes previously used for their inclusion in the tertiary strategies that have affected their position today.

Fourthly, the Pacific community must understand the process, strengths, and challenges of engaging in policy and the need to engage government and government processes in the future.

Fifthly, the research will provide insight that can directly impact Pacific Peoples' improvement in the social, educational, and economic outcomes for a growing Pacific community in NZ.

Sixthly, this research is significant enough to acknowledge those who have dedicated their time and effort to advocating for and contributing to the tertiary education strategies providing Pacific Peoples with a voice.

Lastly, this research will provide both communities and policy writers with an understanding of each other's strengths and differences in policy processes, which may finally change the rhetoric around the disparities that currently exist for Pacific Peoples and indigenous peoples in tertiary education today.

As quoted by Dr Brook Barrington, Head of Policy Profession for New Zealand, Chief Executive, Department of the Prime Minister, and Cabinet aptly suggests,

> The diverse and unique characteristics of Pacific peoples are a source of strength to New Zealand. As public servants, we have a responsibility to ensure we are formulating and implementing policy with an awareness of these characteristics, to improve Pacific outcomes and reduce the inequities some communities currently face (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2017, p 9).

1.4 Overview of Methods

To identify the policy process undertaken by the MoE and TEC to incorporate Pacific Peoples into the TESs, the research utilised a qualitative case study methodology (Berman, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995). This methodology supports the understanding of an event or case enabling an in-depth process to gain insight into the experiences that occurred through the policy process (Stake, 1995).

This will be underpinned by Talanoa research methodology as this is mainly focused on Pacific people and carried out by a Pacific researcher (Vaioleti, 2006).

It is important to use a methodology that is recognised, understood, familiar and incorporates the values and protocols of the people. This study used a mixture of methods to answer the research questions. The questions were asked either in a group, in face-to-face interviews or on Zoom, considering the restrictions set around Covid and lockdowns. It is important to enable the community or participants to make their own choice as to how they wish to respond to the questions (Nabobo-Baba, 2006).

1.4.1 Research question one – What was your understanding of the Tertiary Education Strategies when you were in your role or as a stakeholder?

In the first instance, it was essential to gauge whether the participants all come from the same position and understand the TES. This would then support the following questions as the TES is pivotal to the research. The interview, face-to-face, or a focus group of four participants as a maximum number was the method chosen to answer the research questions. This enabled the researcher to fully engage with the participant, and show empathy and reassurance about confidentiality (Schram, 2003). Pacific people are more likely to respond with sincerity and trust if the researcher takes the time to meet and greet them as is the cultural norm. There is often suspicion when one comes to research and why it is being done in the Pacific community (Nabobo-Baba, 2006).

1.4.2 Research question two – From your experience or knowledge, how did Pacific Peoples gain access to the policy process?

This question was crucial as it asked the participants for their view on their own experience in engaging with the process. This view came from participants who are inside the community as well as outside of the community.

1.4.3 Research question three – What did you do to address the process or to engage with the process?

This key question was intended to understand if the participants had the opportunity or requested the opportunity to engage in the policy process, to seek out whether they were proactive or were identified by the MoE or TEC to engage in the consultations for the TES or if they themselves had to try to find a way in.

1.4.4 Research question four – From your experience, how well are Pacific Peoples included in the process and what do you think would support the process for this community?

This question aimed to help the researcher enable a conversation to bring forth their thoughts, feelings, and experiences in the process. The researcher had to gain a sense of the participants' understanding of the process and, from their point of view, what would help to better engage the Pacific community.

1.4.5 Research question five – In hindsight what could the Tertiary Education Commission have done to better engage Pacific Peoples in the process of developing the Tertiary Education Strategies?

In gaining this feedback, the researcher hoped to identify where policy advisors and those who facilitated the consultations could obtain views from the Pacific community on how the institutions could better engage with them or how they had hoped to be engaged. What in their view works or does not work when engaging with the Pacific community?

1.4.6 Research question six – In hindsight what could Pacific Peoples have done better to engage in the Tertiary Education Strategies?

To ensure that not all responsibility was laden on the policy advisors, facilitators, or institutions, it was important to see how this community could reflect on how they might better engage and improve their engagement with policy processes. But also

gauge how those not of the Pacific community could provide insight into how Pacific Peoples could better engage.

> It is this as well as through face-to-face interaction, words spoken and behaviour (non-verbal body language, and so on), with purposeful and positive outcomes of the relationship in mind, that the relationship progresses and moves forward. For many Pasifika people, to not do this will incur the wrath of the gods, the keepers of tapu, and positive, successful outcomes will not eventuate, progress will be impeded, parties to the relationship will be put at risk, and appeasement and reconciliation will need to be sought. (Anae & Mila-Schaaf, 2010, p. 12)

A questionnaire also supported the research by enabling the researcher to identify each participant's ethnicity, role, gender, and institution. Not all participants were Pacific, given the intention of capturing differing and unbiased views. Positioning or identifying roles within institutes or organisations was important as one would expect, with people in leadership positions, that they would have a certain amount of authority within their specific specialties and yet provide varying views. The interest in gender is to see if their feedback or engagement with policy was viewed differently or received different responses from policy advisors and institutes alike. All consultations and interviews were conducted in English, to enable the various Pacific Peoples to converse with each other, considering the different Pacific ethnicities and non-Pacific participants. However, a Pacific translator was always on offer.

1.5 Preview of Thesis

Chapter One provides the topic and the background as to why the researcher has chosen to research policy processes and to understand what has been observed and experienced thus far in the sector. The chapter also provides the aims, the significance, and the six questions put forward to the participants, briefly providing reasons as to why these specific questions were formulated.

Chapter Two provides key literature that will be discussed and referred to throughout the thesis. Policy frameworks are examined by looking at the strengths and

weaknesses of these frameworks and the process that people using these frameworks undertook when engaging with communities, stakeholders, actors, and institutions (Considine, 2005; Hoppe, 2017; Shaw & Eichbaum, 2008). The chapter will also draw upon research experienced by other minority and indigenous groups in their own countries (Bishop, 2003; Horrocks et al., 2012; Muthu & Grzeszczyk, 2011; Uluru Statement from the Heart in Australia, 2017) where indigenous peoples confronted policy processes. By identifying their similarities, strengths, and weaknesses, this process will contribute to the end findings in aligning themes. Government documentation that was released at the time of each of the tertiary strategies that identify Pacific Peoples and indicators of change in the sector will also be examined. Placed alongside this will be prominent events that may have influenced policy movement and agendas.

Chapter Three will examine each of the TESs individually over the years 2002-2020, each being viewed with a Pacific lens. Underpinning the examination of the strategies will be a view of the political and economic environment, the identification of government documentation and the significance or impact this had on policies and processes.

Chapter Four will discuss the research frameworks and methodologies. The qualitative case study methodology (George & Bennett, 2004; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2014) and Talanoa methodology (Vaioleti, 2006) complement the research undertaken and the participants that were interviewed. The chapter also provides a Fijian framework which is used as an example of the process from an ethnic point of view, taking into consideration protocols that were considered when interviewing the participants. This includes the researcher's position, data collection process, the questions, and ethical issues.

Chapter Five will provide the themes and domains within the research journey, providing insight into the participants, the interview process, and some of the highlights experienced which were unexpected, bringing an in-depth understanding to the discussion, followed by the six questions and the feedback. Each question is followed by a reflection summary from the researcher. This chapter will enable the reader to gain a greater sense of how the discussion of each question took place,

identifying and elaborating on the natural process of Talanoa and the discussion that comes about from those who may lead or influence thought. Further, it will provide insight into how statements or voices were agreed upon.

Chapter Six will provide the analysis which broadens upon the findings and captures themes and domains with greater depth and further examines the discussion and feedback. The chapter will explain the process and how the researcher came to code and identify headings under each of the questions generating themes, and those which led to domain summaries.

Chapters Seven, Can You See Me? will examine theories that the findings have identified and will discuss why some of the themes and domains have appeared throughout the discussion. The researcher felt it was important to bring this to the reader's attention in regard to the complexities around a race of people. This brings with it historical, political, and contentious issues that need to be known to bring greater understanding and to find answers or the reasoning for the recommendations provided.

Chapter Eight provides a set of recommendations for both the TEC and the MoE, and recommendations for the Pacific community to enable a better, more improved, more engaged policy process for the Pacific community, with the intention of obtaining better outcomes. Alongside this is a proposed model of how to engage with the Pacific community.

This is followed by the research references and appendices.

1.6 Challenges of the study

There were quite a few challenges within the research which will also be expanded upon in the methodology chapter. The study had the intention of interviewing most if not all participants face-to-face, with a preference for group discussions. This sits with the methodology proposed, especially when engaging in Talanoa. However, the country, specifically Auckland City, was required under Covid restrictions to lockdown for long periods and many weeks, with limited engagement, and utilising

Zoom was the next best alternative. Of the fifteen participants, ten were interviewed face-to-face, of whom four participated in a group discussion, and five were interviewed on zoom.

One of the disappointments was that a key participant could not be reached due to their workload and illness. This person was crucial in establishing the first TES for Pacific Peoples and played a major role in government with significant influence.

The researcher managed to gain a conversation from a prominent MP by phone which was an informal conversation that also led to some of the questions in the research. This interview was not captured in the research due to it being outside the time frame, and not all questions suggested were asked. However, the conversation provided invaluable insight. It is a regret that this research did not capture this participant's views formally in the process.

Time and the accessibility of people were always a challenge when it came to interviewing; however, gaining participation from a diverse range of people, from different roles, perspectives, and ethnicities, helped capture views contributing to the research.

Accessing historical documentation was challenging, specifically finding evidence of consultation with communities or feedback gained regarding the TESs.

1.7 Chapter summary

This chapter provided a summary of each of the chapters in the research, affording beforehand a glimpse of what the study has captured and where particular aspects of the research can be found throughout the document. Further, it provided the research questions that were asked of the participants to gain greater insight into and understanding of the consultation process. The following chapter provides a Literature review of the findings based around the research topic.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter begins by examining what policy is and why policy is important, then looks at grey literature to do with public policy and the definitions. Further, it seeks to understand why the policy process is important for communities to participate and the rights of citizens to be able to engage. This continues with an in-depth view and perspective of the Pacific community, specifically within education, and why this community needs to be a part of the policy process. Various models of policy processes are then examined to gain insight into how policies are carried out if they engage with the community and at what points of entry in the process (Considine, 2005; Hoppe, 2017; Shaw & Eichbaum, 2008; Walt, 1994). This provides context to the questions being asked in the research. Following this is an investigation into indigenous people's experiences with policy processes in their own countries, within New Zealand and Australian settings, to provide insight into challenges being faced within the current models, thus providing a good foundation for the reasons to investigate policy processes for an indigenous minority population. The chapter also highlights specific government documentation relative to Pacific people's education from 2002 to 2020.

2.1 What is Policy?

Public policy has many definitions and explanations of what policy is, but most agree by and large that a policy is an authoritative response to a public issue or problem (Considine, 2005; Hoppe, 2017; Shaw & Eichbaum, 2008; Althaus et al., 2018). It is a means by which government can direct resources, grant rights, and provide entitlements to address issues or enable people or organisations to respond (Alexander, 2012; Althaus et al., 2018; Marshall, 2000; Taylor et al., 2013). Policy can derive from a political authority or response to a public issue; it could be

intentional, or it could be political in nature, and it helps shape the government of the day's philosophy.

Policy is fundamental for any citizen, community, or group to be engaged in. Therefore, policies delivered by the government should incorporate a series of processes to ensure that policies are based on sound research and consultation to obtain favourable outcomes for citizens. There is a notion that public policy processes improve outcomes for the community and, thus, the process must be inclusive, identifying the problem and providing the solution. Within this process is also the influence of actors or political influencers and institutions who have the ear or mandate of the government of the day (Considine, 2005; Mazey & Richardson, 2021). Yet, it is not as simple as this, as people are within and amongst the process. People themselves are complex, especially when they bring with them their political propositions, cultural norms, values, leaders, perspectives, and influencers. This is in addition to the foundations of policy embedded into the nation's processes which are different from the country itself, which in this case is based on a parliamentary system under the Westminster Model (Chen & Palmer, 1993).

Public policy, as suggested by Shaw and Eichbaum (2008), is very much bound up in the actions of a government that influence and affect the day-to-day lives of citizens. It is politics working at the forefront by increasing or decreasing taxes, controlling student interest rates, or increasing student loans and allowances. These are the decisions described through policies that affect or influence us all.

There are many recognised processes in developing good policy, and most will look to incorporate the community voice, but the point where the community dips in and then exits out is not necessarily identified. The need to incorporate community is of highest importance as these are the communities that enable policy implementation to take place. Governments propose to process policy with 'good intentions', yet their environment is full of shifting opinions and influences, and there is often not one way to develop good policy, nor one consistent way, but there are models intended to describe how this can be done (Parkin, 2021).

Gregory et al. (2008) emphasises the need to engage community in the development of policy, stressing the need to use deliberate techniques to come to a joint consensus and understanding around process, problem-solving and solution-finding. This, in turn, enables better policies and implementation when a policy has been discussed and debated, improving public awareness around complex issues to find a solution.

Furthermore, Gregory et al. (2008) suggest that this is an exception to what usually happens as the engagement is institutionalised, regulated, and influenced when going through the process of legislation. Policy processes may begin with good intentions to collaborate; however, the process ends up out of the community's hands. Agger (2012) also mentions that good policy involves public participation, and those developing the policy should tailor their process to enable this. However, it must also be recognised that, between scholars and practitioners, there are systemic exclusions. The process often leads to knowledge about who participates and how, which is essential to enhancing the understanding of participatory processes.

Hoppe (2017) describes policy as an intellectual and political process that is unstructured and structured, problematic at best and influenced by time and space. Policy is often messy because so many complexities influence and direct how it is developed.

The research will examine and come to an understanding of how indigenous and minority groups are included in this process, especially if a policy is directed specifically to meeting an identified problem or, in this case, a people. In NZ this is particularly important for those who come from a minority or indigenous community. Therefore, having input into policies such as the TESs becomes a significant vehicle for addressing some of the challenges these communities face, as it impacts their social and economic positioning in society and contribution as citizens, which can affect generations within a community. Policy in education is regarded as a keystone of a democratic society where the opportunity to build inclusive and cohesive societies can exist, and citizens can enjoy the rewards of a thriving economy (Codd, 2002; Hassall & Karacaoglu, 2021).

Much research looks at policy processes, especially with indigenous and minority groups. Many espouse similar theories around exclusion and the contradictions of processes, the undermining of one against another, and the processes that remain, particularly under Westernised constraints in education (Mulgan, 2019; Muthu & Grzeszczyk, 2011; Neale, 2004; Ozgur & Kulac, 2017). The policy process is not intended to be inclusive, based on its historical development, and by design it is a linear process that creates categories and social divisions by gender, class, geography, age, and ethnicity (El-Ojeli & Barber, 2021). The process is fraught with complexities from politics, advocacy, institutions, policy culture, the economy, indigenous representation, minority groups, age, and gender through the various diaspora of society, to mention a few.

Literature on tertiary education participation and success for Pacific people continues to highlight the disparities in tertiary outcomes. They are spoken of and written about even by policymakers themselves (Crawford, 2000) and by researchers also (Anae et al., 2002; Biddulph et al., 2003; Bishop, 2003; Nakhid, 2003). It does little for those who are part of this community to be continuously researched, prodded, and preyed upon, investigated, and often highlighted for their failings identified within comparative data showing underachievement, and referred to as the brown tail of failure. Yet, over the years, Pacific people have had to find a way to contribute and advocate for their communities, to find access to policymakers and governments with limited opportunity. This barrier remains a challenge today. Therefore, communities need to be better informed as to what elements of policy are required to interface within the policy process, and those who are policy writers also need to understand how to engage and value communities.

When identified, these elements need to be utilised and broadened to give the reader a view of the challenges so that when new policies are required or existing policies are being reviewed, a broader knowledge is gained and the limitations regarding engagement become fewer and, thus, the contribution to policy are greater.

The MoE sets the policies for education nationally in the early childhood, compulsory, and tertiary sectors. While this research was being written, a new Education and Training Act came into force on 1 August 2020. It incorporates and

replaces the Education Acts of 1964 and 1989 (MoE, 2020d) and on Friday, 13 November 2020, the minister released the new TES 2020 (https://www.tec.govt.nz/focus/our-focus/tes/). This TES will also be included in this research as a case study for policy processes.

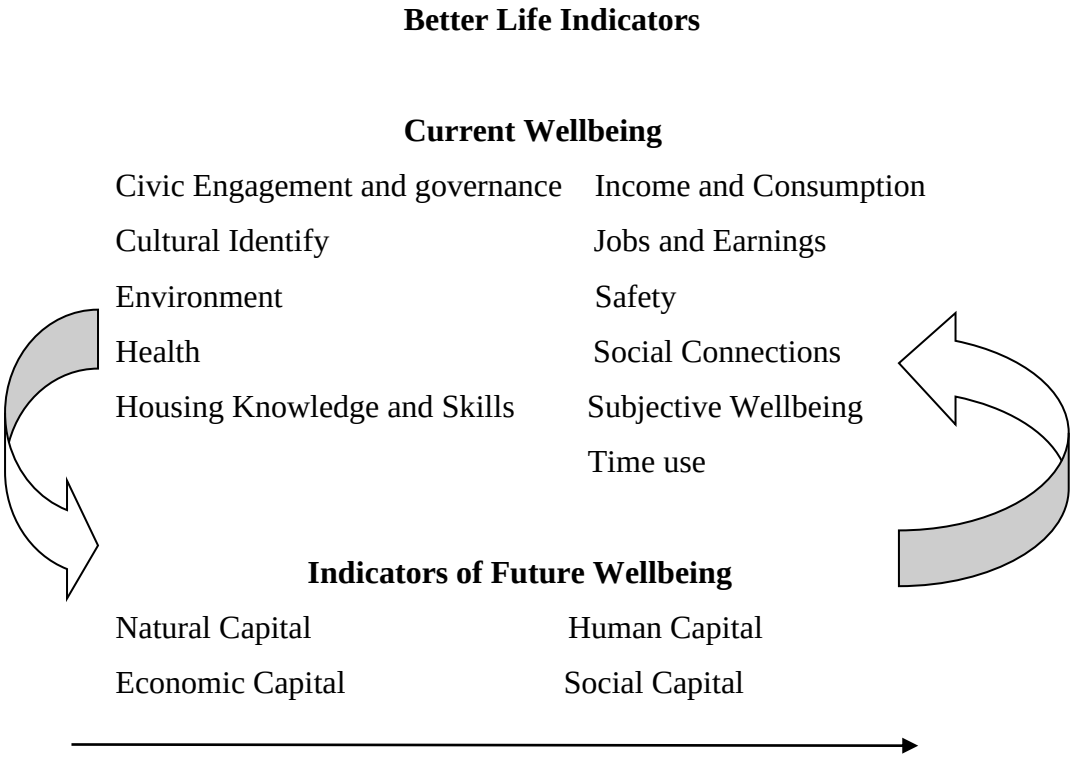
> Policy decisions will typically be influenced by much more than objective evidence, or rational analysis. Values, interests, personalities, timing, circumstance and happenstance— in short, democracy—determine what actually happens. (Banks, 2009, p. 3)

2.2 The role of the state

In Aotearoa New Zealand policy is proposed to be a deliberate effort to enhance and improve the lives of communities, designed to influence, with proposed positive outcomes. Those that contribute to policy are businesses, government, and other entities. The process is organised and managed by government central, regional, and local through various agencies and departments and or collective agencies that may be affected by the products or services driven by a particular policy (Hassall & Karacaoglu, 2021). As government acquires the right to govern, so too does it to an extent, manage how or who it engages with that are affected by polices. It is fair to say that government does not know how people want to live their lives, therefore relies on surveys, research, economic indicators, empirical evidence, and a broad sense of what people may value or influence at the time.

These are indicated and heavily influenced by the New Zealand Treasury, Better Life Indicators, (2017) which provides a list identifying what the populations wellbeing requirements are, as well as what the future indicators should be to enhance the wellbeing of the population.

Figure: 1 New Zealand Treasury (2017)



The government provides policy that affects and increases human capital and social capital to strengthen social cohesion. By increasing future and current wellbeing, investment in the above should bring about greater prosperity, social cohesion, equity, personal freedoms, and political voice. This prosperity also impacts and contributes to the country's economic prosperity.
(OECD, Better life Index, 2017).

2.3 Policy, taxes and who benefits.

Policy implementation requires funding, therefore government accesses taxes. The taxes (our taxes) are managed by the Treasury which is the governments lead advisor on economic policy. Consequently, Treasury has a direct influence on where, what, and how much is spent. The Treasury is responsive to the Minister of Finance as well as the country. These priorities may or may not align with those who wish to influence policy, however the authority of the day, is who drives the policy process.

The treasury states three strategic intentions.
Priority one: Intergenerational wellbeing.
Priority two: System Stewardship
Priority three: Performance reporting
New Zealand Treasury, (2021-2025).

Government's require taxes through various forms to mention a few, pay as you go, collecting revenue through taxes on income, wealth and expenditure, savings made like Kiwisaver which the state then invests, or the government may wish to borrow either internally or externally off other economies. Each of these avenues for revenue can have equity, intergenerational implications if not implemented fairly and therefore are highly political.

The government also decides who they should support. If a provision should be universal or conditional such as, who gets free vaccinations based on ethnicity or income? What provision will provide the greatest effect on the economy for example, agriculture or small business enterprises? Again, these decisions can have high political stakes from those who may feel as if they are being missed out or will not benefit from the government's actions. However, all of us pay taxes and all of us feel as if we should have a say in how this money is spent. The ideologies mentioned above are those that the decision makers are informed by. Considering advice received from public servants, political parties, and constituents, and often those in the political arena who voice their concerns loudly.

With the abundance of issues and challenges that New Zealand is under and required to respond to such as Covid responses, health sector, education sector, agriculture, businesses, housing supply to mention a few, the voices of those concerned with the sectors raise their discontent with government. These may include doctors, nurses, teachers, farmers, business owners, unemployed, homeless and first home buyers. Then there are those on the periphery which are impacted by many of the areas above.

2.4 When Minority Populations Become Priority Populations

'Pacific Peoples' is a term often used within policy and government documentation to describe a community of people living in NZ, who migrated or who identify with the Pacific Islands because of ancestry or heritage (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003). However, the term 'Pacific Peoples' does not refer to a single ethnicity, nationality, or culture. The term is convenient and is used to encompass a diverse range of people of different ethnicities and backgrounds who have Pacific language, culture, and nationality (Anae et al., 2002; Macpherson et al., 2001). This research will use the one term 'Pacific Peoples' to encompass the several Pacific nations that are included.

The migration of Pacific Peoples to NZ in the 1950s and more so in the 1970s saw large numbers, mostly Samoans, attracted to the possible opportunities that NZ had to offer (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Fraenkel, 2012; Macpherson et al., 2001; Whimp, 2019). As the years passed, a new generation, now 60% NZ-born Pacific Peoples, declared their place, their home, NZ. It was soon evident this was a growing community and that the Pacific population trended towards a younger population with stronger natural birth rates than the average New Zealander such that, by 2026, 30% of the working age population in Auckland is projected to be Pacific. The median age is 22 years in comparison to the rest of NZ at 38 years, and one in three births in Auckland is a child of Pacific heritage (Statistics New Zealand and Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2010). This trend saw opportunities for the Pacific migrants, and Pacific-NZ born children, to enter the New Zealand tertiary education sector.

Before the 1980s, little was mentioned about specific groups within the tertiary sector until equity and access was described as a requirement for change (Crawford, 2016; E-Tangata, 2020). As migrants and indigenous groups became a more prominent, younger part of the population it was evident that inequities in educational success were emerging. Thus, the younger working age group was limited in its access to tertiary education (Anae et al., 2002; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2013). Pacific communities had long identified these disparities and knew that affirmative action would have to take place to see a change in the sector.

Pacific Peoples in NZ have been identified as a priority population based upon their commonalities, shared cultural and historical heritage, and social characteristics, and founded upon statistics showing they are disproportionately at risk (Education Review Office, 2012). 'Priority population' is a term often used as strength-based rather than deficit- or needs-based, under the requirement for and right to equality under human rights law. These populations are identified as individuals and or groups that are vulnerable, marginal, disadvantaged or socially excluded (United Nations International Human Rights Instruments, 2004). Such vulnerable groups may include women, rural women, children, ethnic and religious minorities, and refugees.

Additionally, the UN Human Rights Treaty bodies have drawn attention in their general comments to the plight of other vulnerable groups, including disabled persons, the elderly, and indigenous peoples (United Nations International Human Rights Instruments, 2004). It is therefore incumbent upon governments to produce policies that enable minority and indigenous communities' opportunities to obtain a level of equity.

The following identifies Pacific people's statistics, revealing poor outcomes across various sectors. Although one does not like to work in the deficit, it is understood that this is one of the significant reasons for greater accountability from the government and the need for policies to be enablers for a community. These are as follows:

Population growth – identifying the increase in birth rates and of Pacific people having a young population in comparison to the general population. This population is growing three times faster than the NZ population. (Ministry of Health, 2021a).

Educational outcomes – are low in comparison to the general population, noting the low success rates in National Certificate in Educational Achievement level 3 and the lower achievement rates in the tertiary sector. Education in the tertiary sector showed an increase in participation rates in level 4 programmes and upwards from 2009 at 10,252 enrolments and in 2003 this increased to 12,875 enrolments. However, only one in ten Pacific students' complete tertiary education (Chu et al., 2013; MoE, 2020b).

Housing – Pacific people are less likely to own their homes and tend to rent poor housing due to cost. Overcrowding is a primary concern especially when it impacts the health of those in the house. These problems exacerbate child health outcomes and the spread of infectious diseases, 48.5% of Pacific people's homes are overcrowded (Statistics New Zealand, 2018).

Health – smoking rates are higher among Pacific people than Europeans and are one of the leading causes of death, diabetes, nutrition problems, and high blood pressure (Ministry of Health, 2021a).

Employment – Pacific people work mainly in manufacturing, wholesale, and retail. Yet, it is predicted that jobs for the next 10 years in NZ will be in healthcare and construction. Only 9% of Pacific people are in professional, scientific, and technical services, 10% are in transport and warehousing, and only 18% in construction. (MBIE, 2019).

Let it be clear that not all Pacific people remain within these statistics. However, it is important to show how this community has emerged in and amongst the NZ population.

These changing dynamics within the NZ community require attention from policy writers and governments alike to capture this community's values, ideas, cultural perspectives, and richness and hear from their perspective the solutions to the challenges faced, yet simultaneously acknowledging the socio-economic contribution that Pacific Peoples make in contributing 30% of Auckland's workforce (MBIE, 2019).

2.5 Global Recognition of the Inclusion of Indigenous and Minority Communities

Global recognition of indigenous and minority peoples is slowly emerging, ensuring that change takes place with advocacy from within international forums. These platforms emphasise the need to recognise indigenous and minority peoples, ensuring

acknowledgment and incorporation into policy processes. The United Nations mentions the importance of educational outcomes and that failing to meet these outcomes through policy will cause controversial and escalating social development issues in the 21st Century (United Nations. Peace, Dignity and Equality on a Healthy Planet).

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the General Assembly on Thursday, 13 September 2007. Most countries were in favour of the declaration and 144 signed up, while four did not sign. These were Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. Nine years later, New Zealand joined and signed the declaration of indigenous peoples. Still NZ sees the declaration as a general view and sees this document as inspirational without any binding force or expectation as to how it is to impact law and polices (Toki, 2017). Knowing that the United Nations has stated the importance of indigenous peoples, one would have thought this would have been at the forefront of policy processes ensuring their inclusiveness.

The OECD emphasises the importance of tertiary education and higher education policies that bring to the forefront policies that address the inequities in the education sector. It declares that people with a tertiary education in an OECD country can earn 55% more than those without a tertiary qualification; those with higher education have greater job prospects and tend to have a higher level of socio-economic success and therefore higher levels of access to health and increased life expectancy (OECD, 2012).

Therefore, policies must ensure that minority and indigenous peoples are provided with success and access in this sector, enabling equitable outcomes to progress.

The Director of policy under the OECD mentions the inequity for Māori and Pacific Peoples stating, “Māori and Pacific Islander students represent more than one-third of the student population, and diversity of the student population is increasing, while they face lower outcomes and may be less likely to complete their secondary education” (OECD, 2013).

A good example of the challenges faced in NZ in developing policy to address disparities is a policy named ‘Closing the Gaps’ from the 1999 Labour election campaign which was to be implemented in the NZ budget in 2000 (Turia, 2000).

The ‘Closing the Gaps’ policy addressed the disparities specifically amongst Māori and Pacific Peoples, intending to close the inequities. These inequities were identified in a report in 1998 under Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK), the Ministry of Māori Development, within Honourable Tariana Turia’s speech at the Beehive (Turia, 2000).

However, when released this document was challenged by a Member of Parliament, Winston Peters, who claimed that this document gave Māori privileges and called it Social Apartheid. So too did the opposition party leader, Don Brash, who later claimed ‘One Citizenship’ for all in 2004. Six months after the ‘Closing the Gaps’ document was released the government changed the name to ‘Reducing Inequalities’. This was to appease those who felt that Māori and Pacific Peoples were being privileged through a policy. This process emphasises the strength of the opposition when minority and indigenous peoples challenge the mono-cultural status of a country in a way that threatens the distribution of resources. It had been hoped that document would address the disparities in education. Still, it failed to be implemented.

In the1960s, NZ espoused some of the highest OECD outcomes and it was reported in the 1962 Currie Report (Scott, 1996) that equity in education was being realised. However, in the early 1970s, the first inklings appeared that things were not going well, more so in the Curriculum Review of 1987. Reports on inequity started to emerge that minority populations indicated that Māori and Pacific Peoples were not achieving, specifically Māori students, where it was mentioned that better care in meeting Māori Students' needs was to be promoted through the curriculum. Yet, this fell by the wayside even after 21,000 submissions to support the change were signed (Olssen & Mathews, 1997).

Meanwhile, the OECD signalled to NZ that its social development outcomes were falling behind the rest of the world, and those who were not attaining were Māori and Pacific students (OECD, 2013).

The position had changed for NZ since, as mentioned, a new generation of migrant children, NZ-born, started to enter the tertiary sector. Pacific communities became more prominent and the evidence more explicit. It became an unavoidable reality that current educational systems were not meeting the needs of the Pacific community.

One approach that took place in 2007 was a collaboration between Pacific researchers and the MoE to find a way forward to inform policymakers of the importance of research-informed policymaking and those contracted by the MoE produced a report to substantiate the need to engage:

> Teu le va is about bringing researchers and policy makers together within a shared agenda and common processes to help provide optimal education outcomes for and with Pasifika learners. It is clear that conventional approaches and thinking have not always been up to the task of dealing with Pasifika education issues. After discussion with Pasifika education researchers, policymakers, and other change leaders in education, Teu le va has been developed to provide the case for developing new and different kinds of relationships for the exposure and translation of knowledge into policy aimed at Pasifika success in education. (Anae &Mila-Schaaf, 2010, p. 1)

This document was written in 2010. It is one of the only documents written by Pacific researchers in NZ that addresses the need for policy writers to directly take heed of Pacific research and researchers when writing or engaging with policy. The document also emphasises the disparities in education and that much research conducted to date must be taken into consideration to inform policy. Disheartening to say, little has been taken note of, as this document was written in 2010, and there is still limited evidence regarding the response.

This is also evident over the last 20 years with the release of five TESs. The strategies show inconsistency in their direction to prioritise Pacific learners and their

community, as evidenced in each of the TESs, where government priorities for Pacific Peoples keep moving.

In 2002-07, Pacific Peoples were prioritised and had a specific strategy identifying them as a priority (MoE, 2002c). In 2007-12, Pacific Peoples were not identified but assumed to be under the label 'all New Zealanders" (MoE, 2007). In 2010-15 Pacific Peoples were listed with all other priority groups. These include, under 25s, Māori, Pacific, and those requiring literacy and numeracy (MoE, 2010). In 2014-19 Pacific Peoples were identified alongside Māori under the same priority (MoE & MBIE, 2014). Come 2020, Pacific Peoples are not explicitly identified, and there is no specific priority other than to make mention under Objective 2, Barrier Free Access (MoE, 2019 a). This shows the inconsistency in the direction of the government and its varying policies influenced by the political and socio-economic influencers of the day, and this is further expanded upon in Chapter three.

2.6 Ministry for Pacific Peoples

The government established the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs in 1990 (now known as Ministry for Pacific Peoples), led by the first Minister of Pacific Island Affairs (MPIA), Richard Prebble, who was appointed in 1984 under the Labour Government. Previously, from the 1920s into the 1980s Pacific people's interests were the responsibility of the Department of Māori Affairs, then, later, the Department of Māori and Island Affairs (Whimp, 2019).

The current Ministry for Pacific Peoples (MPP) proposes to be the portal to address and advocate for Pacific people through political channels to meet the needs of this community. In doing so, the Ministry provides policy advice to Ministers and partner agencies, as stated on their website (https://www.mpp.govt.nz/about-us/). However, it is a small government ministry by comparison to others that has managed to maintain itself through many controversies and political badgering over the years, despite its size and demand from this growing community faced with the many complexities and socio-economic challenges of this community.

> MPP's core business falls into three areas. These are policy advice, programmes and partnering. These are the right areas of focus for MPP. We have made some comments already about the need for a lift in the policy, research and evaluation capacity and capability of MPP. It is seen as being too reactive and not strategic enough in its thinking to provide meaningful insights into the resolution of seemingly intractable problems. (New Zealand Government, 2017, p. 23)

Within MPP's Strategic Intentions Document 2017-2020 (MPP, 2017), the ministry identifies just three areas of focus. These are Increasing Pacific Income and Wealth, Building Pacific Leadership, and Strengthening Pacific Language, Culture, and Identity. Under Wealth and Income there are desired results indicating MPP's role: "By providing expert policy advice to Ministers and partner agencies supporting the development of effective strategies and programmes targeted at Pacific communities" (MPP, 2017, p. 17).

Meanwhile, the Pacific community in NZ continues to grow, and generations of Pacific Peoples need to be confident that the system supports their progress into the tertiary sector. The MPP policy process is discussed further in this chapter.

The following sections will provide the reader with a view of policy models, as well as New Zealand and Australia's model, which is based on the Westminster model. Following this will be examples of indigenous and Pacific policy models. These models will be examined, addressing some of the complexities faced when these communities attempt to interface with their country's policy processes.

2.7 Public Continuum

One example of a policy process is through a public continuum. In this case, the government decides how it will interact with communities, for example, in a horizontal process for engaging communities (Smith, 2003).

Figure 2 The public continuum

(Smith, 2003, p. 36.)

This diagram shows that information is exchanged openly at the beginning through a process of consultation and dialogue, which is much valued (Smith, 2003). At each point, Smith (2003) identifies the purpose as ensuring open discussion and decentralised decision making. At the end, a shared jurisdiction purpose identifies the need to recognise a constitutional assignment of powers, which make allocation choices for groups making challenges in a decentralised political context. The process itself is driven by a Westernised structured process. However, at the end of the process, only a privileged few get to see the result.

2.8 Bottom-up, Top-down

Other processes offer bottom-up, top-down approaches where implementers, otherwise known as the community, are considered an essential contribution to policy as they become policy drivers. This is an alternative to the top-down approach where the policy writers are merely managers and those implementing have not been incorporated or consulted and thus may disengage (Walt, 1994).

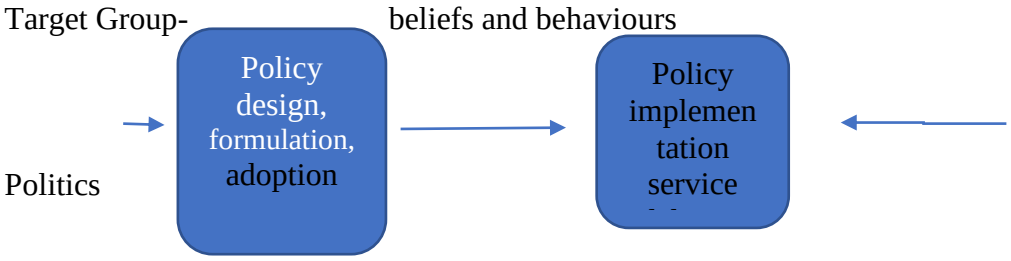
Figure 3 Top-down, bottom-up

The first triangle depicts the contribution and value given to the community, and the policy writers are just the writers, represented by the smaller segment of the contribution. The second triangle, more commonly used, is where the community has limited consultation, and policy writers are the key informants and drivers of the policy process.

Communities have provided insights in order to request policy changes, highlighted issues, and researched and found evidence to show policy actors and institutions areas that require addressing. This point is stressed in the *Teu Le Va* report (Anae & Mila-Schaaf, 2010), which argues that the emphasis on drawing on and engaging with communities is essential and directs policy writers to take policy directions from research-based evidence.

2.9 Forward and Backward Mapping

Figure 4 Forward and backward mapping



(Hoppe, 2017, p. 9)

Hoppe (2017) suggests that reflective policy processes require relevant actors to balance the forward mapping process of politicians and entrepreneurs and the backward mapping of implementers and citizens. This process proposes that the policy developers gain a broader view of what is around them through framing questions. However, Hoppe (2017) also makes mention of the power play of politicians that is often brought to the forefront, namely the domination of the policy discourse by promoting one's own framework and agenda over others.

The three models of policy processes propose to promote a structure or a way forward with less emphasis on the influences and impact on policy from external

factors. Such as stepping out of the structured process with the incorporation of the community voice, unlike Walt (1994), where the community voice was heard in the first instance. Policy, as mentioned, is not a straightforward process yet, each of these processes is quite structured, and this leaves little room for the voice of the community or those outside of the policy process for whom policies should be written. The policy process also lacks space for a policy development process to come back to the common voice to ensure that what had initially been proposed is still retained within the policy. In other words, communities have no feedback loop to see how they have contributed, been considered, or valued.

Research has indicated that many indigenous and minority groups struggle to ensure that policies address their needs, culture, language, and differences within various sectors (Duncan, 2004; Durie, 1998; Harman, 1998; Kumar, 2009; Nursey-Bray et al., 2009). Layer upon this the bureaucracy, where the government promotes its interests and agenda. Then another layer, which in this case is a group of Pacific people representing several different nations, with different cultures, languages, and ways of being, yet represented through NZ policy as one people, Pacific people (Macpherson et al., 2001).

2.10 Westminster Policy Structure

The Westernised policy framework stems from Westminster in the United Kingdom. NZ's parliament is based on a Westminster parliamentary structure, its laws and powers are based on a constitutional system where the power of decision-makers are held (Chen & Palmer, 1993; Hassall & Stephens, 2021). The structure of a parliamentary system such as Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) has considerable influence over policymaking, affecting the direction of policies (Lewis, 2005).

Its structure is defined as it has been for hundreds of years, with processes in place to create government policies. Colebatch (2017) asserts that policy is a concept known to those in government, who understand the process's complexities and politics. Knowing that, government is seen as where much of the bureaucracy of decision making is generated, defined, and agreed to, with the politics of creating allies,

overthrowing opponents, creating distractions and barriers to enable the power shift of decision making (Considine, 2005).

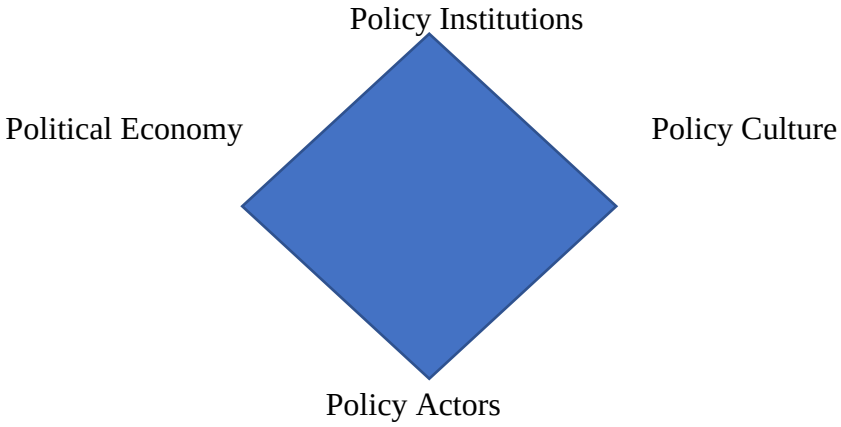
Considine (2005) has referred to this process as ‘historical embeddedness’, where policies are created and responded to differently, where rules and laws are “bargains between rulers and ruled, past and present” (p. 4). So, competition for positioning within policy processes is challenging, considering where it historically stemmed from and what it has been built upon. Therefore, the policy process can be seen to be exclusive.

According to Walt (1994), there are specific approaches to policy that communities need to be acquainted with, encompassing two broad sets of views on policy processes. These are Micro theories, which focus on the political systems and administrative routines, while the Macro theories concentrate on the political economy and how it responds. As well as, identifying key institutes that are vital contributors to and critical agents of change or acknowledging policy actors as influencers who may provide leadership or are politically connected. This landscape is to be traversed with the right tools, knowledge, and a political compass to get one's community from the point of engagement with government to policymakers.

2.11 Considine Model

Considine (2005) provides a model of the policy process based on two major dimensions of the process. One is termed the Political Economy, which relates to the material and intellectual domains concerned with resources, and the other is the Intellectual, which he refers to as the culture of policymaking, concerned with ideas and values. These two areas often overlap and are fluid within the policy system’s structure, as outlined in the diagram below.

Figure 5 Considine model of the policy process



(Considine, 2005, p.9.)

The diagram identifies four areas that interface in policy and where Political Economy and the Intellectual aspects often move between and across each other, influencing policy direction and policy process. These four corners of policy identified by Considine (2005) can be understood as follows.
Policy Institutions, relative to this research, would include the TEC, tertiary education providers, MoE, Parliament, Te Puni Kōkiri and the MPP.

Political Economy is explained as existing structures of relationships. These may include universities, polytechnics, wānanga, private training providers and the relationships that they have with each other and with other organisations and stakeholders. Considine (2005) expresses this as "Provision, which is the relationship between consumers and producers, Association, which is the links within each provider and user group, Intervention which are the roles of public agencies and Organisation which are the prevailing technics of technologies" (p. 10).

Policy Actors are described as those who play significant roles of influence, and these can be seen as lobbyists, interest groups, key leaders of influence, and communities.

Policy Culture is identified as describing the intellectual perspectives, emotional power and established values and priorities of the Actors. In this case, Pacific communities and leaders are examples of Actors. Among these four identified

influencers in the policy process are their underlying relationships. An example would be prominent tertiary institutional leaders or a vice-chancellor within a university with an established relationship with a Member of Parliament who is influential and may hold the education portfolio. Having the ear of an institution or an influential Actor can shift a policy direction, propose personal agendas, and influence direction. Knowing these complexities is important, as to what influences policy writers when developing policies.

Many models utilised in policy processes take a uniform approach, yet others propose to be more flexible and responsive to indigenous peoples. However, if one is not seen or heard in any of these areas, it is less likely that one would have a position of influence in the policy process.

2.12 Refreshed Policy Quality Framework

New Zealand's Prime Minister at the time, John Key, and the cabinet reviewed NZ's policy process and found, in 2014, that the government lacked capability when it came to policy development. A report by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (2014), *Responsive Today, Shaping Tomorrow, Narrative and Direction of Travel*, identified five significant issues within NZ's policy process.

The report highlights the deficiency of policy writers as very few of them had sufficient knowledge of NZ, identifies a shortage of skilled senior policy advisors with the required capability, and noted that policy advisers were short on evidence, poorly informed, and lacking a process for evaluation and feedback. It is worth noting that these weaknesses were identified in 2014. Yet, it is important to make note of the fact that the TESs were developed in 2002 and 2014 under the policy process identified by the government as deficient. The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (2014) also emphasises the importance of enabling the indigenous voice to be heard. However, the process for Māori is still difficult today, to say the least.

The following is a quote from the document that emphasises the need for the distinction not only of a people but of regional differences in the policy process.

> Already one in four Aucklanders identifies as Asian, mostly Indian, or Chinese. Two thirds of Pacific Islanders live in Auckland. … Auckland officials need to be able to engage with local government, businesses and social sector partners to deliver nimble and innovative policy responses, but there is also a need for strategic policy capability so that the Auckland dynamic is integrated into the policy community and policy processes in Wellington. What works for Auckland might work elsewhere but the reverse is unlikely to be true. (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2014, p. 6)

This framework set a standard for policy processes and engaging with communities. From 1 July 2019, the government endorsed that all agencies with policy appropriation will utilise the refreshed Policy Quality Framework and report on the outcomes through their Annual Report (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet)

The following figure is the government's proposed process in a diagrammatic form. It is not linear but moves into varying segments addressing the proposed problem, identifying its flexibility in being able to move and change direction in many ways.

Figure 6 Refreshed Policy Quality Framework, 2014

https://dpmc.govt.nz/our-programmes/policy-project/policy-quality

The process lists four particular action points.

1. Context – which explains why the decision and where it fits.
2. Analysis – this process looks at the gathering of evidence.
3. Advice – this segment looks for further advice, with an inclusivity, to gather more evidence.
4. Action – identifying the process, after all the above have been collected, and what the next steps are.

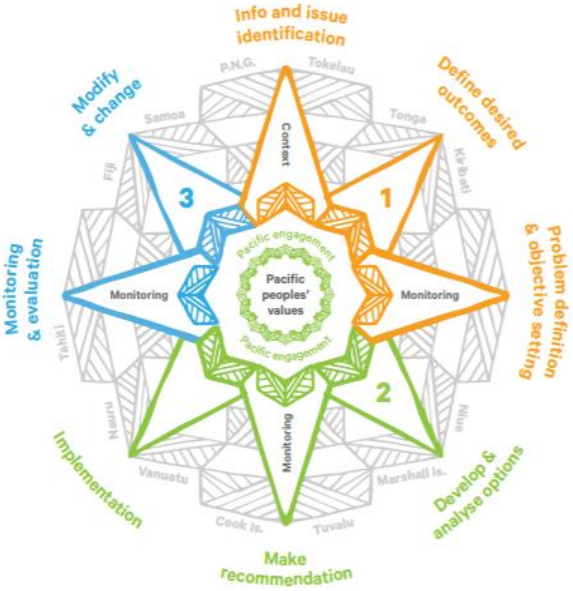
Te Ao Māori is included in the second phase of Analysis; however, it would be fitting from an indigenous perspective to place Te Ao Māori at the first touch point, Context. This would mean that at each stage from start to finish, Te Ao Māori would have to be considered.

Further examination of this process reveals that the decision-makers ultimately lead the process. In other words, stakeholders who contributed to the proposed consultation and provided advice do not receive any feedback after the policy writer gives this information to the decision-makers. This is where the community misses out on the vital part of the process, as the community does not see the outcome until it is released as policy.

2.13 NZ Policy – Pacific Policy Analysis Tool

The MPP established a policy analysis tool called Kapasa to enable policymakers to consider Pacific Peoples' needs, values, aspirations, and experiences. Kapasa is a recommended framework to apply when Pacific Peoples are affected by the issue it is trying to solve within policy.

Figure 7 Kapasa – Pacific Policy Analysis Tool (KPPAT)
Quality policy Framework

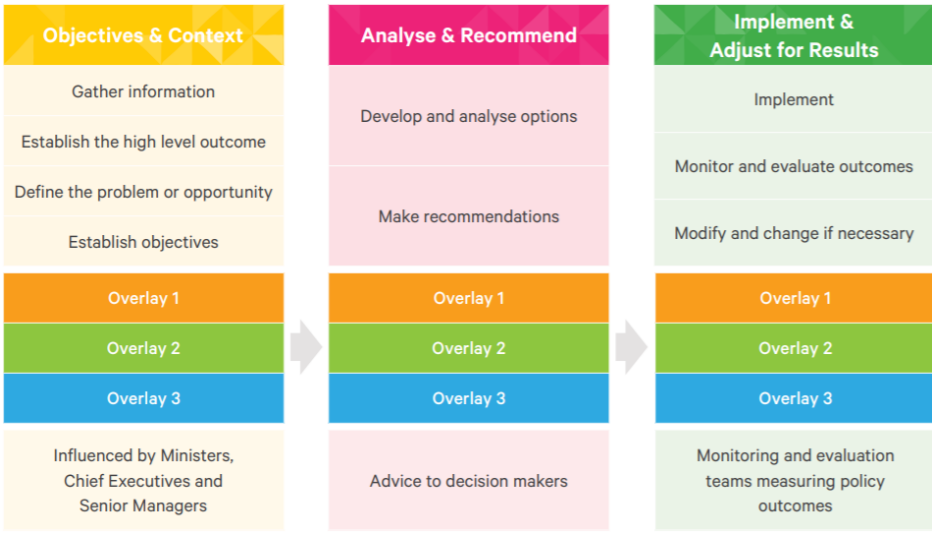


Kapasa Model from MPP (2021, p. 22).

The KPPAT identifies people as central and at the core of consideration when the policy is being developed. The process involves different stages such as information and issues identification, defining desired outcomes, problem definition and

objective setting, developing, and analysing options, making recommendations, implementing, monitoring, evaluating, modifying, and changing.

Figure 8 Kapasa – Pacific Policy Analysis Tool



Kapasa Model from MPP (2017, p. 17).

The KPPAT has three overlays that need to be applied and considered when dealing with the community along the different stages of the process. Alongside these are values that Pacific Peoples encompass. These include family, collectivism and communitarianism, reciprocity, respect, and acknowledging where religion positions itself in Pacific community life.

The diagram identifies the Pacific nations to show that all are included and that the Pacific community is central to the process. The tool is based on the New Zealand Policy Framework and provides an overlay to incorporate Pacific Peoples, noted further under NZ policy. This is not a specific policy process for Pacific Peoples but one which still has an underlying set agenda and process.

2.14 NZ Policy – Māori Self Determination

Self Determination is a model that provides opportunities for indigenous peoples to determine their course and their own processes should they choose to interface with government; in this case the interface is between Māori and Pākehā. Māori, as the

indigenous peoples of NZ, continue to encounter policy processes that constantly challenge the power relationship in terms of who determines what and for whom in the context of NZ (Durie, 1998; O'Sullivan, 2008). The challenges faced with enabling inclusiveness in policy and policy processes knowing that the westernised frameworks under Pākehā are dominant. The need to create more than just positions but genuine engagement and understanding of knowledge and indigenous values (Johnston, 2001).

The process of Self Determination challenges the foundations of post-colonial notions and Westminster government systems because it places the rights of the people of the land at the forefront along with their processes and cultural values.

O'Sullivan (2008) argues that Self Determination challenges "the state's perception of itself as the unchallengeable seat of indivisible power and authority" (p. 33). Here the policy process is flipped, enabling this community to self-determine and therefore self-direct the policy process, rather than adhering to a process that has been directed to them or that requires the community to conform to a process or create an overlay. Self Determination leaves the members of the community to determine for themselves the best approach to engagement and implementation.

The challenge for governments is finding a way to recognise differences to ensure inclusiveness, especially for a community that must be included in the country's policies under its own Te Tiriti O Waitangi. Kawa is made mention of here, where the values of a people, the acknowledgment of one's whakapapa, are honoured. The values of Kawa reflect Māori world views and the relationships between people, and between people and the environment, where these values are not considered or fail to be seen in processes (Durie, 2011).

From the viewpoint of Māori, it is an opportune time to take back control and self-determine policy process for the advancement of Māori (Durie, 1998). This ideal of Self Determination is expressed through a page from Theresa Ford's PowerPoint presentation on education describing the need to be inclusive of the values identified by Māori.

Figure 9 Education – Māori Self Determination

Presentation from Theresa Ford (2017) University of Waikato.

For Māori, disparities have long existed, and much evidence has been provided to government and policy decision-makers on the importance of the policy process. Although, in theory, some may suggest that these have been addressed, yet in practice some still challenge the processes in place and see that, still, the agenda-setting is based on a Eurocentric model that does little to encapsulate indigenous people's processes. In her research within the health sector, Came (2014) discusses the disparities and racism that exist, and this reflects the process. She identifies five major institutional themes that cause these disparities: "1. majoritarian decision making 2. the misuse of evidence 3. deficiencies in cultural competencies 4. deficiencies in consultation processes 5. the impact of Crown filters" (p. 1).

Advocating for a Māori-centred policymaking framework centred on an Indigenous Grounded Analysis (IGA) would, for many, shift the process to enable greater indigenous community engagement. An IGA policymaking framework is proposed to be anchored on the principle of a "duty to consult and accommodate" (Came, 2014 p. 6). This is to overcome the historical systemic approach that many witness today through their powerlessness and lack of positioning to engage. Knowing this, Māori have implemented three policymaking catalysts to address Māori indigeneity and enable processes to be viewed through a Māori lens. These include:

> a Māori presence in Parliament (including seven guaranteed seats, Māori lists in a Mixed Member Proportional system, and emergence of a Māori Party), (b) an advisory and advocacy body with policymaking influence to review Māori affairs legislation (Te Puni Kokiri) and (c) a commission of inquiry (Waitangi Tribunal) for righting historical wrongs over Crown breaches to Treaty principles. (Came, 2014, p. 5)

These catalysts were established for many reasons, one of which was to enable Actors of influence to have input into policymaking processes for Māori, to ensure that they are inclusive in the policy process and provide Māori representation in the structures of decision-making.

The concept of a bicameral approach has also been supported, proposing that the house of parliament can represent two states or in this case two legitimate parties, the Crown and Tino Rangatira, which both have equal representation (Fenton, 2018; Toki, 2017). Here power-sharing is central to the process rather than one dominant power, and shared systems or states are fairly represented or in partnership. This proposed positioning would strengthen Māori and provide an equal contribution to policies. However, the structure for policy development remains a Western framework that has little consideration for the inclusion of indigenous peoples.

Barcham (2012) mentions a new policy approach called Māori potential and examines the capability of a people to engage with the process in the context of what was recognised as a sense of cultural alienation.

In 1977, Kara Puketapu, the then Minister for Māori Affairs attempted to address this sense of alienation and launched a new strategy called Tu-Tangata to bring the Māori world view into the policy process (Fleras, 1985). After much upheaval in the 1970s and 1980s to address the considerable shift of rural Māori into cities, the Māori voice was strengthened.

The government outlined their new policy position in recognition of Rangatiratanga (Sovereignty/Indigenous rights), conceding that Māori were best addressed by Māori and through their Iwi, which have now become significant economic players.

Te Puni Kōkiri identified three pillars for the Māori Potential Framework:

- Māori potential – in that it recognises that Māori are diverse, aspirational people with distinctive culture and value system.
- Cultural distinctiveness – in that it recognises the Māori community and their indigenous culture as an overall contributor to the identity, well-being and enrichment of the New Zealand society.
- Māori capability – in so far as it affirms the capability, initiative and aspiration of Māori to make choices for themselves (Barcham, 2012, p. 64).

This was a huge shift for Māori as strategies were being developed by Māori for Māori for example, Ka Hikitia (MoE, 2019a).

However, challenges and struggles still exist to enable indigenous peoples to remain prevalent in the process.

2.15 Australian Policy and Indigenous Peoples

Australia is an excellent example of where there is a need to ensure the inclusiveness of indigenous peoples, that is the Aboriginal peoples of Australia and Torres Strait Islanders.

A case based in Uluru clearly highlights this point.

> These dimensions of our crisis tell plainly the structural nature of our problem. This is the torment of our powerlessness. We seek constitutional reforms to empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country. When we have power over our destiny

> our children will flourish. They will walk in two worlds and their culture will be a gift to their country. We call for the establishment of a First Nations Voice enshrined in the Constitution. (Uluru Statement from the Heart, 2017)

This document was delivered to the Australian Government to acknowledge the Aboriginal world view that concerned the government and its people. It calls for recognition in policy processes to address the challenges faced by this indigenous community, as they are not at the table of the decision-makers or included in the process.

The Australian Government developed The Indigenous Higher Education Advisory Council in 2012, whose role was to inform policy established under the Department of Education and Training, which is the policy lead for indigenous education. On December 10, 2015, the Australian Government took its final advice from this advisory council. The advisory council wrote and advised the government on many issues and how to address these. However, the government made no promise as to how it would take this advice (Department of Education and Training, 2015). In reviewing documents on education for Aboriginal people, Hogarth (2017) mentioned that most of indigenous education is commissioned by government and that it is rare for Ingenious voices to be heard. They are often overshadowed, and their voices are dismissed.

This reiterates the position of indigenous peoples and their inability to access and engage in government policy processes. One of the challenges for indigenous and minority communities is to find their way through the complex policy system and processes and to engage strategically and at the right time. Yet, in this case it involves the need to be recognised as a people of indigenous birth right in their own country in the first place.

An example of the struggles experienced by minority groups was that of the Aboriginal peoples from Western Australia and Northern Territory. They were granted the right to vote by the federal government by an Act in 1962. Finally, Queensland followed in 1965, enabling Torres Strait Islanders to exercise the right to

vote. However, it was not until 1984 under the Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1983, that voting became compulsory for Indigenous Australians (Panzironi & Gleber, 2012).

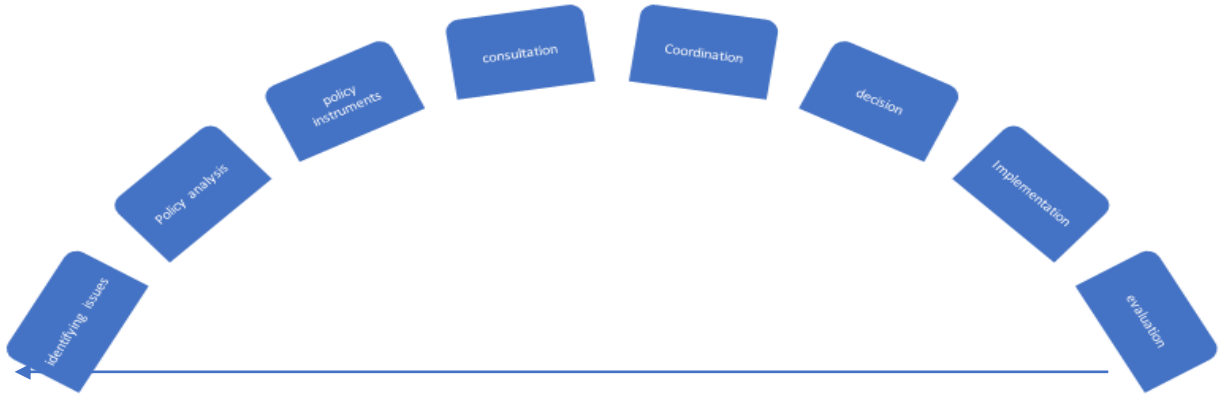
Less than 38 years ago, this indicated the difficulty in stating a position to be inclusive in policy processes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. Place this against a foreign Western parliamentary structure, and the complexities are greater still. This again is seen under Australian Government's 'Close the Gap' health policy in 2005 where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders were provided with a health equity plan, supported by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders emphasising the strength in utilising and defending the human rights approach. However, this policy dismissed the rights of Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islanders to utilise Aboriginal traditional medicine. This meant that the system was proposed to be inclusive, but the implementation was mono-cultural (Panzironi & Gleber, 2012).

2.16 The Australian Policy Model

The Australian policy process identified by Althaus et al. (2018) proposes that there is no one specific way policies are processed and that there are contending views on how policies are developed, claiming that the policy process is not a neat process as it is depicted in diagrammatic forms (Althaus et al., 2018).

However, this model suggests a cycle that supports the pursuit of better practices in the development of policies.

Figure 10 Australian Policy Model



Althaus et al. (2018, p. 49).

This policy model starts with a problem, issue or concern that is identified as indicated in the diagram, *identifying issues*. Many of these concerns are brought to the forefront by lobbyists, media, or interest groups or if a new problem emerges that demands government recognition. Issues have many sponsors and proponents who can attract the attention of politicians. Once this occurs, a string of events starts to unfold, and *policy analysis* comes into play which involves gathering information. It is important to determine whether this issue or concern sits with the prevailing party's philosophy. This point is often the first hurdle for a minority or indigenous community with little representation within the party to advocate beyond this stage.

As mentioned earlier in the literature review, bodies or members of parliament need to have advocates or champions within policy structures so that the identified problem or issue can pass the first hurdle. If the issue does look to attract the attention of the government, this will then require an analysis of whether the problem or issue requires legislation to be reviewed or if internal government agencies will be required. This is acknowledged in the policy process as *policy instruments*. It will then be tested through consultation to assess if the problem or issue is plausible. These consultations will be made with relevant agencies and non-government interest groups. These groups should be known to policy analysts or agencies. If

not, minority or indigenous groups need to make inroads or develop relationships to request consultation. Often this is not the case. This then leads to the *coordination of policy* where it is ready for consideration by government.

Once considered as a next step, the Treasury decides whether to support the policy and provide the required resourcing. Once it has been through the five stages, the issue or problem then moves into *decision*, in which is referred to the cabinet for consideration. Cabinet is reliant on good policy writers to have accumulated sufficient evidence and produced information that cabinet can decide on, "Good policy advice also recognises that the final judgment properly belongs with ministers and not public servants" (Althaus et al., 2018, p. 50).

For example, if a minister is unfamiliar with or unsupportive of the minority or indigenous group, or a policy threatens their popularity. It is likely, that the policy will not continue or be considered. The influence of a minister can affect the cabinet's decision as it moves towards implementation. This is the point at which ministers agree on legislation or a programme that meets their government's goals. An evaluative process is implemented if a government has sound systems to ensure that the policy addresses the problem or issue. It will organise observations and ensure that the policy shapes the changes required.

A policy cycle, as mentioned by Althaus et al. (2018), is not always straightforward and has its complexities within and throughout the process.

> The interplay of politics, policy and administration is a hurly-burly, pulling sometimes this way, sometime that. Decisions can be pre-empted. Outcomes can be delayed or sacrificed by powerful forces. Reality impinges on the order of normative process, resulting in apparently messy and accidental activity. (p. 52)

The agenda of the government drives the Australian model and enables those in the position of power to either continue or discontinue the cycle. There is little influence here for those in community other than to identify the problem or issue in the first place. Once identified, the problem or issue is removed from their hands. This is disempowering for many, predominantly minority and indigenous communities, and

the influence over policies and willingness to resolve the issue lose their impetus without community input. Often policies that do come through little resemble what communities first started to raise (Ravulo et al., 2019).

2.18 New Zealand Model

Public policy in New Zealand is like the Australian policy process and is presented in a diagrammatic form below. The model is more transparent in its approach with the institution divulging the strength of the Actors and Institutes in the process, showing the relationship between them in the balance of power. The majority party and the coalition parties show how they are inextricably entwined with the bureaucracy, and how the bureaucracy can influence policy. The diagram reveals the process once a problem or issue has been identified, starting from when it enters the government process (Shaw & Eichbaum, 2011).

Figure 11 New Zealand Policy Model

Stage	Single-Party majority	Coalition majority
Agenda setting	One party's agenda forms the basis of government's agenda	Agenda shaped during government formation process
	Cabinet controls caucus and caucus controls the House, so cabinet can manage the agenda	Coalition partners jointly manage agenda through negotiations, trade-offs, and compromises
		Policy debates within the government are critical
Formulating Policy	Cabinet consults caucus about options but need not talk with opposition MPs	Ministers consult their caucuses but need not talk with opposition MPs
	Officials and Insider interest groups contribute to debates over options	Officials advise Ministers from two or more parties, so advice is exposed to greater scrutiny; officials may address governing caucuses
		Coalition partners bring a wider range of interests to debates
Making decisions	Collective responsibility	Collective responsibility applies but may come under stress and evolve
Implementation	Government controls the House, so can pass its legislation	Government controls the House, so it can pass its legislation
	Limited space on the legislative programme for non-government legislation	Limited space on the legislative programme for non-government legislation
	Little change for public sector	Challenges for Chief Executives reporting to the Ministers from different parties
Evaluation	Little change	Policy evaluated from different points of view

Shaw and Eichbaum (2008, p. 21).

The following describes each of the stages in the process.

1. Agenda setting – the proposed problem or issue must be on the party's agenda or included as part of the buy into government on the peoples vote. If this is acknowledged by the government, the problem/issue goes to Cabinet. The Cabinet is usually by election the largest party or a coalition of parties that make up Cabinet. To push through an agenda, these parties have usually persuaded members to enable the agenda to go through the policy debates.
2. Formulating policy – can be by Cabinet without consultation with the opposition MPs, who may have different philosophies or agendas to the Cabinet in the first instance.
3. Making decisions – once the problem or issue is discussed, the agenda goes through for further scrutiny. By this time, those against may have been persuaded, trade-offs and deals are made in favour of another to enable the party interest or individual Member of Parliament to push through his/her agenda.
4. Implementation – here government controls the house. In this case, if a minister or ministers are in favour, if allies have been rallied, if the government of the day has the majority vote, a policy decision for approval occurs.
5. Evaluation – this is a step where one might view the overall process, but little is affected here.

The outline above reveals the importance of influence and positioning when it comes to policy processes. This indicates how little interest is paid to external groups or communities to validate their thoughts and position. In many cases, the process identifies a problem or issue and then looks internally for the answers.

2.19 The Policy Debate!

With policy processes being so complex because of the influences at various touch points, it is important to highlight the existence of institutional racism within the process. The policy process mentioned above stems from a Westminster framework designed to support mono-cultural institutions, where most government officials are not indigenous to their country or do not belong to a minority group, often excluding

indigenous peoples and minority groups from being included or considered in decision-making. Racism exists when the exclusion of others and their values is not recognised (Durie, 1998). Thus, Came (2014) emphasises that what impacts on policy processes is the majority in decision making, which usually sits around the table, the misuse of evidence where policy makers fail to listen or access policies from other community groups, and the policy makers deficiencies in both cultural competencies and knowledge of consultation (Henry et al., 1997; Rata & Openshaw, 2006).

This is evident through health policies, where inequities that exist are 'life and death' situations, that data reveals alarming disparities. To take a quote from E-Tangata (Jones, 2020), Dr Rhys Jones' article states, "Indeed, inaction in the face of need is one of the ways in which institutional racism works." Dr Jones provides an example where bowel cancer is detected at a younger age for Māori and Pacific Peoples, at approximately 50 years of age, providing substantial evidence for this specific group to have access to National Screening; however, the policy was not accepted. As shown in this case, the majority rules. When the policy was released, it identified that the National Screening was for those only between 60 and 74 years of age which reflects European/Pākehā needs.

Data also reveals that access to services for Māori is inequitable, not only in policy and resourcing, but that racism affects those, i.e., Māori, within the system (Aumua et al., 2018). Policies contribute to and compound the inequities within the system, and those within it create greater marginalisation and civil unrest for those on the periphery.

Movements such as 'Black Lives Matter' became a worldwide movement that affected New Zealand in its desire to address the systemic racism that affects minority populations.

Figure 12 Protest photo

Radio New Zealand (2020)

At the time of writing this thesis, there are debates over policies that advocate for equity in education, which may help explain further issues of systemic racism or bias and the lack of consultation regarding policy processes. The example provided is based on equity enrolments in medical schools. How do students of Māori, Pacific, or other descent, access medical school to enable equity in opportunity, to reflect equity in the workforce, to meet the needs of the community and the medical profession itself?

There are two medical schools in New Zealand, one at Otago University and the other at Auckland University. An individual must attain a particular entry criterion from secondary school or other tertiary qualifications to gain access.

To gain entry to Auckland University and the University of Otago the entry criteria are similar, with the expectation of high achievement from secondary school, along with science and English subjects with high pass rates (University of Auckland, University of Otago).

Both programmes have a unique access scheme that enable Māori, Pacific, and migrants access when they may have not or have not met all the criteria. Auckland University's programme is called Māori and Pacific Access Scheme (MAPAS) and at Otago University it is called 'Mirror of Society'.

To understand the reasons for Māori and Pacific access schemes, it is essential to step back into the education system to understand why this scheme is available. The

reasons are varied and complex. However, one of the main reasons is that inequities within the secondary schooling system still exist. This is due to several issues and convolutions as listed here.

School Decile rating – Deciles reflect the student's socio-economic background/rating from 1-10 (10 being the school at the higher end of the socio-economic scale and 1 being the lowest). These ratings are based on household income, with income in the lowest 20% nationally, employed parents in jobs at the lowest skill level, household numbers, parents' qualifications, and parents receiving income support benefits (MoE, 2020e; Snook et al., 1999; Thrupp & Irwin, 2010).

Resources – some schools have fewer resources or are smaller than others and can only offer a few subjects in select areas, or specific courses to fulfil their National Certificate in Education Achievement (NCEA) qualification requirements. So not all schools have a wide breadth of university entry options.

School Zoning – Schools are zoned into areas that, as mentioned, are rated by socio-economic affluence. Those who are in the wealthy zones enter the more affluent schools. For those who are out of the zone of decile 10 schools, there is often a criterion of entry or special entry criteria to gain access, and this is often by scholarship, which means a minimal number from out of the zone gain access. In other words, many students in the lower socio-economic areas cannot access the more affluent or the higher-level decile schools and are restricted to their own back yards. This also affects real estate property prices for those who wish to purchase in zones for higher-level decile schools (Edmunds, 2017; MoE, 2020f; Weir, 2016).

The *Otago Daily Times*, 22 August 2020, published an article that brings to the forefront the university's intention to change the policy around Māori and Pacific access within Otago University and the need to cap the number of students entering, which would cause Māori and Pacific numbers to decrease. This caused huge controversy, particularly among students who advocated at the student council for support in maintaining the current status quo. Māori and Pacific students saw little reason for the changes being promoted, as quoted:

“Otago University Medical Students’ Association president Anu Kaw said students did not know what was driving proposed changes.

> “We’re not sure why there’s this urgency to fix a policy that is not broken.”
> Mr Smiler, a third-year medical student at Otago, said he wanted to make sure proper processes were undertaken.
> “A decision that will impact on Māori health outcomes for decades surely warrants consultation with appropriate Māori voices.”
> Miss Kaw expressed the same concern about Pacific voices.
> The 11 student associations issued a collective statement that raised similar themes (Miller, 2020).

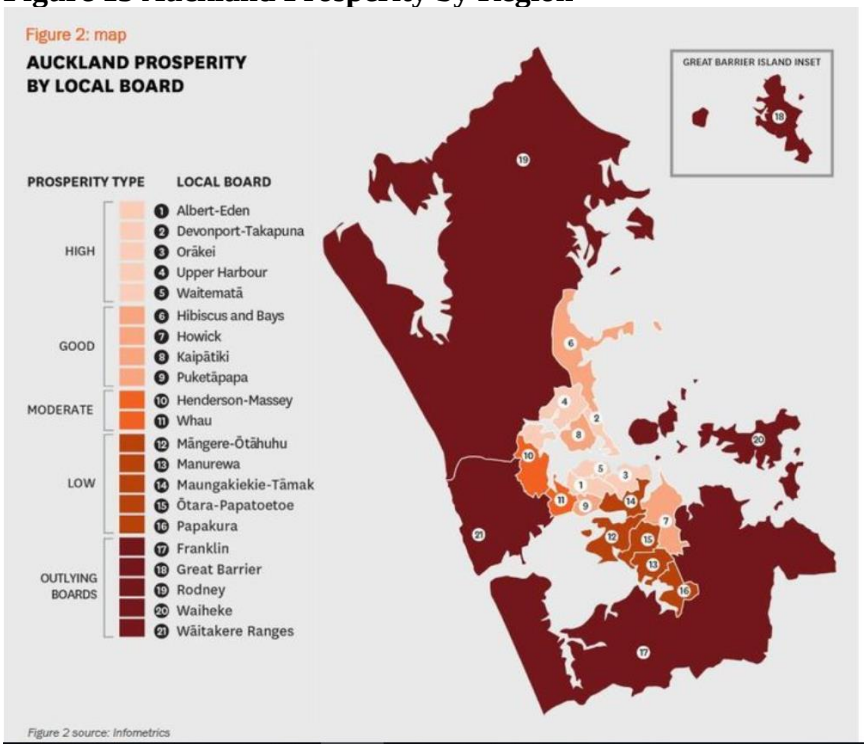
This article captures the need for those affected by the policy change to be consulted and brought into the forums for discussion rather than having a policy delivered to them again.

On 30 October 2018, an article was released on Radio New Zealand. The article claims that NZ has one of the most unequal education systems in the world, and UNICEF ranks NZ at 33 out of 38 countries. Much of the discussion revolved around socio-economic backgrounds and the need to be fair as every child deserves the right to education. Unicef Director, Mr. Whittaker mentions that; “Bringing the lowest-performing children up, doesn't mean pulling the highest-performing children down” (Radio New Zealand, 2018).

Other areas of disparities also exist; however, this research will not expand further on these but allude to the complexities within and around the existing inequalities that affect education. To mention a few, these include access to housing, health disparities, home ownership, and income disparities that also reflect the regional areas (McConaghy, 2000; Radio New Zealand, 2018; Rashbrooke, 2013; Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010).

The socio-economic factors also contribute to the disparities that exist and thus affect education across all sectors. The following provides details on how the socio-economic determinants affect regions and the geographical perception of peoples positioning in society.

Figure 13 Auckland Prosperity by Region



Auckland Tourism and Events and Economic Development (ATTEED, 2020)

The map provides an illustration of the disparities mentioned above within the regions in Auckland. It was published by Auckland's economic development agency, Auckland Tourism and Events and Economic Development (ATEED).

ATEED identified that the household incomes in the poorest 21 regional boards are in Māngere and Ōtara-Papatoetoe where, earning on average $60,000, they lag 22% behind the city average of $76,500. People who live in Māngere, South Auckland, make $59,900 compared to those in central Auckland who earn $76,500. Those who live in Māngere, South Auckland, are predominantly Pacific Peoples (Niall, 2018). The reported earnings then determine the school decile ratings for secondary schools as mentioned previously. For students from these areas this limits their access to out-of-zone schools, limits opportunities to access medical school, and thus limits the options for students (Bhopal & Pitkin, 2020; McConaghy, 2000).

Based on statistics from Education Counts, under data for provider-based enrolments and fields of study in 2019, ethnicity-based enrolments into tertiary providers can be

examined. To understand the investment the Pacific community has placed in the tertiary sector it is important to note the participation rates of Pacific peoples. The numbers of Pacific students enrolled in Level 4 Certificate programmes total 5,810. General conservative costs to enrol in a Certificate one-year programme would be approximately $2,000 for one year. The cost for this total population enrolled for one year would be $11,620,000.

Bachelor programmes, again based on a generally conservative and approximate cost per year, cost $4,000. Under Education Counts data, enrolments (2019) into Bachelor's degrees for Pacific Peoples totalled 12,745 students, meaning their investment would be $59,980,000 per year. Not to mention that most degree programmes span 3-4 years. Multiplying that by three (years), the investment made would be $152,940,000 for the Pacific community to gain a three-year degree (MoE, 2022).

Medical school student enrolments totalled 3,235. Of these, European students totalled 1,970, Māori students 510, Pacific students 305, Asian students 1030. Each medical year of study costs approximately $14,000 and six years of study is expected. For each one of these Pacific students, it would cost $84,000 to cover study fee costs alone, not including added expenses of books, living costs and resources. This would be an approximate investment by the Pacific students, their families and community of $25,620,000 in educating the students who enrol in medical school each year. This total is revealing when one compares the earnings within the prosperity map, above, showing region and income.

To emphasise, if you came from South Auckland, where your annual income was estimated at $59,000, enabling your child to study a degree in medicine would cost a total of $84,000 in fees only, not considering accommodation, course costs, and travel as mentioned. If the fees outweigh the annual income, study would be unrealistic for a student wanting to enter this profession, or they would place a heavy burden on their families.

With Pacific participation rates increasing in the tertiary sector, it is vital that tertiary education providers retain these students to ensure diversity in the workforce but more so to attain equity with others in Aotearoa New Zealand. The reduction of

disparities will not occur unless affirmative action occurs within policies. This one small example is based on a policy that affects a fast-growing youthful people. It provides an example of what happens within a country, compromising indigenous and minority peoples. Hence, there is the need to consult and understand the bigger picture when developing policies. The following statement from the MoE's Education Counts website provides further evidence of the disparities in achievement for Māori and Pacific peoples at level four certificates.

> Completion rates decreased in 2020 for all ethnic groups. For Māori and Pacific Peoples students enrolled in Level 4 certificates, this continued a decreasing pattern over several years. Asian students continue to have the highest completion rates for Level 4 certificates (MoE,2020).

2.20 Why do these challenges continue to exist?

Having viewed the policy processes under New Zealand and Australia and common Policy models, the question remains as to why indigenous communities still struggle to engage in policy processes. The challenges are broad and as mentioned previously, are complex, historical, and fraught with issues of identity, place, and knowledge to mention a few. Considering as in Aotearoa/ New Zealand's case, polices delivered by the state to assimilate Māori since 1840 (Hill 2009). These polices stem back into history and intensifies in the 1950s and 60s. Each of these policies were developed through a process policy that stemmed from a Westminster Model. Through the aggressive changes and affects had on Māori in the past there is now a desire and renaissance based upon biculturalism. Yet, the challenges are not over,2nor complete as challenges still exist.

For some, the word indigenous may be seen to be problematic. Identifying what is and who is indigenous can be difficult for a person to define themselves. Some may define Māori as a particular race, where others (Māori) may define themselves by their Iwi, Hapu or Whānau or by all the above. The word Māori becomes homogenised when it fails to distinguish characteristics of each tribe, prescribing them under a national identify (Rangihau, 1975). This then creates questions that

may be posed upon them such as, how one acknowledges themselves, or how does one authenticate their authenticity, when the shift of who you are moves to another category or race. This is especially so when a dominant culture renames or recategorizes a community for their own convenience. This can destabilise a community and their place.

When this occurs it reveals how a dominant race of people, in this case Pākehā have posed their interpretation, their view of who Māori is and how they are to be classified to the point where Hokowhitu (2003) asks the central question, 'are people born indigenous or do we become indigenous' (p.13). Much like the challenges faced by Pacific peoples, where they are identified as one race of people in policy in Aotearoa yet, they represent over several different Pacific nations. Pacific people also have a saying, when they are in Samoa they identify as Samoan, when they arrive in New Zealand they are labelled as a Pacific Islander, and their identity as Samoan is lost.

2.21 Colonisation

The power struggles for Māori and indigenous peoples alike can be identified in the long histories of a people, of a country where the oppression of a people by colonialism and violence has created a power imbalance. As Moana Jackson expressed; "Colonialism is the power to define how the past is interpreted…colonisation is the violent denial of the right of Indigenous peoples to continue governing themselves in their own lands" (Wanhalla, Ryan, et. al, 2023, p.20). Here loss of cultural practices, confiscation of lands, people's identity, created a displacement of a people and a weakening of their hapu and iwi. This history has been determined and remained for over a hundred years in Aotearoa with a dominant group, Pākehā, that has tried to determine the relationship between Māori and Pākehā. The powerlessness or imbalance remains as to who has mandate over the resources, who voice is heard and who sits at the decision-making table.

Through this dominance also came the loss of language, knowledge, culture, land and where the measures of success in education were determined by their criteria and

standards. The 1953 Māori Affairs Act was part of several legislations implemented by Pākehā (Hill, 2009) where Māori were forced to move from their lands which caused them to move away from communalism and become individuals and families.

In education colonisation has been the driver of curriculum. At the very beginning of a child's education is a system that conforms thinking and ways of doing and being yet, fails to acknowledge the existence and value of indigenous peoples (Webber, 2008). This suggests that one's knowledge is inferior to Pākehā knowledge (Te Maro, Averill, 2023). That the intention of Pākehā was to establish control, where they assumed Māori needed to be educated and socialised. The desire to shift this position through policy changes in education continues to be a challenge as mentioned in 2.12, Māori Self Determination.

Colonisation has affected Indigenous peoples in many ways that have been detrimental to their health, society, economic positioning, and place, amongst many others over time. Yet, even more so their spiritual connection to land as a people. The ramifications of the loss of identity or trying to identify and or justify your identity has become important for statistics, for allocation and justification of resources to address policy, as identity becomes an essential driver (Hokowhitu, 2007).

When a community has been in this position, it takes time to readjust the power imbalances that have occurred over a hundred years. Compound this, with being in a westernised structure which fails to acknowledge Indigenous peoples.

2.21 Power Imbalances

The positioning of indigenous people has been slowly responded to however, Johnston (2001), makes mention that physically being present in particular forums does not account for inclusiveness in the policy process. Taking of the whole of person is what makes and creates a power shift. This includes understanding how a particular community think, conceptualise, and act. The process must take into

consideration for example, Māori language, beliefs and Knowledge and that inclusion is just not a physical presence.

This is further examined by Johnston (1998) where the relationship between policy and Māori requires a need to understand the realisation of the Balance of Power. Who is the dominant one in this equation, and how policy, understands the difference between, "what counts as difference and what difference counts" (p.ii). Further explaining that, "'what counts as difference' encompasses the perspectives of dominant groups and 'what difference counts', subordinate groups", (Johnston, 1998, p. ii). Suggesting that unequal power relationships exist between dominant and subordinate groups because they have distinct views about difference and that difference is political and not seen as a technical concept, which is a platform for much discussion, debate, and controversial views. These differences are faced over time as definitions, meanings and interpretations shift and move with varying views, politics and representations for example, members of parliament, their political views and who has the dominant power.

2.22 Oppression

When prejudice and institutional power of a system are in place by a dominant group, discrimination and oppression of another or others occur. Often the dominant group will create a system that tries to assimilate the other to merge socially (O'Brien., et al, 2019). The impacts of this creates a belief system that asserts that one group is inferior to the other. As time and generations occur the belief and ideas start to become legitimised and passed from generation to generation, creating an ideological belief system. As mentioned previously, statistics reveal the poor rates of indigenous populations through health, housing, economics, prison statistics to mention a few. This then leans into people's thinking that indigenous groups are detrimental to our health system due to costs, create issues with housing and employment, which create negative impacts on society.

Knowing that colonization, racism, prejudice, oppression, and power imbalances occur. It is easy enough to see historically the impact this can have on indigenous

people. And that Institutional racism can occur and be supported whether intentionally or unintentionally because of ideological racism embedded over time. O'Brian, et al, (2019) suggests that institutional racism is created to sustain dominant power over minority groups and that members of the dominant group are socialized into communities that support and sustain racists ideologies. The dominant group preserves their position by reinforcing patterns and beliefs.

2.23 Policy and Te Tiriti

For well over 100 years indigenous peoples in Aotearoa, New Zealand have struggled to engage and contribute to policy due to many of the factors addressed, despite agreements such as Te Tiriti O Waitangi (Orange, 2012) and the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights (2004). Yet the Crown has consistently resisted the implementation of the Treaty. This is partly the impact of colonisation where institutional racism is normalised and policies remain unjust (Came, et., al, 2023), where breaches of the treaty between the Crown (the government) and Māori have long affected their outcomes.

The Waitangi Tribunal was set up in 1975 to investigate these breeches and to make recommendations but these are not binding. However, negotiations have led to apologies, the ability for Māori and Pākehā to co- lead various entities, reclaiming of land rights, and organizations, a partnership in natural resources and financial compensation.

It has taken many years for Māori to create shifts in policy which is acknowledged by the introduction of Maihi Karauna, which is the Crowns Māori Language revitalization strategy. This was developed to protect and promote Māori Language ensuring that the Treaty of Waitangi was honoured. The Education and Training Act, 2020 also reflects the change by recognizing its purpose in regulating an education system that upholds the Treaty (Te Maro, Averill, 2023). O'Regan, (2019) makes mention of the revitalization, rebuilding of a tribe Ngāi Tahu, developing a culturally relevant model of governance.

However, Mutu (2018) describes the process that has occurred as “smoke and mirrors” (2018, p.209). Suggesting that, although many claims have been won. The portrayal of settlements is seen as a great success for Pākehā as a way for moving forward and resolving past difference. However, Māori disagree, as agreements are government driven and imposed on Māori. It is seen as a way of successive governments “true intentions to claw back Māori legal rights, to extinguish claims, and to maintain white control over Māori (Mutu, 2018, p.208).

Indigenous peoples continue to progress and reclaim what was theirs, the struggles and challenges remain while others have found a way through. It is a journey unfinished and incomplete.

2.24 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined various policy models, providing evidence that policy processes are complex and not straightforward. This is supported by insights into the difficulties faced by indigenous or minority groups who wish and deserve to interface with this process. The policy processes propose structures that stem from either a Westernised model or have placed a cultural framework over it or within it, such as the Kapasa Model. Yet this does not disguise the process, which still positions and strengthens government and people of influence at the centre of policy processes. Underpinning this is the historical imbalances, colonisation and racism which contribute to institutional racism. The example provided of housing settlements identified in a particular area, that can identify as predominantly Pacific and considered socio economically poor, based on income, health, and disproportionate statistics. This creates a divide in the process and a lack of positioning to be able to engage. The policy process is fraught with the known and unknown, those you know or those you do not know, and even more so those who know little of your community, but who have influence. As Came (2014) suggests, it is here where policy is driven and where the majority rules – those with strategic and influential positionings, connections to institutions, understandings of the broader complexities of the economy, and the systemic influences. This is still the case for Aotearoa NZ and Australia who have from their beginning foundations been based

on westernised processes, without indigenous cultural considerations within the government machinery of policy.

There was limited knowledge on or research about a policy process incorporating Pacific people in education. There were only documents from Pacific researchers requesting policymakers to consider their research and evidence to justify input into policy, as mentioned in Teu Le Va (Anae &Mila-Schaaf, 2010). There is the MPP policy tool called Kapasa yet, there was no evidence of this tool being utilised by Government ministries or any other group.

This identified gap for both government and Pacific Peoples led to questions and an investigation of the process that enables inclusivity of minority indigenous peoples, to consider community, build relationships, understand, and better engage to develop policies that support the needs, and to address concerns and issues so that equity is enabled, responsive, and provides success (Heywood, 2014). In other words, the intention is to question, who sets the agenda, who writes the policy, and how does the Pacific voice get heard at the outset and retained throughout? How do the values of an indigenous cultural policy process get recognised in the current policy process?

One might find these gaps in the literature by asking those in the community, leaders in education, and those who are public servants, about their experiences and views on the policy processes – by asking if they were consulted before policies were released, how they engaged, and if they understood the process?

Thus, these are the reasons for the research. How have Pacific people been incorporated in the consultation on the tertiary policies over the last 18 years? (Hogarth, 2017).

CHAPTER THREE

TERTIARY EDUCATION STRATEGIES

3.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter focuses on the five TESs released over an 18-year period from 2002 to 2020. Examining each of these strategies will assist the researcher in answering the research questions in determining how Pacific peoples were valued and positioned in each of the TESs. This chapter will first provide some background to the organisations that have played roles in the policy process within the TESs. Furthermore, it will identify government documents and policies released over that time and highlight significant events that may have influenced the socio-economic and political changes which may have affected policy directions. A Pacific lens is used to analyse how policy systems may have influenced or affected Pacific people's status and engagement within the policy processes.

3.1 Background – Policy Influencing Bodies

During the 1980s, NZ went through substantial economic reforms which specifically impacted low-skilled workers, mainly Pacific people who came to NZ to work on the factory floors in the 1950s and 60s. Unemployment was rising, and government expenditure and revenue policies were set to reduce the country's large fiscal debts.

With increasing unemployment impacting this population, the government recognised that low-skill level communities needed opportunities to re-enter the workforce. Given the failure of schools to deliver educational outcomes equitably for all, the government was then forced to look to the private sector for education and training opportunities. Subsequently, the Private Sector Training Establishment programme was born (Crawford, 2016; Evans et al., 1996; Olssen & Mathews, 1997).

The MoE, as the overarching body of the education sector, spanned across early childhood to higher education and vocational training, holding much of the power. Thus, a restructure and a split into three occurred within the organisation to form: the Ministry itself, the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA), and the Education Review Office (ERO). The Labour Government at the time also advocated for the TEC to address the lack of insight into and knowledge of the tertiary sector, to provide advice to the MoE and implement funding and monitoring. As was stated, the Ministry is "providing unresearched dogma and calling it policy" (Snook et al., 1999, p. 39). Further,

> It is worrying that for some ten years, the arguments of knowledgeable critics were ignored, and millions of dollars wasted on experiments which, in the mind of many informed people, were doomed to failure. The demise of unit standards alone is a sober reminder that other policies (e.g., bulk funding, degrees outside universities, and the 'marketing' of schools) will probably need to be revised or reversed after great damage has been done to education, to learners, and perhaps to society as a whole. (Snook et al., 1999, p. 38)

The MoE became the policy arm of the TEC, which monitors the TES and funding policies that direct the institutions to support tertiary systems. Major educational reforms were also occurring (Adam et al., 1999).

The NZQA as a Crown entity was established in 1989 under the Education Act. This Act provided the legal framework for the education system and set out the roles, responsibilities and powers of Crown entities and independent statutory bodies in the education sector (NZQA, 2020).

The NZQA's parent body, the MoE, was set to focus on providing leadership in assessment and qualifications, playing a significant role in administering the National Certificate in Educational Achievement for the secondary sector. However, it also plays a major role in registering tertiary training providers, overseeing the NZ

register of assured qualifications and the National Qualifications Framework for the compulsory and tertiary sector.

The MoE, TEC and NZQA play pivotal roles in the tertiary sector, and each agency responds to a particular area of responsibility, requiring them to work together to support the system.

In 2000, the government established the Tertiary Education Advisory Commission (TEAC) which was to provide direction for the tertiary sector. This board was provided with four specific mandates:

1. to allocate government funding,
2. to create the TES and a statement of tertiary priorities to align with national priorities,
3. to create a system of Charters and Profiles to help TEAC to influence the direction of the TES, and
4. to separate research funding from teaching and learning funding (Crawford, 2016).

In 2002, the TEC was formed out of Skill New Zealand to extend the MoE's reach across the sector and required TEOs to develop Charters and Profiles which would hold institutes accountable about their response to the TES.

3.2 The Political Economic Environment

Over many decades, there have been significant advances in NZ in tertiary education outcomes for minority communities (Highfield, 2010; Meehan et al., 2017). However, despite these advances, Pacific communities have failed to achieve equity in educational outcomes with non-Pacific people or mainstream New Zealanders. Many developed countries have undergone reforms in the past 20 years to try to improve educational outcomes for minority and indigenous groups and initiated various approaches to try to engage in policy and with policymakers, as well as the establishment of political ethnic positions (Anae et al., 2002; Maaka & Fleras, 2009; Neale, 2004).

A Pacific organisation was established in 1989 that represented Pacific Tertiary Education Providers, otherwise known as Pacific Island Training Providers of New Zealand (PITPONZ, 2009). This was a group of Pacific business owners and leaders who ran their own community-based education providers. Their priority was to support the Pacific community, especially those who had left school early or failed to meet the required academic results, to access higher education and attain a higher educational achievement level. This sector of small providers in education was always vulnerable, as governments changed policies on funding, requirements on quality assurance, and the mere pressure of staying in business due to fluctuations in labour market forces and policy changes was constant. Therefore, these providers were highly aware of the political climate, liaised with actors and influencers of change yet, at the same time, supported each other over their commonalities.

The definition of a PITPONZ member organisation/individual is as follows:

> A Pacific Island Training Establishment, which is predominately Pacific Island, owned and managed, underpinned by a Pacific Island perspective which permeates all its operations for the purpose of developing and empowering the learner, staff, and organisation, particularly those with Pacific Island descent.
> An individual who identifies as a Pacific Islands person and who can trace their descent from a Polynesian, Melanesian, or Micronesian cultural heritage (Parliament NZ, PITPONZ).

Much was known about this organisation between the late 1980s and early 2000s as those making the changes in government systems were starting to pay more attention to the growing Pacific population. This was the first organisation to make a step toward engaging in policy for Pacific peoples in the tertiary sector and to advocate through government to find an avenue into the policy process, to address the TES. They were more aware of the politics of the day and needed to be, as they were the owners of educational providers. This was also their livelihood.

This research hopes to capture some of the stories of these political Actors of influence, leaders of the community who were influential and positioned themselves alongside those who had positions of power, who were strong advocates and who

relentlessly advocated through various avenues to see the voice of Pacific Peoples within the TES. These individuals and organisations were not all interviewed but a few are mentioned here: Arthur and Maretta Solomon, owners of Martin Hautus – The Pacific Peoples Institute (closed November 2017); Tagata Pasifika (closed); Tricia's Total Coordination owned by Tricia Henderson (sold, changed ownership, now New Zealand Institute of Management); Audrey Aumua and Jamalia Drake, owners of Target Education (sold, changed ownership to sole partner); Anita Finnigan, owner of Best Pacific (closed November 2017); Nama Prasad, owner of Cooki Irangi (closed 2021); Steve Nuimata, Tangata Atumotu; Mema Simioni, Tu Tangata; Feroz Ali, New Zealand Careers College; John Fiso, New Zealand Institute of Sport; and Mino Cleverly, Pacific Training Institute.

It was evident that the PTE sector positioned itself to meet the Pacific population's education requirements. This group of PITPONZ members had been in business for 20+ years and many have now moved on, sold, or changed ownership, with few remaining, due to the many challenges faced in maintaining their business in a climate of fluctuating policy requirements.

To continue, before the year 2000, education as a whole sector had undergone many transformations. These included documents that influenced and steered the direction of education in early childhood, the compulsory sector and tertiary education. These were the Picot report (Taskforce to Review Administration, 1998), Tomorrows Schools (Lange, 1988), and the report of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (Wylie & MacDonald, 2020).

The political economy was intense with the acknowledgment of the underperformance of education, especially within the compulsory sector. The tertiary sector policies were being delivered to increase participation and the student loan scheme was implemented. The student allowance was extended to the age of 25 years, and Capital Assistance Programme (CAPs) funding was lifted (Crawford, 2016).

An unofficial briefing paper was submitted to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation organisation in September 1999 that criticises the fact that the reforms being implemented could not be measured due to inefficient data collection and monitoring. It mentions two conflicting thoughts about education which remain today which are: the view by parents and educators where relationships and the fostering of equity are the key values in education; and the view of The Treasury which favoured businesspeople and competition and choice. The document also identifies the inequities in education not only in terms of the barriers around school zones but also areas of concern such as increased school suspensions in secondary schools, absenteeism, failure of Māori children, and children leaving school early (Snook et al., 1999).

By 1999 Competency Based Assessments and Unit Standards as a qualification structure was starting to be implemented into the education system. Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) were being established, and there were 500 PTEs supporting a compulsory sector that was seen to be failing (Tearney, 2016).

The establishment of the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs in 1990 had occurred. In 1993 the first elected Pacific Member of Parliament, Honourable Taito Phillip Field, entered the House of Representatives, followed by Honourable Arthur Anae in 1996, and Vui Mark Gosche became the first Pacific Minister to hold a portfolio in 1996.

Pacific political actors were starting to rise within politics and parties, such as the Mauri Pacific Party established in 1998. This curbed the policy culture of the country as Māori and Pacific leadership was starting to emerge (Whimp, 2019).

As mentioned in the literature review, the Closing the Gaps document published in 1999 by Prime Minister Helen Clark gave rise to a new affirmative policy to address the inequities, specifically those affecting Māori and Pacific Peoples. The climate was set for a new approach and policy.

3.3 Tertiary Education Strategy 2002-2007

Under the current climate, and with the proposed transformative changes, Prime Minister Helen Clark released the first TES under a Labour Government in 2002, under the Honourable Minister Steve Maharey, Associate Minister of Tertiary Education.

The release of the first TES to be implemented identified six strategies.

1. Strengthen system Capability and Quality,
2. Te Rautaki Mātauranga Māori – Contribute to the Achievement of Māori Development and Aspirations,
3. Raise Foundations Skills, so all can participate in our knowledge society,
4. Develop the skills New Zealanders need for our knowledge society,
5. Educate for Pacific Peoples development and success,
6. Strengthen Research Knowledge Creation and uptake for our knowledge society. (Ministry of Education, 2002d, p. 51).

This strategy identifies and recognises that the Pacific community represents a "significant and rapidly growing population" (Ministry of Education, 2002c, p. 16) meaning NZ must ensure that this community's capability and upskilling ensure their success.

The strategy set specific goals and targets to be achieved by 2007 with a plan to increase participation and achievement, improve retention and encourage higher levels of study, as well as, stating four specific requirements for TEOs under Objectives 25, 26,27, and 28 (pp. 52-53). A pace had been set and several documents supporting the TES were released to help inform, guide and steer TEOs.

3.3.1 The Political Economic Environment

Excellence, Relevance and Access, An Introduction to the New Tertiary Education System (MoE, 2002a) released in May 2002, and informed the sector of the many

changes and that funding had been ring-fenced for PTEs and ITOs to support learners.

Inspiring Excellence for Pacific Peoples Throughout Tertiary Education, The Tertiary Education Commission's Pacific Peoples Strategy 2004 to 2006 and Beyond (TEC, 2004) identified a Pacific Steering Group and a Pacific Tertiary Reference Group to support the TEC towards the required outcomes under the chairpersonship of Kaye Turner.

The Pacific Education Research Guidelines (Anae et al., 2001), released by MoE, were to help TEOs guide and develop their research on and for Pacific peoples, emphasising the importance of utilising research to inform policy direction and informed practice.

Priorities. Interim Statement of Tertiary Priorities 2005/07, a document released by the MoE (2005) under Honourable Trevor Mallard, suggested that "this STEP replaces the Statement of Tertiary Education Priorities 2003-04 suggesting that while this STEP is in place, the government will be developing the next TES" (p. 5).

The government continued to inform the sector and pre-warned them of the rapid changes in the system that needed to be strengthened. The document strongly emphasises that the sector needs to be "Meeting the Development Aspirations of Pasifika" (p. 26). To do this, the sector needs to create links with the Pacific community, improve Pacific success, continually develop Pacific Peoples' pathways towards degrees and post graduate studies, and provide learning environments for Pacific learners "to provide opportunities to advance in all subjects" (p. 30).

The *Pasifika Education Plan 2006-2010* (MoE, 2001) was an underpinning document, referred to in the TES, on the importance of Pacific Peoples' education, advocating for a seamless movement through the three education sectors. However, the community's Pasifika Education Plan failed to be recognised as a policy document.

In other words, this government recognised the need for change and felt assured that it had been inclusive in its process within policy. The release of the first TES

informed NZ that this strategy was taking a militant view and that this approach would be the same as government.

> This new form of politics emphasises social inclusion, pluralism, and democratic involvement within an active civil society that supports a market economy. Education policy and economic globalisation are the complementary mantras of third way politics. (Codd, 2002, p. 31)

A document called the *Interim Statement of Tertiary Education Priorities (STEP) 2002/07* (MoE, 2002b) was released by the then Minister Steve Maharey to support the strategies. The document mentioned that a statement of priorities would be issued by the government at least once every three years to address the sector's changing needs and drive the government requirements.

For Pacific peoples it states five objectives that direct TEOs to the importance of the development of this community, such as the accountability of the system, to ensure services for Pacific education, and to increase the proportion of staff at decision-making levels. The document also alludes to the Pasifika Education Plan and the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs. It would be fair to say that this was a strong document directing TEOs on what was expected and how to respond to Pacific peoples.

However, the political climate was beginning to change with the elections of 2005 fast approaching.

In 2004, Don Brash's Orewa speech significantly impacted New Zealanders' views on the Treaty. The following is a quote from his speech:

> the topic I will focus on today, is the dangerous drift towards racial separatism in New Zealand, and the development of the now entrenched Treaty grievance industry. We are one country with many peoples, not simply a society of Pakeha and Māori where the minority has a birthright to the upper hand, as the Labour Government seems to believe. (Brash, 2004)

This speech had an enormous effect, so much so that Prime Minister Helen Clark, who had released the 'Closing the Gaps' document in 1999, in the run-up to the 2005 elections, only mentioned the Treaty of Waitangi in her 2004 speeches and press releases just three times in 2005 (Fyers, 2018).

This influence changed the language in policies, and this showed in the following TES, as the government did not mention Māori or Pacific as a specific strategy but used the phrase 'All New Zealanders.'

Tertiary Education Profile and Trends (MoE, 2002b) was released to evaluate the state of the sector and focus on system performance. The document strongly noted the increase in Māori participation, mentioning that Māori had a faster enrolment rate than any other ethnic group that

> Māori participation is higher than non-Māori for all age groups except the 18- to 24-year-old age group. 17.2 percent of the Māori population aged 15 and over were formally enrolled in 2002, compared with 11.4 percent in 2000. (MoE, 2002c, p. 12).

This was a first for Māori with the lift in participation rates, although 79% were attending a Wānanga. Pasifika student numbers were also on the rise and students were shifting away from PTEs and towards the wānanga.

As the political environment and profile of indigenous peoples started to increase, the Māori Party established itself in 2004 under Tariana Turia and Peter Sharples (Curtin & Miller, 2015). The party found itself protesting the Labour Party's stance on The Foreshore and Seabed policy removing customary rights.

Amongst all this was a push from the government to bring Te Wānanga O Aotearoa (TWoA) into the disrepute regarding financial mismanagement, though others' opinions on this differ (New Zealand Parliament, 2005). In 2005 TWoA came under government scrutiny with the proposed overspending and lack of accountability over the use of monies. It was known to the sector that the wānanga had recruited large numbers of students, so much so that it also became a threat to the sector, and the government was left with an unmanageable bill as numbers of enrolments climbed. Yet, the government's angle to address this was non-compliance and scrutiny over

the quality of programmes. It is interesting to note that in a parliament debate, the Hon Ken Shirley from the ACT party (2005) stated:

> I might add that initially the incoming Labour Government also declined to approve funding for the wānanga at that rate. Then what happened? Do members remember the state of the nation address when everything was to be about closing the gaps? Everything was to be about closing the gaps and just throwing money at things Māori, irrespective of quality or targeting. That is what we can trace this back to. At that point the Labour Government changed its mind and said that it would meet Rongo Wētere's request—it would give him almost unlimited funding on an equivalent full-time student basis; he would get funding at that rate for as many people as he wanted to enrol in those courses.
>
> Look at the figures! Can members guess what the budget for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa was in 2000? How much do members reckon it was? [Interruption] No, it was $5 million in 2000. How much do members reckon that had grown to by last year, the 2004 calendar year? The answer is $239 million of taxpayers' money. That is the thick end of a quarter of a billion dollars.

The Honourable Brian Donnelly (NZ First Party) replied,

> I start by saying that there is a delicious irony in this whole issue over Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, in that the wānanga, it was the model that was established through the 1990s, and now, here in 2005, a successful institution, which started off in a garage next to a dump in Te Awamutu, is the largest tertiary institution. (New Zealand Parliament, 2005)

The importance of quoting exactly what was said in the parliamentary debate enables the reader to see how damaging this was to an organisation, that was seen to be lifting the numbers of Māori and Pacific students. Much controversy and debate took place in NZ about Māori and Pacific Peoples, their rights were being contested, and

the shift in progress regarding tertiary was being tested. Race-based politics were coming to the forefront and open to challenges.

Yet Smyth (2012) mentions that the increase in spending was due to the government promoting an increase in participation and enabling greater autonomy for institutions. As a result, the government experienced over-enrolment and problems with government expenditure (Smyth, 2012).

In 2008, National won the general election, and Tariana Turia and Peter Sharples became MPs under the then Prime Minister John Key.

3. 4 Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012, Incorporating Statement of Tertiary Education Priorities

The second TES was released for 2007-2012 (MoE, 2007) under Michael Cullen, the Minister for Tertiary Education. The strategy focused on the sector and named specific education providers' responsibilities and expectations. Unfortunately, the policy failed to be clear about community groups, namely Māori or Pacific people. There were four priorities named under this TES:

1. Increasing educational success for Young New Zealanders – more achieving qualifications at level four and above by age 25.
2. Increasing Literacy and Numeracy levels for the workforce.
3. Increasing the achievement of advanced trade, technical and professional qualifications to meet regional and industry needs.
4. Improving research connections and linkages to create economic opportunities. (MoE, 2007, p.30)

This TES makes mention of the first TES and proposes that this second TES will build upon the first one and the aspirations of the community. Similarly, it said that greater investment into retention and success and access to higher levels of education are required for Pacific peoples.

Pacific peoples were removed from this strategy, did not hold a place of priority, and were assumed to be identified under the label all New Zealanders, as mentioned above regarding Don Brash’s Orewa Speech. This weakened Pacific peoples’

positions within TEOs, Pacific leadership positions and support structures. The TEC was restructured to reflect the strategy which impacted the TEOs and the organisation's Pacific positioning (Radio New Zealand, 2013).

3.4.1 The Political Economic Environment Post-2007

More government policies were being released to support the direction of the sector and the TEOs.

The TEC released the *Investment Guidance 2008-2010* (TEC, 2007) suggesting that this document will support the TES for the next three years by supporting TEOs to develop an investment plan. The focus was to encourage TEOs to note the transition in the sector as the TESs will transform the sector and require critical shifts. The document also refers to the role of a wānanga in support of this environment supporting Māori and Tikanga, but it does not refer to other institutions having to support Māori and Tikanga, stating, "This will occur in the context of āhuatanga and tikanga based environments" (TEC, 2007, p. 15).

The document contains 460 points that TEOs needed to take into consideration to enable this shift for Māori and Pacific communities (as the two have been identified together in the document), numbers 246-250 inform the TEOs of the current situation for these community groups, number 251 informs the TEOs about what the government is doing to support this shift, and numbers 252 and 253 inform the TEOs about the steps that should be taken to achieve this shift to support these groups through the sector. Numbers 338 to 374 have a focus on Māori. They emphasise the importance of Māori and the need to support Māori across the sector, Number 357 for the first time, alludes to TEC appointing two full-time Stakeholder Engagement Managers Iwi/Māori who will support the sector response; however, the direction is very much towards wānanga (TEC, 2007, p. 15).

Another *Pasifika Education Plan 2009-2012* (MoE, 2009b) was released, again highlighting the success of the government and the MoE in providing greater direction for Pacific achievement. This document spouted among these points, an increase in participation and retention rates, yet only 39% completed their

qualification (MoE, 2009, p. 5). Various government initiatives were promoted, such as the student allowance and scholarships with directives towards Pacific students on access for support, but there was nothing specific for institutions to have to fulfil. They were signifying a weakness in the document to direct a response to TEOs and laying most of the responsibility on the community.

The TEC *Statement of Intent 2009-2012* (MoE, 2009c) was released by the then Chair of the commission on 28 May 2009. This driving document informed tertiary providers of the importance of accountability, demonstrating value for money in how they operate, and the need for greater collaboration across the sector. The document refers to the priority groups and the need for institutes to measure their activity and success, noting the importance of these groups and the need to upskill the workforce.

The Clydesdale Report (De Bres, 2009) was a document that was damaging to the Pacific community and was reported as stating that, "Pacific Islanders crime rates, poor education and low employment were creating an underclass and a drain on the economy" (De Bres, 2009, p, 149).

This document caused huge media controversy, so much that the Human Rights Commission asked for reviews from several academics who damned the report and highlighted the lack of validity in the research (Pierson, 2008). However, there was also considerable support for the research document and academics' right to freedom of speech.

Both Māori and Pacific had been brought to the forefront of the political environment within media and through the influences and positioning of the Māori Party, including widespread media coverage of the Hikoi (protest march) and the mistrust of government (Keane, 2012).

The Youth Guarantee was launched in 2010 (Tolley, 2009). The initiative was to address the unemployed youth, whose numbers were significant and growing in the communities around NZ. Secondary schools were failing Māori and Pacific students who were exiting compulsory education with little or no qualification. The Youth Guarantee was a quick fix to capture those of 16 and 17 years of age and move them into vocational training, with no fees and student support in place.

The unemployment rate for Māori and Pacific peoples began to rise such that, by March 2009, Māori unemployment rose to 8.8% and Pacific unemployment rose to 8.5%, whereas European unemployment declined to 3.3% (Ministry of Social Development, 2009).

By 2012 the Pacific community was starting to highlight their lack of trust in policies and the government of the day.

A protest march was organised through Queen Street in Auckland (Russell, 2012). Reverend Uesifili Unasa said,

> The march is a community initiative to give voice and visibility to the growing inequality of people, families and communities in our New Zealand society … In particular, there is a need to call a stop on government policies that have ravaged Pacific people's lives and aspirations. (Stuff, 2009)

The *Education Policy Outlook: New Zealand* document was released in June 2013 (OECD, 2013). The phrase 'better policies for better lives' highlights key issues at the forefront of education in NZ. These are the impact of education on the socio-economic outcomes specifically for Māori and Pacific communities, and the need to address the diversity in schools, lower outcomes, and the likelihood of not finishing secondary education.

With these events and policies released over this period and Pacific Peoples' timeliness in profiling their concerns, these issues came to the forefront of politics. Again, the tide turns, and another TES is launched.

3.5 The Tertiary Education Strategy 2010-2015

The TES for 2010-2015 (MoE, 2010) was delivered by the Minister for Tertiary Education, Honourable Anne Tolley, who held the role before changing her portfolio. In the document she states, "We are taking a long-term view of our investment in tertiary education" (MoE, 2010, p. 2).

This document presents a new format for delivery which came in three parts.

Part One identifies the strategic direction; Part two identifies the priorities, and Part three, the expectations of providers and students. The document tries to steer the sector towards a changing environment.

The TES acknowledges six priorities: increasing the number of young people in tertiary education; increasing the number of Māori moving into higher levels; increasing the number of Pasifika moving into higher levels; increasing the number of young people (25 and under) achieving qualifications at level four and above; improving financial outcomes; and improving research outcomes.

The strategy mentions how this is to be done and the government's expectations. This TES also brings both Māori and Pacific people's goals together without acknowledging differences or outcomes.

3.5 (a) Political and Economic Environment

The tertiary sector portfolio was then taken over by Honourable Steven Joyce, in 2011 and the focus started to shift in the sector as industry began to engage and influence the sector more regarding their demands.

The Productivity Commission released a document in 2015. Chair of the Commission Mr Murray Sherwin mentions explicitly that there should be an exposure of all drafts of all new bills, so the public gets a chance to look at new legislation before it goes into the house (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2014)

There was a desire to engage with industry with the move to incentivise the young and mature Pacific community into level 4 programmes, no further. So, the policy to drive Māori and Pacific to higher levels contradicted this initiative and the previous TES for priority groups to attain higher qualifications.

Māori, Pasifika Trades Training started (level 4) with the government investing in the two communities to place them into trades. This enabled free training, free tools, and pastoral support within tertiary institutions (Parliament New Zealand, 2014).

These initiatives that were put in place revealed that there was still cause for concern for Maori and Pacific achievement, and a shift in policy was again required.

3.6 The Tertiary Education Strategy 2014-2019

The fourth TES 2014-2019 (MoE & MBIE, 2014) under Minister for Tertiary Education, Honourable Steven Joyce, again identified six priorities:

- delivering skills for industry,
- getting at-risk young people into a career,
- boosting achievement of Māori and Pasifika,
- improving adult literacy and numeracy,
- strengthening research-based institutions, and
- growing international linkages (MoE & MBIE, 2014, p. 8).

Within this TES, Pacific peoples were again identified but were placed as a priority group with Māori, under strategy 3, Boosting the achievement of Māori and Pasifika. This lessened the position of Tangata Whenua, giving Māori no specific priority on their own and proposing that both Māori and Pacific had exactly the needs, seeing them as the same people. This were reinforcing the notion that the government had little engagement or interaction with these communities, placing the two together and not acknowledging differences or the place of recognition as Tangata Whenua. Thus, the government sees these two communities requiring the same response and outcomes! The changes in the direction of priorities within these strategies has been interesting to say the least, from government and community perspectives, in engaging with the community to ensure their voices are heard. An example of one of the consultations that took place with the development of the 2014-2019 strategy was from the stakeholders' feedback within the submissions.

> Māori and Pasifika should be represented in separate strategic priorities, to reflect the different issues and responses needed in relation to each group. There was concern that linking Māori and Pasifika together might not recognise government's particular obligations in relation to Māori, including obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi Draft Tertiary Education Strategy. (MBIE & TEC, 2014 p. 33)

It questions how much value government, its policy, policy writers, and policy processes consider feedback from communities!

3.6 (a) Political Economic Environment post-2014

Complementing the TES was the *Pacific Education Plan 2013-2017* (MoE, 2013), released by Honourable Minister of Education Anne Tolley, Honourable Minister Georgina Te Heu Heu, and the Secretary for Education Karen Sewell. The *Pacific Education Plan* set specific targets for each sector and proposed what it would also do to support the community under three goals for tertiary education:

1. Pasifika people are a highly skilled and highly educated workforce that fully contributes to New Zealand's economy and society.
2. Use research and evidence effectively to achieve the goals of the Pasifika Education Plan.
3. Pasifika learners participate and achieve at all levels at least on a par with other learners in tertiary education (Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 11).

However, over 2009-2012, NZ went through several tragic events, including the Christchurch earthquakes and Pike River disaster, which distracted much of the politics. Auckland was evolving, with seven other city councils merging into one supercity. Len Brown was the first mayor elected under the Auckland supercity in 2010. He was previously the Manukau City mayor in 2007 and brought a strong focus and connection to the Pacific community.

The NZ election in 2017 saw a Labour Government was elected, and Jacinda Ardern became Prime Minister. The Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system meant

Parliament consisted of seven Pacific MPs across the parties, with the most significant number representing Labour. This creates the perception that Pacific peoples were in a stronger position knowing that those in leadership in government are at the forefront. They are considered Actors of influence, giving the Pacific community a voice and a stronger place in policy to bring Pacific Peoples' issues to the fore.

The MoE initiated a policy that enables first-time tertiary students to access fees-free education for their programme of choice for the first year (TEC, 2022).

This policy was released at a time when the tertiary sector enrolment and participation numbers were starting to drop. But also, it encouraged those who would not have usually participated to take the chance to enter tertiary education. The results of this policy have been controversial, as noted in the *New Zealand Herald*, regarding who benefits from fees-free (Jones, 2018).

The article suggests that the policy did not achieve what it had set out to do, with 78% of those taking advantage of the incentive of fees-free coming from decile 7-10 schools. In other words, the policy supported those positioned well socio-economically, who are financially able to access the system whilst those that it had intended to address did not reach the same numbers. In other words, this policy failed to meet its intention to attract those who may not have been able to study due to the financial costs.

A newly updated Education and Training Act for New Zealand (MoE, 2020d) was released in August 2020, which was timed well for the release of the new TES in November of that year.

In regard to the tertiary sector, the new Education Act addressed the newly established Te Pūkenga, the newly reformed vocational education institute, to enable the entity to hold specific powers of influence. Te Pūkenga is an education initiative driven under the current Labour Government, Minister of Education, Honourable Chris Hipkins, to amalgamate 16 Polytechnics under the one umbrella. This Reform

of Vocational Education (RoVE) is the most significant reform for the tertiary sector in over 25 years (Te Pūkenga, 2020).

3.7 Tertiary Education Strategy 2020 and beyond

On 13 November 2020, three months after the Education and Training Act was renewed on 1 August, a new TES was released (MoE, 2020c). In this document there are five objectives and National Education Learning Priorities (NELPs) that provide some context:

1. Learners at the centre – Learners with their whānau are at the centre of education.
2. Barrier-free access – Great education opportunities and outcomes are within reach for every learner.
3. Quality teaching and leadership – Quality teaching and leadership make the difference for learners and their whānau.
4. Future of learning and work – Learning that is relevant to the lives of New Zealanders today and throughout their lives.
5. World-class inclusive public education – New Zealand education is trusted and sustainable.

Specifically, for tertiary education, the TES stated the following priorities for TEOs:

- ensuring that places of learning are safe and inclusive, and free from racism, discrimination, and bullying,
- reducing barriers to success and strengthening the quality of teaching to give learners the skills they need to succeed in education, work, and life,
- taking account of learners' needs, identities, languages and cultures in their planning and practice,
- incorporating te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into their everyday activities, and
- collaborating more with whānau, employers, industry, and communities to support learners to succeed in work.

The strategy emphasises the need to work closely with the MoE's NELPs, with a strong focus on the primary and secondary sectors. There are no specific priorities for Pacific Peoples. For Māori, priority five requires the need to incorporate Te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into everyday activities.

This strategy is very different from the past four strategies as it takes away the focus on achievement for specific groups and is viewed as incorporating 'all' under learners. The delivery of the strategy was combined into one document with primary and secondary priorities, promoting seamless educational goals which had not been done before.

3.7 (a) Political and Economic Environment

The new *Pacific Education Plan* (MoE, 2020a) was also released by the Honourable Jenny Salesa. This was the first time, it was noted, that this *Pacific Education Plan* was an Action Plan, and it was proposed to be in partnership with Pacific Communities.

It identifies five key focus areas for change that are needed to achieve this vision, and each of these focuses comes under the TES priority goals:

1. work reciprocally with diverse Pacific communities to respond to unmet needs, with an initial focus on needs arising from the COVID-19 pandemic,
2. confront systemic racism and discrimination in education,
3. enable every teacher, leader, and educational professional to take coordinated action to become culturally competent with diverse Pacific learners,
4. partner with families to design education opportunities together with teachers, leaders, and educational professionals so aspirations for learning and employment can be met, and
5. grow, retain and value highly competent teachers, leaders, and educational professionals with diverse Pacific whakapapa (MoE, 2020a).

Ka Hikitia – Ka Hapāitia – Māori Education Strategy was also released. This document states particular focus areas for Māori. The framework has five outcome domains:

1. Te Whānau: Education provision responds to learners within the context of their whānau,
2. Te Tangata: Māori are free from racism, discrimination, and stigma in education,
3. Te Kanorautanga: Māori are diverse and need to be understood in the context of their diverse aspirations and lived experiences,
4. Te Tuakiritanga: Identity, language, and culture matter for Māori learners, and
5. Te Rangatiratanga: Māori exercise their authority and agency in education.

(MoE, 2009a)

From the view of the researcher, there has been more emphasis for Māori and Pacific outside of the main TES. This is also commonly found in Australia with the Aboriginal Education Strategy separate from the 'main' strategy (Department of Education, 2018).

Knowing that the TESs have been in place for nearly 20 years, it is crucial to see if the strategies have been successful in the eyes of the government in terms of their understanding of success and achievement. The statement quoted below reveals that the lack of progression and inequity remain:

> In 2020, 74.5% of Asian school leavers from the 2019 cohort enrolled in tertiary education, 14.9 percentage points higher than total leavers. The equivalent measure for European/Pākehā leavers was 62.3%, Pacific leavers 49.3% and Māori leavers 46.3%.
>
> Since 2014 there has been a decrease in tertiary enrolments for all ethnic groups. The most significant decrease was for Pacific school leavers, which decreased 9.3 percentage points between the 2014 leaver cohort and the 2019 leaver cohort. Over the same period tertiary enrolments decreased 8.6 percentage points for Māori

> school leavers, 5.8 percentage points for Asian leavers and 3.9 percentage points for European/Pākehā leavers (MoE,2020f).

The MoE website, Education Counts, provides information on school leaver destinations 2020 which shows that Pacific people still lag in accessing tertiary education. The statistics also reveal that Māori and Pacific students are more likely to enrol in foundation courses, certificates, and diplomas. Again, they are showing that, for Pacific and Māori, the last 20 years have failed to deliver what the Government had intended.

3.8 The Pacific Education Plan

As each TES was released, so too were *Pacific Education Plans*. For the tertiary sector this meant viewing two documents, the TES, and the *Pasifika Education Plan*, though very few knew of this second document or had sighted it. Throughout the years, the *Pacific Education Plans* were never mandated and approved by government as policy documents. And thus, there is little response, a lack of accountability and a desire to engage in the tertiary sector. Proudly, Māori were able to have *Ka Hikitia – the Māori Education Strategy* acknowledged as policy and stated as a strategy, unlike the *Pacific Education Plan*!

3.9 Chapter Summary

From the aspirations of the Pacific community and their leaders, almost 20 years after the first TES, little has been learned or gained regarding policy processes and the need to consult. The inconsistency of the strategies and inclusivity of Pacific Peoples throughout each document demeans the effort of the previous years of building capability and capacity within large tertiary organisations. This questions the government's ability to engage with this community and to understand the implications for the Pacific community.

McLaughlin (2003) comments that “Tertiary policy in New Zealand is often made too often on ideology, rhetoric and anecdote. More and better analysis, programme evaluation and research are needed to inform the design and implementation of policy” (p. 8).

McLaughlin (2003) further remarks that because of the lack of capability within government and its inability to engage with communities, it should develop an expert advisory group to support the development of the TES.

Much conversation and documentation have been identified to substantiate the reasoning for ensuring Pacific Peoples retain their place in the TES and that, with every policy, funding and monitoring should follow.

The New Zealand Treasury working paper (Crawford, 2000) emphasises the disparity and inequality experienced by Māori and Pacific Peoples across many sectors, but specifically in education. The document comments on budget allocation, noting the “government currently spends $15.6 billion per annum on education, employment, and housing programmes. On a population basis, assuming equal access, the Maori and Pacific people’s share of this expenditure is in order of $3.1 billion” (Crawford, 2000, p. 13).

However, initiatives put in place for Māori and Pacific to address these inequalities were estimated at a small proportion of this figure, at just $500 million. The Treasury advises that better resources distribution and achievable measures need to be put in place for improvement.

A commissioned report under the New Zealand Productivity Commission (Meehan et al., 2017) examined ethnic disparities in bachelor’s qualifications. There were of course internal and external complexities that created such disparities; however, it still found that

> Pasifika have the lowest completion rates – about 42% of Pasifika that participate in a three-year bachelor’s qualification complete their degree within five years. Just under half of Māori complete,

> while Europeans and Asians both have approximately a 70% completion rate. (p. 15)

The New Zealand Productivity Commission (2017) was also tasked with examining the tertiary system and looking at new models, taking into consideration several factors. This report of 527 pages again clearly mentions that the sector needs to identify and support Māori and Pacific students in the system. Initiatives like fee subsidies for those in lower socio-economic areas were recommended and suggestions were made around equity funding that is provided to TEOs for enrolling Māori and Pacific students.

Spoonley (2020) also mentions the changing population trends, the growing disparities across the populations, NZ's aging population and the increase in Māori and Pacific fertility rates, and the youthful population of these two groups. He states on the back of his book cover:

> It is not a crisis (even if at times it feels like it), but rather something that needs to be understood and responded to. But I fear that policymakers and politicians are not up to the challenge. That would be a crisis.

These are just a few examples of the research, documentation, and findings from various government ministries. Yet researchers have emphasised the need to address Pacific Peoples multiple times throughout the years from 2002 to 2020. They share the same concerns regarding policymakers and politicians not being up to the challenge (Clanton, 2018; Hirsh & Scott, 1988; Kidman & Chu, 2019; Mariott & Sim, 2015; Spoonley, 2020).

As alluded to in the literature Review in Chapter Two, the concerns in 2014 and the reasons for creating the Refreshed Policy Quality Framework meant that policy advisors had to re-look at their process and engagement with communities, as well as highlighting that NZ does not have policy advisors that have this capability (Wu et al., 2018).

> The reforms have been very successful in widening participation in tertiary education, within a fiscal constraint. Yet, while participation of disadvantaged groups such as Māori and Pasifika have increased strongly over the last 25 years, they are still significantly under-represented at higher levels and in particular fields of study. The inquiry should consider how new approaches might reduce this under-representation. (Crawford, 2016, p. 18)

The following chapter presents the methodology used to examine stakeholder's experiences of policy processes. It tells how the research was carried out and the steps taken to obtain the answers to the research aims.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology undertaken to answer the key questions of the research. The focus of the study is to gain an in-depth understanding of a community's experience within public policy processes.

The methodology framework used was a qualitative case study methodology triangulated with reflexivity with a Fijian cultural framework which positions the researcher. The Talanoa methodology was incorporated into the data collection process when engaging with participants. The Va approach was included as a key Pacific concept within the collection methodology.

4.1 Qualitative Case Study Methodology

To identify the policy process undertaken by the government, in this case, the MoE, this research utilised a qualitative case study methodology (Gerring, 2017; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995, Yin, 2014). This methodology supports the understanding of an event or case, enabling an in-depth process and insight to the experiences that occurred through the policy process. The methodology provided the ability to capture through the narrative the complexities and understandings from both sides to identify issues or similar themes that may emerge (Stake, 1995).

A case can be described as a phenomenon that looks to describe or explain what has happened at a particular time or in a series of events occurring over a period and may examine what processes took place, the effects on people, and their response or behaviour. This approach allowed participants to reflect upon their previous roles or experiences. It enabled participants to explore how things evolved out of their organisation or community, how the strategies were rolled out, and their thoughts on how the policy process should have happened.

A qualitative enquiry supported the process of exploration and enabled the researcher to delve deep into areas and examine issues and themes with participants. It further allowed participants to bring the research close to their experiences and the researcher to get closer to the stakeholder, enabling a shared engagement and empathy (Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Schram, 2003).

This case study captures a time frame from 2002 to 2020 in which five TESs were released. The participants were able to recall and reflect upon their experiences and gain an opportunity to express their feelings and understanding of occurrences through the consultation process. Qualitative enquiry, as described by Merriam (1998), "can be defined as a conversation but a 'conversation with a purpose'" (p. 71). Although this statement is very much agreed with here, there is often a particular approach needed to get to this point when interviewing Pacific people.

4.2 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a fundamental principle and approach further used in the methodology. As a researcher, one can also acknowledge one's role in the research process and allow one's own experiences, assumptions, and beliefs to be examined. The researcher comes from within the sector and is known to most of the participants, therefore the conversation and environment is familiar, requiring the researcher to be reflexive, and conscious that personal beliefs or one's own experiences do not affect the research. As mentioned by May and Perry (2012), "Where and how researchers work is fundamental in shaping the capacities and capabilities to produce research as content and context lie in a dynamic interaction" (p. 2).

I am a researcher whose positioning and heritage allowed for the use of a Fijian cultural framework (Nabobo-Baba, 2008) to help guide the way with both the data collection and the analysis process. A Fijian framework was utilised at each focus group or face-to-face session by way of identity at introduction, to name one's heritage, tribal affiliations, connections to community, connection as a Pacific person, and the research's reasoning. This approach helps ease the situation and

prevent a common suspicion from the community when one comes to interview Pacific people, as "research practice is grounded in cultural uniqueness, working in our distinctive ways" (George et al., 2020, p. 5).

This enabled the researcher to seek a connection with the participants, show respect and responsibility towards the community, engage with participants, and allow them to feel comfortable and be in a space that best suited them. The researcher's cultural values came into play naturally when hosting others, ensuring the right to speak, hierarchy, and cultural norms when interacting with participants. To reiterate the value of their contribution to their community and communities at large, this research is reciprocal and will support the advancement of Pacific peoples' knowledge (Smith, 1999).

4.3 Researcher's position

The researcher needs to consider the fluidity of the insider-outsider position, often termed as an intersectional approach due to the recognition of her ethnicity as a Pacific person, but also as a person who was both part of the process or known to the participants during some of these case studies, "recognising the multiple, intersecting, and inseparable identities" (Couture et al., 2012, p. 86) with the participants. This can be considered a strength as the relationships with the participants are established and the people involved are known to each other as well as knowing about the topic of discussion.

This helps the researcher connect and delve deeper when questions need to be further analysed. The researcher is aware of her own thoughts or biases and must consider that they are managed as part of the need to be objective in this process through data collection and analysis, as the researcher is the primary instrument during data collection (Merriam, 1998). Thus, interpreting and analysing the data is vital so one does not impose any bias or proposed agendas but maintains an ethical stance and understanding of the moral implications of one's interpretation or influences, and remains fully aware of one's disposition (Blythe et al., 2013; Schram, 2003).

Knowing the people and having knowledge of the subject matter enables a key entry point to the dilemma or topic to validate the discussion (Day, 2012). Most importantly, a researcher needs to be credible in his/her approach as the participants are his/her community, and thus this trust and knowledge, and participants knowing that the researcher lives in the community, requires the researcher to live with the consequences of the outcome of the research, be it a positive or negative response (Smith, 1999).

4.4 Talanoa

The concept of Talanoa was further interwoven into the methodology process. This method is known and shared by the Pacific community as a process or platform for discussion that brings with it the values and protocols which identify how people interact with each other. Talanoa can be described as "a personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities, and aspirations", which will enrich the conversation and provide new knowledge through sharing (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 21).

Talanoa can be observed or experienced as a conversation, a talk, or a place to share ideas, share thoughts or to solve challenges, problem-solve issues that have arisen in ways that are shared to find a solution or agreement. This approach provided a space for participants to offer their concepts, understandings and experiences, their interpretation of events, their thoughts, and reflections. Qualitative case study research underpinned by the Talanoa research methodology complements a qualitative approach, as it is essential to use a methodology that is recognised, understood, familiar and incorporates the values and protocols of the people. This allows voices to be heard, provides time to be heard and does not restrict the process through an inflexible structure but allows for fluidity in the process, enabling storytelling, expressions, and observations to take place through one's language.

The data collection phase was further strengthened and enhanced using the concept of the Va. The importance of understanding the Va in the methodology is in really understanding the relationships between people and how we respond, react, and enable conversations to be had, which underpins Talanoa. This is best explained by Albert Wendt (1996),

> Va is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. (p. 15)

Va is relevant to most Pacific cultures, but it is the understanding of its presence that supports both the physical and the spiritual (Matapo & McFall-McCaffery, 2022). This is much the same within the Fijian culture that embraces the same concept known as Veidoki, Veirokovi, Veikauwaitaki or Veiwekani. This identifies a social order based on mana, respect, integrity and in being sincere in one's work or willingness to engage. Fijian culture and other Pacific nations are hierarchical so knowing where one's place is in terms of seniority, within a tribal and kinship environment, and even with family members, is important.

The concept of Va is difficult to explain when one has been brought up to know and understand one's place and the space between. This came into the fold of Talanoa with participants as we know and acknowledge and respect the Va and the space between us. Particularly, it applied when the researcher interviewed the older participants, those who hold chiefly titles, ministers of the church, leaders, and those who are male that the researcher sat with alone to hear their stories. It is space that is culturally acknowledged but not spoken of, as it is embedded within us and learnt in the early years of life as to how we respect and identify our space.

The researcher is of Fijian descent, raised in Fiji and New Zealand. The theoretical framework is premised on a Fijian epistemology derived from the researcher's own experience, orientation, and perspectives seen through a Fijian lens, and this framework naturally occurred whilst adhering to Talanoa and Va through the interviews. It must be noted that not all participants are of Pacific heritage, yet these values were adhered to throughout.

4.5 Key steps in the methodology process

4.5.1 Step 1 Document analysis

The first step in this process was the analysis of documentation, the reports and policy papers from the TEC, TEAC, or the MoE, and historical policy documentation and legislation. This material included election manifestoes and other key documents

that described commitments by governments to Pacific people's educational development. These documents were analysed to better understand the context of the environment under which the five strategies were developed. Complementing this was also reference to knowledge around the political processes experienced that sit behind educational policy for indigenous communities in specific countries.

4.5.2 Step 2 Identification of key stakeholders to be interviewed.

When analysing the documents for this topic it was clear that the research needed to have participants interviewed from various parts of the sector to gain a broader view of the experiences had around the policy process with the TES. These included not only those affected by the TESs but also those who consulted for and on behalf of government and those who held prominent positions of influence within government organisations.

Key stakeholders were identified by the researcher who knew of particular people within the sector whose roles within TEOs were responsive to Pacific Peoples. Knowledge gained over the years enabled the identification of those who held roles within government ministries or held ministerial office. Participants also suggested to the researcher other names of people who would be worthwhile interviewing on the research topic.

To support and legitimise the research, it is important to access those who work or have worked in similar terrain to gain their insight, stories, and their experience/s with any of the five tertiary strategies (Qizilbash, 2012).

The participants were sought from universities, polytechnics, and private training providers, and from among government public servants or officials, identifying those involved in policy design and execution and those in senior management roles in various TEOs. The participants were not all Pacific; this was to avoid any bias towards Pacific positioning but enable a balanced view from those outside this community. The researcher was purposeful in identifying gender balance.

The ethnicity of participants was identified through the research questionnaire; however, participants were not sought after based on their ethnicity. Nonetheless, the gender balance is intentional to examine if gender and leadership impacted

participants' views or positions of responsibility in the organisation. Categories of participants ranged from community leaders, policy advisors, chief executives, Members of Parliament, and ministry officials.

4.5.3 Step 3 Participant invitations

To invite the participants to take part in the research, the researcher first informed each individual participant through an informal conversation about their interest in this topic. By way of this conversation came the formal request to seek their interest in being a participant. Using this approach would be considered polite and more accepting, rather than a formal notification and invitation to participants via email, without seeking their thoughts first. This is considered Pacific protocol when asking about arriving or visiting, as one must first seek approval to do so (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). Once confirmed, a formal request was sent via email to the participant, including the participant invitation, consent form, and questionnaire. It is interesting that most participants did not bring their signed consent form, which did not seem important to them. These were signed at the researcher's request.

4.5.4 Step 4 Interview location and context

The researcher asked each participant where they would like to be interviewed, when and at what time, to ensure they were comfortable with their surroundings and had control over the visiting time. The researcher, upon the visit, was aware of her surroundings and the protocols that were to take place, especially if the interview was carried out in a home or in a workplace, which reiterated the importance of the Va. If the participant was unfamiliar with the researcher, the researcher provided background through whakapapa to make a connection. Then Talanoa could occur when the participant was at ease, able to express themselves freely, and comfortable in the space and environment, knowing fully who the researcher is and the possible connection that both may have to each other. It is imperative for the community or participants to make their own choice and determine how they wish to respond and for them to identify where Talanoa will take place (Tolich, 2002). The researcher either brought food to the venue or took the participants out for lunch or coffee after the interview or focus group to acknowledge and thank them for their time. As a gift of appreciation, participants were offered a $50 gift voucher (Ponton, 2018).

4.5.5 Step 5 The interviews

Open-ended and in-depth interviews and or focus groups were offered as options to those from universities, polytechnics, private training providers and those who were government public servants or officials, in other words, those who influenced and engaged in the policy process. These interviews and focus groups provided an insight into how those in official roles or roles of influence contributed to the policy process for the TESs, as well as giving an insight into how resources are allocated to education systems and how Pacific peoples have contributed to the process.

The identified participants were from three different sources.

1. Private Training Establishments
2. Tertiary Education Institutes – Polytechnic and University
3. Government officials and Civil servants

The three-pronged approach is emphasised by Merriam (1998):

> In qualitative case studies, however, all three means of data collection are frequently used. Understanding its case in totality, as well as an intensive, holistic description and analysis characteristic of a case study. Mandates both breadth and depth of data collection. (p. 134)

4.5.6 Step 6 Questioning

The identified questions were used to guide the conversations and yet not restrict them when there was a need to explain further or conduct further questioning to ensure clarification. The data obtained used a theoretical framework allowing the storytelling, experiences, and questions to be combined into themes for analysis. As suggested by Merriam (1998), "The right way to analyse data is to do it simultaneously with data collection" (p. 162).

To analyse 'as you go' means identifying what gaps are starting to emerge, what areas have been missed, and seeking to ensure or validate what is being heard. Through this process, the themes emerge and enable the data to reveal the views and

experiences of the participants. The research may reveal the frequency of words or situations that may arise, or themes may appear and provide a unique view on an aspect the researcher may have not considered. Direct quotes are provided in the research report or thesis, to emphasise a point of reference, using uninterrupted voices from the community to validate themes and findings.

4.6 Thematic Approach

Examining, analysing, and identifying possible and emerging themes using reflexive thematic analysis was the approach utilised as it is seen to be flexible (Braun et al., 2019; Clarke et al., 2019). The following identified six steps were applied in analysing data.

These steps are:

1. Familiarisation with the data – where one reads the data and then re-reads it to become familiar with the content.
2. Coding – where one starts to identify labels and features which support the answering of the questions.
3. Generating initial themes – identifying and examining codes and creating significant broader themes from each candidate.
4. Reviewing the themes – re-examining the data, determining if the data is telling a story, then refining, splitting, combining, or discarding.
5. Defining and naming – where one starts to detail the analysis of each theme and determine the story of each theme.
6. Writing up – the final phase and the bringing together of the narrative in relation to the literature.

In the initial outset, the researcher sees this approach as supporting qualitative research and a case study approach. But it also enabled the space for cultural notions to be heard and the behavioural norms of the participants that have contributed to the research and suited questions that require people to relate to their experiences, views, and perceptions. This process ensured that the researcher was thorough in her

analysis of data and could validate the themes identified through a process that is clarified and enabling, to produce quality findings.

The thematic approach also proposes the use of differing orientations and variations that can be employed in gathering data, as follows:

- Inductive way, where one may code and theme the content.
- Deductive way, where codes and themes are directed by existing concepts.
- Semantic way, where coding and themes reflect the explicit content.
- Latent way, where coding and theme development identify concepts and assumptions.
- Critical realist or essential way, which focuses on reporting an assumed theme evident in the data.
- Constructionist way, which focuses on the reality of the data which creates the themes.

These orientations mentioned above can be used either individually or together. For example, in this research, the researcher uses a semantic way, where the coding and themes have been derived from the actual content, as well as a constructionist way in which the data helped to identify common themes (Braun et al., 2019).

This process has been challenged by Berkely (2014) and Hyde (2000) in situations where the process of structured interviews is less problematic for both qualitative and quantitative research. They suggest that the way in which questions can be probed during interviews can be controversial and that it could have implications for or could influence the research data. In other words, the researcher may already know what the answer may be and will look to try to influence or gain the answers as they see them. However, in this case the researcher understands that there are no answers that are right or wrong but that the interviews are an opportunity to gain participants' insights into and viewpoints on an event or a time frame. The data has guided the researcher to the recommendations in the findings.

This data that was collected will be stored in a safe file for five years.

4.7 Research Questions and Methods

Each research question that was asked linked to the research method used to answer the question.

4.7.1 Research question one – What was your understanding of the Tertiary Education Strategies when you were in your role or as a stakeholder?

The focus groups were the preferred method chosen to answer the first research question, although there is flexibility with the participant's choice (Nabobo-Baba, 2006).

One of the weaknesses of the focus group is the differing positions that stakeholders will bring to the forefront for a discussion of various aspects of their experience, considering the different experiences they have had. However, it could also be a strength to have others verify the way they feel and what was experienced.

This was mitigated by ensuring that the focus groups were not bigger than four people at a time, to allow the voice of each individual to be heard and for others to also hear the experiences.

4.7.2 Research question two - From your experience or knowledge, how did Pacific people gain access to the policy process?

This question was intended provide answers about how the policy advisors engaged with the community and what the participants' experience with engagement looked like, how they were approached and what they thought of the approach when being consulted. Again, as in Talanoa, group consultation is often the preferred method to approach and ask the community or stakeholders questions, confirming their thoughts with each other and looking for affirmation or confirmation in their thinking before they give their answers. This helps when the question spans across several years.

4.7.3 Research question three- What did you do to address the process or to engage with the process?

It was important to understand if those interviewed felt able to engage with the process or whether they had to find ways to engage with the process by themselves. Also, it was important to understand if they had been proactive or were in a position to address policy advisors in the process. A flexible approach was provided, either as an option to speak face-to-face or to Talanoa as a group, and Zoom was considered only under Covid restrictions, as restricting participants to a particular format or requirement does not empower a group or a people. As stated by George et al. (2020), "By offering community agency and control over their voices and knowledge we allow a space which community can see itself represented with dignity in the scholarly journals and books of our time" (p. 5).

4.7.4 Research question four- From your experience how well are Pacific people included in the process and what do you think would support the process for this community?

This question helped the researcher enable a conversation to take place to bring forth participants' thoughts, feelings, and experiences in the process. It was important that the researcher gained a sense of the group or individuals' understanding of the policy process and if this impacted their ability to engage. Especially, it was important to gain insight into the thoughts of those non-Pacific participants and how they viewed the process for the Pacific community.

*4.7.5 Research question five-In hindsight what could the Tertiary Education Commission have done to better engage Pacific peoples in the process of developing the Tertiary Education Strategies**?***

In answering this question, the researcher was able to identify some of the solutions to enable Pacific people to engage that could be offered to policy advisors and ministries who wish to consult with the Pacific community in better ways.

*4.7.6 Research question six- In hindsight, what could the Pacific peoples have done better to engage in the Tertiary Education Strategies**?***

This question was posed so that the researcher could identify ways in which Pacific people felt they could have done better in hindsight to engage in future with policy processes. This required the participants to recall experiences over the years in which they engaged with the strategies.

Data were gathered through a series of questions put to the participants knowing that they were personally connected to the TESs, either directly or indirectly. These may be the environment, political, economic, cultural, social, and personal, meanings that people will have in interpreting the questions differently based partly on their experience and realities.

A questionnaire was provided to enable the researcher to identify the ethnicity, role, gender, institution/organisation of the participant and region. All consultations and interviews were conducted in English, enabling the various Pacific peoples to converse with each other. However, if requested, a translator was offered.

> It is this as well as through face-to-face interaction, words spoken and behaviour (non-verbal body language, and so on), with purposeful and positive outcomes of the relationship in mind, that the relationship progresses and moves forward. For many Pasifika people, to not do this will incur the wrath of the gods, the keepers of tapu, and positive, successful outcomes will not eventuate, progress will be impeded, parties to the relationship will be put at risk, and appeasement and reconciliation will need to be sought (Anae &Mila-Schaaf, 2010, p. 12).

4.8 Ethical Issues

The researcher ensured that privacy and confidentiality were adhered to at each step. Confidentiality was ensured to the extent that if a participant or readers were viewing data, they would not be able to identify whose voice had

contributed. This meant some words which may have identified a participant had to be omitted.

Consent was obtained from participants after they had been informed about and understood the aims of the study. The researcher told the participants that they could withdraw at any time. This is supported by Tolich (2002), who suggests that consent must be obtained without coercion or manipulation and that individuals have the right to know how a study will contribute to the community or to new knowledge, with the understanding that the study will be reciprocal in its process.

As mentioned in step three of the methodology process, most participants were not interested in signing the consent form and only signed it at the request of the researcher, as required under ethics. A participant mentioned that the consent form was not needed as their verbal approval and the fact they attended was sufficient to signify their agreement to participate.

4.9 The Weaving Together – Fijian Framework

As with any methodology, there are stages that need to be completed. The researcher has placed the methodology within the context of a weaver and weaving preparation to provide the context in a Fijian framework set against the thematic approach of Braun et al. (2019). This helps the researcher break down the process into familiar elements and, if required, explain it to the participants, so that its relative with a Pacific context.

Stage 1: Familiarisation with the data – Reading then re-reading. The weaver must know what the process is, and how you identify suitable leaves; you must understand what you are looking for.

Stage 2: Coding – Identifying labels and features that answer questions. This stage shows that choosing suitable leaves is most important such as knowing where to find the leaves, how to pick them, how to sort through and just how much is needed.

Stage 3: Generating themes – Identifying and examining codes. Here is where preparation for boiling occurs, the possibility of separating leaves that will maintain earthly dyes in preparation of differences in mats.

Stage 4: Reviewing themes – Re-examining data and telling the story. Here the weavers spread the leaves in preparation for drying, preserving them to ensure they remain strong as they dry out.

Stage 5: Defining and naming. This is preparing the pandanus leaves, scraping, and stripping them to ensure they suit the appropriate mat and thickness of the weave. The pandanus must be manageable, pliable, soft enough to weave with, but strong enough to form strong strands.

Stage 6: Writing up the final phase. Here the weavers come together to create the mat.

Figure 14 Stages of Methodology in a Fijian Context

Stage 1, picking pandanus; stage 2, boiling and drying; stage 3, scraping and preparing into bundles.

Photo reproduced from Eco yoga store.

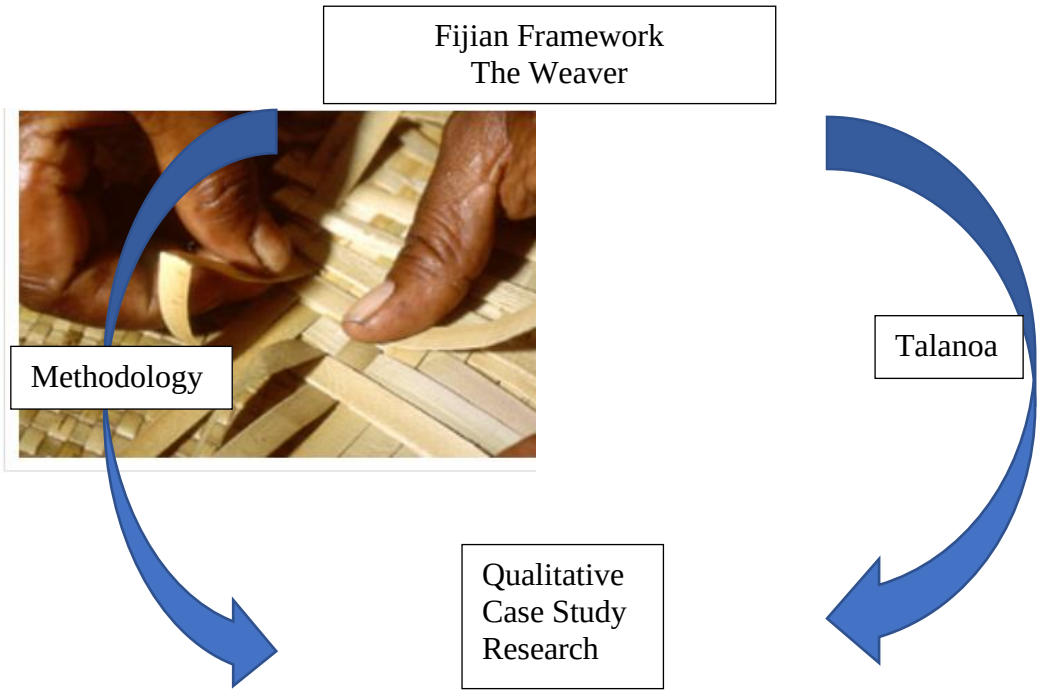
Stage 4. Weaving together

Figure 15 The Bringing Together

Photos from Kivu Nature. The Fijian woven mat. *Kivu Nature.* https://kivu.com/the-fijian-woven-mat/

Working together, bringing the fronds that are to be woven, can be an individual or a group activity, but together they create the story. During this time, there is much conversation about all things that matter, shared humour, shared concerns, and tears, which bring people together over the one activity – in this case, the research.

Figure 16 The Weaving Together



Kivu (https://kivu.com/the-fijian-woven-mat/)

The diagram depicts the bringing together of the methodologies by the weaver, who in this case is the researcher, to ensure a method that is academically sound, culturally appropriate and reflective of the participants (Hulkenberg et al., 2021). The pandanus frond identifies the participants' voices, and between each frond woven there is a space known as the Va that enables each frond to have its place to create the mat, the pattern, the design, as well as signifying the researcher also knowing his or her space.

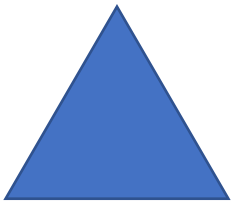
When the mat is completed, it brings together the participants who have determined the story, the pattern, the design, and the size. Here the researcher plans to give back the knowledge gained from those that contributed, but also to the Pacific community to share new knowledge (Smith, 1999).

4.10 Verification of Data, Document Analysis

The literature review supported most of the participants' findings, which helped validate their voices. The policy models and government documentation supported the feedback from the participants and how they had experienced the policy processes, providing strength to the data triangulation.

Figure 17 Triangulating Data

Research participant feedback



Government Documentation Models of policy processes

The validity of data analysis through triangulation enables cross-verification of more than one or two sources. This is required when the researcher utilises

more than one way to source information, such as participant feedback, government documentation, and the literature review (Stake, 1995).

4.11 Data Collection and Data Management System

Documentation and references have been managed using Mendeley, which helped in gathering, collating, and listing the various readings that have been required throughout the research. The application also enabled easier referencing of websites, journals, books, and reports needed to support the research.

4.12 Chapter Summary

The bringing together of both a Kaivalangi (Pākehā) methodology and one from the Pacific embraced in a Fijian framework allows a paradigm shift in understanding how evidence is collected, analysed, and interpreted. Within this methodology is a greater in-depth richness and honesty which provides strength to the validity of the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH JOURNEY

5.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter provides insight into how the researcher identified and engaged with the participants. It also explains some of the unforeseen circumstances occurring through the interview and focus group experiences. The data gathered from participants has been formulated under the six research questions. A brief reflection summary follows after each question from the researcher to capture the fresh thoughts that emerged after each interview and the immediate views on the feedback provided.

5.1 The Participants

The following participants were identified through the experience and knowledge of the researcher and in conversation with participants who had identified those of significance who were within the sector over the period 2002-2020.

There were four participants from Pacific-based PTEs. These participants were coded PTE. One PTE was happy to have a one-on-one discussion, and PTE 2 and PTE 3 preferred a focus group. PTE 2 also joined a focus group with PTE 4. All interviews with PTEs were carried out face to face.

Five participants came from tertiary education providers such as universities and polytechnics and were identified through their current or previous roles at the leadership level. These participants were coded as TEOs. All were interviewed individually; four were face-to-face, and only one was online due to distance and Covid restrictions.

There were six participants who were government officials or civil/public servants and who were or are in significant senior roles in government ministries or organisations, or previously had roles as Members of Parliament over the period

2002-2020, and they are coded as GPS. All interviews were carried out over zoom except for one, which was face-to-face.

Of the fifteen participants, eleven them were of Pacific descent, and four were Kaivalangi/Pākehā. Of these, seven were male leaders, and eight were female leaders.

All participants interviewed held leadership roles within their organisations, ranging from Members of Parliament, Executive Leaders, Chief Executives, and tier two or three leadership roles. The participants' identities are confidential as many remain in their government/leadership roles.

Figure 18 Participant data

PTE1	TEO1	GPS1
PTE2	TEO2	GPS2
PTE3	TEO3	GPS3
PTE4	TEO4	GPS4
	TEO5	GPS5
		GPS6

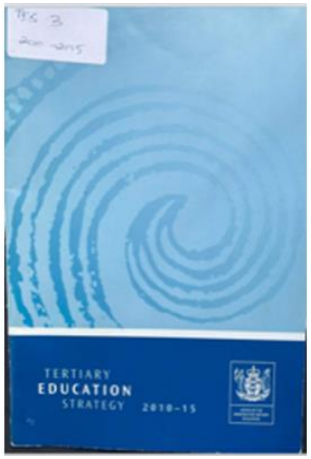
Six questions were asked of the participants, although the researcher allowed for the questions to be less structured when delivering them, which enabled conversation to flow and brought forward more insight. Before each interview, the researcher laid out the five tertiary education strategies that had occurred over the 18-year time frame that was being researched. This was not only to jog their memories and familiarise them again with the documents, but to enable them to identify when they took part in the process, to recall their experiences and which strategy they related to or were familiar while in their role.

The following are the actual TESs laid out when interviewing the participants to prompt discussion.

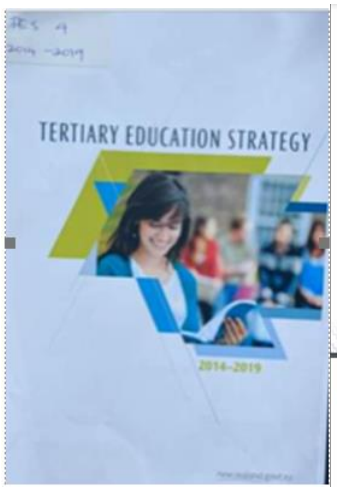
Figure 19 Tertiary Education Strategy Document Covers

TES 1-2002-2007

TES 2-2007-2012



TES 3-2010-2015



TES 4- 2014-2019

TES 5-2020

(https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/overall-strategies-and-policies/the-statement-of-national-education-and-learning-priorities-nelp-and-the-tertiary-education-strategy-tes/)

5.2 Highlights Through the Interview Process

5.2.1 Emotional conversations

As the researcher, I was unaware of what emotions would be brought to the surface for some of the participants. There were feelings of betrayal, of being treated unfairly by the TEC, and recalling how their staff was affected by changes. At one stage, the researcher felt the need to stop and pause for a moment and to stop recording. The

emotion was overwhelming as the participant recalled events and the effect on their family, the financial toll, the sacrifices made and the sense of failure to continue to support their community. On the other hand, there was also laughter, where things went wrong, and things said mockingly regarding themselves, and the journeys experienced in the sector. There were times when the researcher was also aware of the Va that existed between the participant and the researcher, ensuring that she did not offend, or make the participant feel uncomfortable at times when the conversation became tense and emotional.

5.2.2 Pre-2002

The researcher had not considered the recall of the tertiary sector pre-2002. Yet the researcher was provided with insight into why the strategy was important in the first place, the timing, and reasons for the strategy. The initial discussion was taken back in years, to the early 1970s and 80s which had not been considered, but in hindsight one could see the value in knowing about and understanding the environment and socio-economic positioning of this community (Brosnan & Wilson, 1989).

The conversation was supported with a flexible and responsive methodology which revealed the importance of the conversation, building the context before 2002, even though this was not an identified period in the research. This provided valuable insight and consideration and was recorded and placed into the findings.

5.2.3 The conversation through Talanoa

For Talanoa to take place, it requires an openness and freedom to express, discuss, and not be confined by the structure of the conversation. This is a wonderful way to communicate, to say what you want to say and then go back to refer to things already said.

In other words, structured research questions were not utilized; rather, they were semi-structured to enable fluidity in conversation. That said, when transcribing and coding it was challenging. The specific questions required the researcher to gather the answers from different conversation points. Often the researcher would read back what was expressed to ensure that what was said was correct.

5.2.4 Naming the strategies.

Through most of the conversations with each participant and focus group, they referred to each of the strategies using the minister's name and the government of the day. For example, TES One was referred to as the TES Maharey strategy (Labour); TES Two was the Cullen Strategy (Labour), TES Three the Tolley/Joyce strategy (National); and TES Four, interestingly, was referred to as the MBIE strategy (the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment under National). Only one of the participants had any consultation or contact regarding the TES 2020.

This indicated that the TESs were not seen as lone documents but that the minister of the day was seen as the person who owned and represented the document. Much of the conversation referred to the minister's names as if the personality of the document reflected the minister. Therefore, throughout the conversations, the researcher continued to refer to the strategies in the same way and placed the minister's name beside the strategies.

5.2.5 Managing the data after the interviews.

As part of the methodology and to become familiar with and fully immersed in the data, the researcher carried out transcription after each interview and took notes on the various expressions and behaviours. The transcribing was typed out under the questions and various groups' headings, capturing their story. Then the transcripts were cut and pasted into a separate document under each of the relevant questions. This was so the researcher could become familiar and intimate with each participant's voice and gain a greater depth of understanding of the conversation from the various sectors represented by the participants.

5.2.6 TEC – the driver of policy

There were vast discussion points that arose from the conversations that reached across many aspects within differing contexts and spanning several years. It is important to note that participants made mention of TEC in their Talanoa when referring to the policy drivers within the policy process. Although those interviewed

acknowledged that the MoE is the developer of policy and the TEC is the implementer, monitor and funder, the TEC was always at the forefront, hence the continual reference to TEC.

5.3 Participant Feedback

The following are the questions asked of the participants and their feedback. The researcher has read the data, then re-read it to become familiar with the content. This was then coded by identifying labels and features that answered each of the six questions (Braun et al., 2019). At the end of each question, the researcher reflects on the feedback.

5.3.1 Question 1: What was your understanding of the Tertiary Education Strategies when you were in your role?

PTE1	Initially I saw it as a guide around how we could look after Pacific and secondly, I knew it was tagged to funding. The Strategies linked me back to PITPONZ [Pacific Island Training Providers of NZ], they were a very strong voice, active, politically aware that's why Pacific was seen in the TES in 2002.
PTE2/3	When we started in education there were no strategies in place. But we were fully engaged in the development of the strategies in 2002 and the monitoring.
PTE3/4	Before the TES's previous. Do you remember – Access/ Macess (Māori Access) under the Department of Labour? This was all about vocational skills, ETSA [Education Training and Skills Association]. This was the first institution to set up training for those that were unemployed to get back into employment, it wasn't about education then, it was about jobs. Then it shifted its focus on picking up kids with no qualifications, before this was STEPs, also under the Department of Labour. PTES like Poutama under Michelle Tuhi who owned and ran the business. Great people, doing good things!
TEO1	Because of my role as Director, I had to know what the strategies were and what they were about. Yet, the institute had very little interest in the engagement with the strategies for Pasifika.
TEO2	They were the framework, the vision and goals and aspirations for tertiary sector in NZ. I understood them to be outlining the goals for the sector for the learners for the TEOs and employers and they would be reflected in the

	goals for the TEC and employment outcomes for learners. My expectation would be that it would be inclusive of all learners, Māori, Pacific youth, young people in the communities. The best potential for learners to gain employment.
TEO3	A good understanding of the TEC strategies as I was the manager. Unfortunately, I have never or was never contacted by TEC at any time while I was there, no email, no surveys, no workshop nothing to invite me to engage yet, I was in one of the biggest universities.
TEO4	I do know about the Strategies but haven't engaged much in the strategies as I tend to work on the periphery. Our organisation pays little or no attention to these.
TEO5	Yes, I was involved in the first strategy the nature of my engagement was part of the reference group to create a strategy in response to the 2002 strategy. The level was a high-level engagement at the policy level. The emphasis was to create a high-level strategy from my recollection, which looked to draw on Pacific concepts to define and articulate what the TEC strategies needed to look like in a Pacific context, we used the analogy of the Fale the pillars. There was a specific Pacific one.
GPS1	There isn't a development process for the TES any way. From memory there was a lot of consultation, it had about fifty detailed messages in it. It was aspirational but Government did not know how to operationalise the policy. This was during Steve Maharey's time. There was a debate about policy signals not policy incentives. I was at an institute at the time. They set up the aspirations but neither TEC nor MoE had any clear implementation plan. And in my view the institutions were more driven by funding incentives rather than the strategies. When performance indicators became public that's when you got a response. The institutions response was, oh we are doing this anyway!
GPS2	I was very much involved in the consultation process for TES 1, 2 and 3. Facilitating discussions on and for the minister.
GPS3	I didn't have any involvement even though I worked within this government organisation. I certainly tried to be involved, I even tried to get involved in the equity fund, student allowance – two things, I was interested in. I don't recall any wide community discussions. Stakeholders were mainly TEO's I got involved with Pacific stakeholders. But there was a new CEO, she was a breath of fresh air. My drive was to show student completion rates.
GPS4	I have a clear understanding of TES and part of my role is to support the implementation of the strategy and engagement with Pacific people.

GPS5	I went to the launch of the TES in 2002 at Martin Hautus
GPS6	Tertiary Reform established in 2000. I was part of this process in the beginning from 1993-2000 and the start of the National government. Brian Donnelly was a strong advocate for Pacific he was an ex-teacher, he was Labour. First Tertiary Strategy with Lockwood Smith, there was government input in and around community. Reno from MPP, NZQA, ERO all inputted. Steve Maharey took this strategy to government and Brian Donnelly. ETSA then became TEAC [Tertiary Education Advisory Committee]. Government didn't consult on this it set the agenda. Each dept in the Ministry made a response.

5.3.1 (a) Reflection summary

Question 1 enabled the researcher to gain an insight as to whether the participants were familiar with the TESs. All of those interviewed confirmed this and mentioned that they knew the strategy to be a guide, a framework, vision or goals and an aspiration for the sector. Another mentioned that they knew of the strategies, but their organisation paid little attention to them, and that they worked on the periphery to support Pasifika.

They also provided their personal view of how the institute or organisation responded to the TESs, one stated, "*Because of my role as Director, I had to know what the strategies were and what they were about. Yet, the institute had very little interest in the engagement with the strategies for Pasifika*". Another mentioned that the TES was aspirational, but the TEC did not know how to operationalise it. One participant from GPS believed that the TES did not influence behaviour at all, it was all about the funding models that drove behaviour.

A few of the participants were involved in the development or consultation process for the strategies, in particular in 2002. Each participant knew and was familiar with the TES, each had their own point of view as to what it proposed to do and their opinion of how it was valued or not.

5.3.2 Question 2: From your own experience or knowledge, how did Pacific people gain access to the Policy process in the development of the Tertiary Education Strategies?

PTE1	I can recall or go back to when the CE came and spoke to us as PITPONZ, Tim Fowler, he was deputy CE of TEC. He used to come to peak bodies like PITPONZ. We were aware of the changes, when I took over as CE of my organisation, I could see the changes (2011). I could see the end of Pacific; I could see the language that Tim Fowler was using. I remember we were all hustled into a room in Manukau with community and the providers, new words were used we went from pathway, scaffolding to pipeline. Tertiary provision for Pacific people the person that visited was Gus Gilmore. He spoke about pipeline; how can we have a steady stream of Pipeline. I became resentful towards him and towards the system because I felt used. We were called part of the pipeline, of the 2014 TES. What was meant to happen was the young people could jump into the pipeline, language changed, and we saw the movement. PTEs, National, Stephen Joyce turned funding on its head, bums on seats model. Minister Joyce came in and made changes. Consulted yes, only parts of it, parts of it and then nothing. Youth guarantee came in, a transition space, even then they were asking us to funnel our Pacific community rather than providing options. Talked about Schools (students, subject selection- student being funnelled into programmes, courses. Consulted but not heard**.** APSTE was involved and I remember you in Dunedin, saying we had gone out of the TEC, and we had vanished.
PTE2/3	PITPONZ was how we engaged with TEC. People like Yvonne O Brian's mother, Ngaire. We developed grass roots initiatives which required us to engage with TEC. I recall going out to South Auckland and the Pacific community mobilising and I distinctively recall Jenny Salesa, she was provided the document for the Pacific community. Jenny didn't go to TEC till 2004, she was under Mark. 1999-2003 she was under Ministry of Health or was that after. Before Jenny came to the MoH she was in Akld doing a law degree then she went to Ministry of Pacific Peoples. We are eliminating 2014 dissolving PTEs that supported Pacific education. Government found it to hard and you can see that it was too hard to support Pacific, i.e., Steven Joyce, ignored it – too hard**.** I recall driving into Albany and hearing Tim Fowler was interviewed saying we held those targets, and they haven't been achieved and so we are taking them away. It's too hard with Pacific. The 2002, was the strongest strategy, then we went to 2007-12, Tolley and Michel Cullen. Didn't she give this strategy to Mark Gosche and the North

	Shore Pacific forum was asked to consult on this one. That was the first time I heard the word, Talanoa. They consulted with us and then said this would go down to Wellington and they did what they wanted with this document. You can see the political economy and Steve Maharey, Helen Clark she started off in her office the closing the gaps with all the CE s, she sent out all policy for Māori and Pacific to dissolve the term and then came the term All New Zealanders. Helen Clark, responded to Don Brash and sent out Maharey and Mallard to neutralise all Māori and Pacific and this then became priority groups, makes me sad. How did they maintain their roles without having their roles sucked out of them? When we see a strategy that pulls Māori and Pacific together. Anna Pasikale was also key to this document and would be able to tell you how they engage with the community. She then called in Konai Helu Thamen. She designed the consultation process for the 2002. ETSA was in College Hill originally in Swanson Towers, Hobson Street. Tim McConnell led this. In 2015 I recall when TEC visited us, they didn't even read our documents and even said they hadn't read them. It was hard to sell your case and some of the information required couldn't be accessed. For example, for the very first time during ETSA the only data we had were around Pacific people unemployed. We had to go down to the Department of Labour, they didn't have ethnicity data or statistics they only had names, so they printed those out. There wasn't a will to get that information as there wasn't a will to get that data. Steven Joyce, started to talk about mega data and Bill English was talking about mega data. We had to jump through hoops it's like small business, they talked about supporting business growth, but it was a struggle with bureaucracy and compliance on PTEs that were taking on the toughest groups and getting the outcomes, but the bureaucracy was terrible. Our single data return was what they placed their money on. I wouldn't be surprised if they still don't have this sorted**.** Even though TEC was proposing to collect data they already had preconceived ideas of who we were and what. This was how you got your money, then there was aggregation of unit standards there was so many shifts and changes – it was a struggle to address social inequities and education. Even on a work force development basis, ITOs [Industry Training Organisations] got into the system, they centralised then decentralised. There was a lot of bureaucratic bungling. If the SDR [Student Data Return] data was viewed. Tim MacConnell was very much about Vocational Education. The phases of government, the government was interested in seeing how they could

	support a vulnerable group and affect the political economy. David Lange was innovative and interested in what they could learn. It was clear the government found this sector too hard. I recall reports, the Pacific results, saying they were a burden. Helen Clark came in in 1999, the strategy came in 2002. So, the political environment was about reducing INEQUALITY which the government recognised this at the time. Lange, was like Helen, closing the gaps the partisan constraint. Lange called a caucus and allowed these huge conversations to take place then Muldoon came in and Rogernomics, then the Picot report was a huge milestone. This gave people opportunity to view the data and how NZ were not performing. This then highlighted that Pacific were bringing the data down, the long brown tail.
PTE3/4	Recollection of being invited to a city council meeting on the North Shore for the 2007-2012 Strategy. I hadn't heard of it before. They (consultants) consulted with us and then went back to Wellington. They did what they wanted to do with us!
TEO1	I don't recall being consulted and I don't know how Pacific people were included in the TES.
TEO2	When I first entered the sector, I don't recall be part of the conversation. If anything, I might have been around the periphery i.e., conversation about SSG. When working in the Pacific space there was a great interest in Pacific. I do recall being in contact with the TEC person. Karanina coming to talk about the strategy. To be honest there wasn't a proactive approach to talk about the TEC strategy, Linda was the key advocate for the TES. When you raised it, we became proactive!
TEO3	I recall APSTE (Association of Pacific Staff in Tertiary Education) being in the process of the 2002 strategy and contributing with community to ensure that our voices were heard. There were a good number of us that came together to contribute. I also recall it being sent as draft, them coming out for consultation to ensure that we were all happy with the content and the strategy itself.
TEO4	In my role I was accountable to a Pacific board, unfortunately this board wasn't very effective and not at government or management point of view, but we sat at student support, and it was up to me in that role to champion. work. Pacific was never dismissive of tertiary and have always seen tertiary as an option.
TEO5	Yes, I recall the community meeting out at South Auckland and Jenny Salesa as the person who supported the process. PITPONZ did have a strong position as they were the ones who were well recognised and had

	played in the politics of the day. The government recognised and acknowledged them. Unlike others that wanted to advocate years further that worked for an organisation or a TEO. This position wasn't as strong as those who owned their own organisation and so the leverage or ability to represent the Pacific position was not as strong.
GPS1	The institute thought it was almost the government trying to catch up with how we were operating. When National came into power it became a much shorter document than it was initially. They wanted something to influence institutional behaviour. Strategy 3 was mainly developed by MBIE and not by MoE, which caused a lot of angst. The policy process is very, very messy and doesn't always have a line of sight. Another thing was, TEC lost its policy unit and transferred to MoE, which meant the disconnect to the high-level strategy, yet its intention was to align between secondary and tertiary. When I asked about the 2020 strategy many in MoE didn't know of the strategy that were sitting in the MoE**.** It is hard to identify the policy process as there is nothing there and its quite chaotic.
GPS2	I supported and drafted the 2002 strategy with Maharey. My first experience in consultation as institutional rep and joined the MoE and worked on the charter and profiles. That was the Maharey strategy it had a specific Pacific and Māori strategy. Most people felt that it was aspirational and not good for much anything else. We did an analysis to address institutional behaviour called 'walking in step'. As to how much it had influence institutional behaviour. Basically, what we concluded was that institutions in their planning retrofitted their language in their planning to the TES in other words it didn't change the behaviour it changed the way institutional talked about their behaviour**.** The second strategy I was heavily involved in the consultation meetings. One of the significant Cullen TES, 2007-2012 was he specifically didn't want a Māori or Pacific section. I attended a meeting with a Māori conference with Māori academics, it was a hostile reception, extremely hostile. Cullen's view was the if we get it right for everyone – that will influence or have a spin-off for targeted groups in the second strategy. We asked if we would compromise, and he specially said – No. That view did not go down with Māori community – I was less involved in TES until Joyce strategy – we said to him would you like to have a go at the strategy – he said no looks all right – then after a year he re-looked at the TES. He was always a structure of consultation process which in general led to ideas which generally led to some changes. But by the time it went out for consultation the minister had already put his stamp on it – in other words the minister would not put anything out unless he has placed in his requirements. The minister would not have it sent to cabinet unless it had the minister's ideas already within it. So, by the time it went the public it already had the minister's views within it, quite set in concrete but at least defined quite clearly.

	2007-2010. So, we took a draft out that had that emphasis, as I said when I went to the meeting, we had a standard presentation. The presentation as I mentioned there was a great deal of hostility and Māori said, how could you see the evidence of disadvantage and not reflect that in the documentation. That's quite a hard thing to defend, we had some strong responses along the line of Cullen's intention i.e., if we get it right for the system the system will look after the targeted groups. That was the line that we pushed. It was seen as a step back from the previous strategy, it was seen as a retreat. But as you mentioned the first strategy was too woolly, it didn't make any significant shifts or institutional behaviour, so Cullen's intention was to try to push institutions to have some bind. I think Cullen in his 11/12 months with this portfolio made a lot of difference and much of it was for the good. He was a very difficult person, but interesting. You can't fault his style but he's a man with a good sense of humour but hopeless in many settings. In 2006 he met with a group and the international group asked, what's the one thing that keeps you up at night and he said, we have an appalling QA system. But he said I will do something about this and NZQA has never looked back from his important improvements. From the time he took over, they have had terrible times, been bankrupt, had the scholarships crisis and then they turned. I am going to take QA for tertiary education and give it to TEC; he was advised by MoE that it was to close and affect QA. Karen Potasi, then took over and Sid King came in from ERO and this was a decisive moment in NZQAs life. So, Cullen had good insight, he basically said I'll give this a go. I'm mentioning this to show where Cullen had a positive effect, he did not see the political value and the relationship value or the brokering value for Māori and Pacific he simply would not. So, in the end he was strong. From the point where Maharey came minister and then Joyce came in – Maharey, Mallard, Cullen, Hodgson, Tolley briefly, then Joyce, every one of them was a high-ranked minister (except for Tolley) so when someone like Cullen goes into cabinet committee with a document to be endorsed by cabinet level provided if it's not stupid, he will win the argument/position. The Labour Government didn't allow officials to go into cabinet with documents but with National we were invited when our papers were being discussed. And I know in cabinet meetings – John Key would interrogate, require detail, and would scrutinise his ministers or tear his ministers apart over their proposals. You would have to be a staunch minister to stand against Cullen as he was such a good debater. So, at the end although there is a cabinet process in behind, there is a minister who will make the final call. There is no place in the legislation where cabinet said, the minister will do that with the agreement of cabinet, but when you have a senior minister even with controversial or a difficult

	issue will generally win through if the minister pushes it. I know with National, Bill English pushed through Social Housing which was radical to promote community housing providers. He pushed through even though there were flaws in his policy, but if he was behind it, his personality and mana would ensure it would go through. It gets an overwhelming reaction. I.e., the position of the minister is what drives policy through.
GPS3	No comment was contributed
GPS4	Ministry of Pacific Peoples use to be key to accessing policy but things in MPP have changed so much, more focus on funding. Dr Irini was key to some of the policy changes and influencing Pacific priorities. I've been involved in the development of three TES, there was an election, the government of the day wanted to re address the priorities, under National, then Labour came in. You are familiar with all of them, but more so the 2014-2019, 2020. The last strategy is for 30 years, they also wanted to link with Pasifika education plan. They first thought ten then followed Kahikitia. 3500 Pacific were consulted regarding the last strategy, there was a strong engagement with the compulsory sector not so the tertiary sector. Even though they wanted a wider audience, time was the limitation.

5.3.2 (a) Reflection summary

Question 2 was challenging as each participant recalled community interfaces with each of the TESs at different stages, and at different points of the conversation. Some referred to just one TES, others to three or four, or recalled their experience within the various forums. Only one of the participants had any connection, insight, or consultation about the 2020 strategy that had been released. The answers were gathered under each period for each TES.

Pre-2002, Pre-TES

The PTE sector participants recalled back to the 1980s, before the strategies came about. They talked about pre-TEC, pre-TEAC and mentioned bodies like Education Training Skills Association (ETSA), and how ETSA then became Skill NZ in 1998.

They also discussed the Department of Labour and PITPONZ, and the advocacy from Māori for the community. Although this question had not been asked, it was important to understand how Pacific people engaged in the pre-TES times as they had already started to establish and position themselves to meet the needs of the government. TEOs were supporting people into employment which was at that time

the main aim of training, hence the sector coming out of the Department of Labour. It was revealed in the Curriculum Review in 1987 that reports of underachievement in the secondary sector were starting to impact the labour market and that students were leaving with little or no qualifications, especially so for Māori and Pacific, as shown in a report, *Qualifications Framework Inquiry – Te Tiro Hou* (New Zealand Post Primary Teachers' Association, 1987).

It would be fair to say that pre-TES, the economy was feeling the effects of high unemployment rates and low secondary school achievement rates for Pacific. Thus, the positioning of Pacific became important as disparities grew.

TES 1 – 2002-2007 (Maharey)

By 2002, the Pacific PTE sector had already formed PITPONZ which they utilised as a vehicle to engage with government and government recognised them as a body to be consulted. Conversations with the TEC's Chief Executive attending the forums were mentioned and the acknowledgement of this body was such that the TEC attended their meetings each year.

An organisation started to form, set up by Pacific employees in the government TEOs called, Association of Tagata Pasifika in Tertiary Education, an organisation of Pacific people, mainly liaison officers at the time. TEO participants also recalled the presence of individuals and organisations involved in the 2002 strategy. Knowing this, they felt a stronger sense that more awareness had existed, and more consultation had taken place.

One TEO participant stated, "*There were a good number of us that came together to contribute. I also recall it being sent as draft then coming out for consultation to ensure that we were all happy with the content and the strategy itself*."

One recalled meeting policy advisors and community meetings in South Auckland. GPS participants also stated that they supported the strategy and saw that the then Minister, Steve Maharey, was supportive of the Māori and Pacific community.

However, they viewed this strategy quite differently from PTEs and TEOs and saw this strategy as aspirational, one that was difficult to measure, and it was hoped would look to change the behaviour of Tertiary Education Institutes (TEIs). However, as mentioned by a GPS participant, "*The TES in other words, it didn't change the behaviour it changed the way institutions talked about their behaviour*".

During this period several documents were released by TEC to try to influence the behavior of tertiary institutes as mentioned in Chapter Three.

TES 2 – 2007-2012 (Cullen Strategy)

Between 2007-2012, participants spoke of sensing that the sector was starting to change its direction, as new terminology was being used.

One participant stated, "*I recall driving into Albany and hearing Tim Fowler [TEC CEO] he was interviewed saying, "we held those targets, and they haven't been achieved and so we are taking them away. It's too hard with Pacific*."

Another statement was the shift in Helen Clark's positioning of Closing the Gaps. There was a recollection of removing the term Māori and Pacific and utilising the term All New Zealanders, with the participant saying "*Helen Clark, responded to Don Brash and sent out Maharey and Mallard to neutralise all Māori and Pacific, and this then became all New Zealanders, makes me sad.*"

There were experiences with community in regard to consultations being had for the 2007-2012 TES, describing these as brief sessions with policy advisors and the process was not clearly explained to the communities, leaving a sense of being less engaged in the process.

A PTE participant recalled being invited to a meeting in the City Council for this strategy which they had not heard of before, nor had they been privy to any

conversations prior. "*They [consultants] consulted with us and then went back to Wellington. They did what they wanted to do with us!*"

One TEO mentioned, that they were not consulted at all, nor knew of how Pacific people were being consulted.

Interesting comments were made about the Minister, Michael Cullen, which suggested where his position was on Māori and Pacific in this strategy. GPS 2 stated:

> *of significance in the Cullen TES, 2007-2012 was he specifically didn't want a Māori or Pacific section. Cullen's view was, that if we get it right for everyone, that will influence or have a spin off for targeted groups in the second strategy. We asked if we would compromise, and he specifically said – No.*

GPS 2 makes mention of discussions with Māori, to see if the minister could see them well positioned in the document. However, the minister refused to compromise. The advisors then were met with some sense of hostility when engaging with Māori community stating, "*it was a hostile reception*!"

GPS participants mentioned how Pacific was incorporated in the process, saying that it would have probably been a tick-box process as was mentioned in the feedback: "*So, by the time it went to the public it already had the minister's views within it, quite set in concrete, but at least defined quite clearly*."

This process clearly indicated that specific communities would not be addressed in the strategy but would be incorporated under All New Zealanders.

TES 3 – 2010-2015 (Tolley, Joyce)

By 2008, National had come into power under Prime Minister John Key. The Minister of Education was Honourable Anne Tolley and for the first time the Ministry appointed a Minister for Tertiary Education, Skills, and Employment. This

portfolio brought a different perspective to the tertiary sector as it was not all about education, but skills and employment.

TEC decided to review the ITOs and Apprentice Training in 2010. GPS1 made mention that

> *This strategy was mainly developed by MBIE and not by MoE, which caused a lot of angst, and the policy process was very, very messy and did not always have a line of sight. Another thing was, with the shift in direction, it was noted that TEC lost its policy unit and transferred this to MoE, which meant the disconnect to the high-level strategy, yet its intention was to align between secondary and tertiary. It is hard to identify the policy process, as there is nothing there and its quite chaotic.*

Most participants acknowledged Joyce as being a high-level minister. The PTE sector noted a change in language yet again, as the tertiary sector was referred to as a pipeline, funding models changed and the need to connect with secondary schools to be a supply chain was how they felt that were looked upon.

As mentioned by one PTE participant,

> *Consulted yes, only parts of it, parts of it and then nothing. Youth guarantee came in, a transition space, even then they were asking us to funnel our Pacific community rather than providing options. Talked about Schools, students, subject selection- student being funnelled into programmes, courses. Consulted but not heard.*

GPS2, emphasised that even though advisors went out to consult "*the position of the minister is what drives policy through.*"

GPS4 mentioned that there was limited consultation for this document with the Pacific community and most of the findings were done at a desk.

TES 4 – 2014-2019 (Joyce and Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment)

There was little mention of consultation with the 2014-2019 TES, but a few do recall some of the meetings held. One TEO participant recalled a consultation held with a young policy advisor. The challenge was to separate priority three, which was boosting Māori and Pasifika. The need to have these two groups identified separately was a cause for much grievance for both. Both communities advised the policy writers to separate them as the needs were different. Yet, when released, the document showed both sitting together under the same priority. This TES through the conversations showed that there was little engagement and most participants suggested this was an inside process, facilitated and driven by MBIE.

TES 5 2020 (Hipkins)

Only one of the participants had been consulted about TES 2020, and others were not aware of the development of this strategy.

GPS4 discussed the drive for this government to link this document strongly to the *Pacific Education Plan*, mentioning that this document was widely consulted upon by "*3500 Pacific participants, but the engagement was mainly with the compulsory sector.*"

The participant was in one consultation meeting, which was not a Pacific forum but an institutional forum. The participant did ask the policy advisor why there isn't a specific Pacific strategy. The answer was, Pacific is incorporated in the whole of the document but not specifically!

5.3.3 Question 3: How did you address the process or engage with the process in the development of the Tertiary Education Strategies?

PTE1	We have given up – there is a lack of trust. When I see TEC – my back just backs up – because of the experience had with them. We have given

	up and I now don't rate TEC has a credible organisation and the administering of funds. I.e., One person that is in the MOE that looks after the whole of Auckland for Pacific – one person, that's not enough – how do we gain accountability – there is no capacity. When providers go down – it's also about TEC being accountable. They have removed or enabled the disappearance of Pacific providers. I thought their job was just to shut people down. A good example is when Unitec lost funding over its restructure, it didn't close the institute down, it provided a 50-million-dollar loan. But providers on the ground if faced with some discrepancy or funding issue, they were just closed. Pacific providers were getting sucked dry. During my last few years, Akld Uni numbers were dropping, Pacific were dropping, most support for Pacific comes through networks to get access to institutes. Pastoral care and our values didn't fit. TEC compared me to another organisation and said I didn't make the cut and they were better than me. We are supporting a community, and this was not valued**.**
PTE2/3	If it weren't for the leaders in PITPONZ we wouldn't have been in the strategy. We haven't been politically astute, our people are not angry anymore, they are tired. We have tried to do it other ways instead of getting angry. But leadership, you need good leadership in place to advocate, make the changes but they need to be positioned to be able to change the mindset. I think we need to be better crusaders and work in a different way. I do think TEC has built a culture of fear not of support.
PTE3/4	No Commentary
TEO1	It's important to know that providing those who have recognised legitimate leadership to engage with the community, a title doesn't give you the position and authority to engage, it must be recognised by community i.e., Service. The policy advisor must have the capability and positioned to engage with policy. These are some of the reasons we struggled to engage.
TEO2	I was only made contact through my direct- up line which was an executive I was not contacted directly. No direct contact, there were layers before me. Being in a Pacific role the TES consultation process come should come directly to you as the point of reference for Pacific but no, it came to me through my institute. I was consulted through the strategy team and the executive of my institute, then second tier then the next layer which was me. So quite a way down. Some of us too far down the structure. I think there was a nervousness of the institute – protecting the institute, reputation, credibility which they didn't want to disclose with TEC or some of the things that were occurring in our institute- it was only when the institute wanted to ask us – we didn't have direct contact with TEC the institute protected themselves. As Pacific were the potential income

	stream – bums on seats – and reputation. The institute was cautious in how we engaged.
TEO3	As mentioned, TEC failed to engage with me in the institute and from what I experienced they obviously did not have the capability to do so. Sadly, TEC is and has a lot of public servants that have experience from other sectors i.e., health and social development but very few if any have come from education and in particular tertiary education. They are mono-cultural and sit there with little engagement and knowledge of how to link with community, let alone know who is in the community. The capability regarding TEC as having Pacific people is just one person and to develop a strategy or address a people it should be all of organisation. The reliant on the one person is a huge responsibility and unmanageable. Its ineffective, if it's an all of organisation approach where everyone understands, engages and is accountable. One person would be under resourced, then theirs the issue of resource and knowledge – it's a lot to ask one person.
TEO4	In the 2007-2012 during this period, it didn't cover other organisations or different types of learners or distant learning it was mainly focussed on one type of learner that was in the classroom, face to face. There was nothing in polices that really looked at a different kind of learner. That was my thing going to the Pacific Fonos, like when you go to the Fono to remind TEC that these polices didn't fit the learner, so again the message of the community wasn't for lack of trying to advocate to get in the ears of TEC.
TEO5	I came into the sector as we were going through this process, however there is a policy process which is required to follow where consultation occurs, and the facilitation of the policy, but what's important or just as important is the implementation and the monitoring. That's because I came into the sector just before that, my knowledge was relatively new and fresh. What I fell short of was concepts. I.e., what was the learning and teaching concepts at that time. The drivers for the Pacific strategy weren't always clear, the concepts were but not so much as how was this strategy to provide support for teachers and learners that mainstream would understand. When you had this strategy in place.
GPS1	It is known that this government has recognised poor policy writers/advisors. For Māori and Pacific regarding policy, that there has been lack of funding to resource the polices with the ministers working on the funding model which needs to recognise this is a problem. Working on the assumption that every learner has the same needs – where supplementary funding to support learners. UK has shown how funding does drive policy – one of the reasons why TES becomes a requirement but doesn't show in the policy requirements. When Chris Hipkins decided to look at the direction of Te Pūkenga, it's been hard to drive policy. Polytechnic has suffered from funding crises, abut also CEs aspiring

	above their social responsibilities.
GPS2	I wasn't directly involved in Pasifika consultation not centrally involved just broadly, but I did sometimes sit in a Fono or hui that was set up on quite general things. The difference was always about tone – the Pasifika community was always as if the tactic was to be constructive. So constructive affairs, they wouldn't be quite explicit in bring forward issues that they had. But it was always a constructive tone – in a Hui that was not in my experience, the TEC group use to convene the wānanga sector meeting with TEC every month or two months and we would attend, there was no tolerance around the table for a position that was perceived to not be in their interest. Feisty in putting forward their view and the official that attended would attend to the feedback, but the level of advocacy or tone was always aggressive by comparison. But not always constructive. But it didn't help that there were so many agencies and as government we had to represent government position – the TEC was one step removed so didn't overtly support so the wānanga meeting was difficult. The example provided by Māori and then their voice wasn't heard, then a policy arrives, and they aren't incorporated so they do respond aggressively. So, when you're not heard, we were at odds with each other and so it was difficult to come back. The chair of the TEC was Russell Marshall, and he was there. It was about relationships and how they engaged or had relationships with community. In this case here was this pip squeak young guy trying to pull together policy trying to mouth off ministers' thoughts which created an uneasiness and yet an experienced guy, who had political experience, came in and calmed things down, he recalled a time when they worked together, built the relationship, he came away as being a good guy and got in the tent so to speak with the community. I recall this as being a bruising encounter. The level of advocacy or tone that was interesting. 2010-2015, the Anne Tolley TES. Officials had the most ability to influence, some people never rated her highly, but she was courageous and listened a lot. Had a strong commitment to ethnic focus in the system, young people and focussed on secondary transition, Youth Guarantee initiatives. There was a lot of emphasis that reflected her view. Her consultation was short but she was only minister for one year and yet she got this through quite quickly. Joyce didn't like it but then decided we needed a new one. What Tolley was trying to do was shift the system from the legacy of the previous government**.** There wasn't that much difference really, it's about how you dress it up. It was more a mechanical process and with a focus on institutions and less on community. 2010-2015, that was Joyce's one. Joyce had a strong view about how the system supported the economy so there was more emphasis on that. He was very concerned with the effect

	of the large group of population who were underserved at risk as to poor outcome. People didn't like him as minister, but he was very effective. He added his flavour. From this strategy, he had boosting Māori and Pacific even though this group wanted to see themselves as identified groups yet, the document came out together. That was a big issue, he was interested in achievement and where achievement was a struggle he saw it as one problem, different with Maharey, he saw differences that are particular. I was going to draw to your attention to the evidence base, the effect of ethnicity on achievement. For example, if you control all other factors for all, it has little effect on Pacific, but it does influence Māori. That is quite a significant fact and one of the things I thought was that Pacific families seem to be very educational focus; however, young Māori find the environment hostile and wouldn't even cross the threshold. But if you look at achievement higher levels of Pasifika students have a high chance of not completing at a high level. The argument against Joyce is that you have two slightly difference problems. One's about getting people to the institute but for Māori to support them to undertake tertiary is a challenge, not for Pacific. For Pacific, they have emphasised that they don't want things done to them they want to have control of their own situation/challenges. There is a shift in people and positioning the move like Oranga Tamariki is a good example. The tone for Pacific is different now as to when we were first consulting on the strategy. Previously young Pacific came with or brought with them their parents' view whereas now, the young have their own positioning from outside the system. They are fearless, they are articulate, researched – people are rising in the system and are facing the system straight on, it's a healthy position. There are people in positions that will be a major force.
GPS3	As a representative of the government, I was requested to meet with the community and on one occasion I did two stuff ups. I invited community on the same side of the street no-one turned up, and then I found out its because it's the gang side. So, an example that you need to understand the community, the neighbourhood in terms of outreach. If you consult with marginalised communities, you must understand this, not just have things online and expect engagement. Most just want to tick the box. I tried to inform our policy advisors; I also engaged a lot with South Auckland. But then there was a change of government that occurred, and they got rid of the whole team!!!!!! So, it is significant that you lose your job before the policy addresses all NZ'ers in 2007-2012. Some political shit and then all of this happens. Every policy advisor was nervous and had to ensure Brash's speech had an effect.

GPS4	For this strategy 2010-2015, this was more a desk top analysis, looking at what was there previously. Anne Tolley was leading but then Stephen Joyce took over. I don't recall an extensive consultation process regarding this. I think it was largely the minister who did not want Māori or Pacific separated from what I recall. Trying to understand why Pacific wasn't articulated as a priority for 2020 and I understand that Pacific has moved as a priority. I recall when Peter Hughes got rid of Māori Pacific units in the ministry, which he also tried to influence TEC. They wanted Māori and Pacific part of mainstream.
GPS5	Polices that reflected the political climate at the time. I was in parliament when the 2002 strategy came into place. From top level approach the way in which government works you would think that after the Closing of the Gaps you would of thought every ministry would have had a portfolio to push these issues and that would happen but the strange thing is that that's not how it happened but it required TPK and MPIA to push their colleagues and depts to have their depts do that and that's totally inefficient my recollection with the closing the gaps arrangement – that inspires all of the different agencies and ministries to access funding – if there is no funding there is no interest. And there would have been a climate where cabinet papers would have had to address closing the gaps- as of today it's just addressing inequities. To get this result it had to be seen in the whole context. I remember when there was a strong government mandate to do Pacific education for example, Anna Pasikale from ETSA to TEC, so Pacific internally was positioned. Also, MPIA had a stronger influence for so many years with closing the gaps. Whereas, before they would have been on the list as development.

5.3.3 (a) Reflection summary

Question 3 was asked of the identified participants as they are/were leaders within their organisations, institutes, or government. In other words, they are key Actors and points of reference for the Pacific community as well as vital implementers of these policies. This question enabled the researcher to understand if the government or policy advisors knew how to consult with community and who to consult with. Did they have sufficient knowledge to know who were the key Institutes or Actors that were relevant to the strategies, people who held knowledge of this community's participation and success, and could identify the barriers within ITO's?

PTE1 described the effects of not being supported by TEC, the sense of injustice as they viewed other institutes being treated differently to them, while others were being supported by the government during times of hardship, describing the intentional behavior of government towards shutting this sector down. Words such as, “lack of trust” and “given up” were used, and the conflict of values between the government and their organisations. The sense of despair when working in the community for so many years and yet, TEC did not see that they were valued anymore by not providing the support required to sustain themselves through hard times.

This PTE made comparisons to Unitec, when it went into financial crisis and the government bailed them out but did not do the same for them, expressing these thoughts through the words “*We are supporting a community and yet this was not valued*.”

This limited their desire to want to engage with TEC. Reference is made here to question 1, where GPS2 mentioned that in consultation with Māori they were greeted with hostility due to the community feeling that their voices were not heard.

> *I attended a meeting with a Māori conference with Māori academics, it was a hostile reception, extremely hostile. Cullen’s view was the if we get it right for everyone that will influence or have a spin-off for targeted groups in the second strategy.*

Knowing that people’s values were not considered and in many ways were seen as just part of the consultation process.

However, PTE2/3 mentioned that the community needs to be more politically astute saying that “*our people are not angry anymore, they are tired. We have tried to do it other ways instead of getting angry*.”
The TEO participants expressed various levels of disappointment in the engagement and development of TESs. One talked about the limitations put on them by their actual institute, by not enabling them to talk directly to the policy advisors or TEC.

Yet, they felt that TEC should have asked to see them, if they knew that Pacific leadership existed!

The sense of mistrust again appeared but this time regarding the institute, with one participant mentioning

> *I think there was a nervousness of the institute, protecting the institutes reputation, credibility which they didn't want to disclose with TEC or some of the things that were occurring in our institute. It was only when the institute wanted to ask us, we didn't have direct contact with TEC the institute protected themselves*.

GPS1 also mentioned similar regarding engagement and that government recognised that their policy writers and advisors were limited in their experience, lacked knowledge of community, so in the onset there was already failure in meeting the community.

GPS3 stated:

> *If you consult with marginalised communities, you must understand this, not just have things online and expect engagement. Most just want to tick the box. I tried to inform our policy advisors; I also engaged a lot with South Auckland.*

GPS2 mentioned that the Pacific community seemed to be more passive in their approach and less explicit in bringing issues forward. Yet, Māori were more aggressive in their approach. The example given was very much as a government representative which was delivering a message from the minister. In this case Māori were not explicit in this strategy, they could not move from that position as the minister had already made that call. An example was provided:

> *In this case here was this pip squeak young guy trying to pull together policy, trying to mouth off Ministers thoughts which created an uneasiness and yet an experienced guy, who had*

> *political experience came in and calmed things down. He recalled a time when they worked together, built the relationship, he came away as being a good guy and got in the tent so to speak with the community. I recall this as being a bruising encounter. The level of advocacy or tone that was interesting.*

GPS2 mentioned, "*So, when you're not heard, we were at odds with each other and so it was difficult to come back.*"

This question also raised the importance of personalities of ministers and where their own personal interests lie. Whether they had interests in community groups influenced the need or necessity for officials to consult. A reference regarding a minister was as follows:

> *Joyce had a strong view about how the system supported the economy so there was more emphasis on that. He was very concerned with the effect of the large group of population who were underserved, at risk as to poor outcome.*

This could also be seen to influence the strategies and therefore affect the policy process regarding consultation or the value of consultation. GPS2 stated "*That was a big issue, he was interested in achievement and where achievement was a struggle, he saw it as one problem, different with Maharey, he saw differences that are particular*".

These statements also reflect the minister's personal views and agenda of the strategies that they led such as, Maharey enabled a separate Māori and Pacific voice in the strategies, whereas Joyce stated them as one in his strategy.

This was re-enforced by GPS4 who stated, "*I don't recall an extensive consultation process about this. I think it was largely the minister who did not want Māori or Pacific. They wanted Māori and Pacific part of mainstream.*"

Another TEO participant suggested that TEC was not interested in the various types of learners and has a blanket approach. Trying to talk to TEC and the advisors felt like they were not being heard.

TEO4 said

> *That was my thing, going to the Pacific Fono's, like when you go to the Fono to remind TEC that these polices didn't fit the learner, so again the message of the community wasn't for lack of trying to advocate to get in the ears of TEC.*

Another mentioned that TEC failed to engage with them within their institute and clearly stated that "*They [TEC] are mono cultural and sit there with little engagement and knowledge of how to link with community, let alone know who is in the community.*"

Another referred to the MoE: "*one person that is in the MOE that looks after the whole of Auckland for Pacific – one person, that's not enough – how do we gain accountability – there is no capacity.*"

There were strong views regarding the question, but each participant group also questioned the capability of TEC and policy advisors. The reference to lack of capability in TEC, as having one Pacific person, does not provide Pacific capability or capacity.

One TEO participant questioned the entitlement of a policy advisor who came into the community consultation as the authority or position to be able to consult. The community could see that the policy advisor did not know how to engage and thus views and opinions are not heard.

Participants felt that the policy process was not genuine as they could see that not much had changed for Māori or Pacific and so genuine consultation was not recognised.

GPS1 said:

> *For Māori and Pacific in regard to policy, that there has been a lack of funding to resource the polices, with the ministers working on the funding model which needs to recognise this is as a problem. Working on the assumption that every learner has the same needs.*

Another statement which supported this view was from GPS2:

> *There wasn't that much difference really, it's about how you dress it up. It was more a mechanical process and with a focus on institutions and less on community.*

GPS 5 stated that there was limited funding to support policy implementation: "*if there is no funding there is no interest*."

5.3.4 Question 4: From your experience, how well are Pacific people included in the process and what do you think would support the process for this community?

The participants' feedback enabled the question to be broken down into two parts. Question 4 a**.** *How well are Pacific people included in the process?* and Question 4 b. *What do you think would support the process for this community?*

PTE1	If it weren't for the leaders in PITPONZ we wouldn't have been seen in the TES strategy 2002. We haven't been politically astute, our people are not angry anymore, they are tired. We have tried to do it other ways instead of getting angry. Leadership, you need to have good leaders in place to advocate, make the changes but they need to be positioned to be able to change the mindset. I think we need to be better crusaders and work in a different way. I think that TEC has built a culture of fear not of support. I remember people like Feroz Ali, John Fiso, Racheal Skudder.
PTE2/3	Unfortunately, this question was not responded to specifically. However, much was said in regard to their experience as this group of PTEs were involved in the 2002 TES which rallied Pacific people together to input into the first strategy.

PTE3/4	Unfortunately, this question was not responded to specifically. However, much was said in regard to their experience as this group of PTEs were involved in the 2002 TES which rallied Pacific people together to input into the first strategy.
TEO1	I distinctively recall that the facilitator, Jenny Salesa, then TEC advisor said we only have space for one more strategy and so we need to be put together in the strategy Māori and Pacific. We continued so that we would not get dropped off, this was by Minister Stephen Joyce. We had to compromise. In other words, we had to be lumped together yet we as Pacific recognised Māori to have their own space – as government should have an obligation. We are not the same (we occupy the same success rates) but the priorities as to why we sit there is not the same. Pacific needs to be a priority – NZ has an obligation to Pacific an invitation to migrate to NZ, now we are NZers there is an obligation to continue. We are most disserved – Health, Housing. There were large community consultations but they [advisors] prepared the solutions and asked us to identify the priorities. There is a gap between the powers that be and who they talk to and then bring to community. They are already coming to us with preconceived solutions. Ie, it doesn't ask us to provide the solutions. Yet, they use the term co design – they provide a cup of tea, butcher paper to do workshops. TEC advisors that engaged with us were very removed from the policy process – they came out to consult but we didn't know where it went from there. Policy advisors have best intent maybe – don't know how to engage with the community. A good example that was successful was communities being engaged with those who had speakers of the language – providing engaged and in-depth however, when it was translated into English, they synthesised it and it didn't reflect what we spoke of. I.e., it was a palagi lens that was placed over the policy – the policy then got stalled. Time frames are always tight – even over 30 years – the process is still short.
TEO2	The government policy needs to clearly be mandated to ensure it is enabling, engaging with the community in the first instance to gather their aspirations, develop a draft and then go back to community to ensure we have captured their aspirations. We keep saying that this model works for us as this is accountability. I've never known why that it's so difficult, it's never two-way engagement. Allow more time, our people can work quickly they just need to know who our community is

	and know how to engage with us. If the organisation doesn't have ability to engage, they should use the TEOs to leverage off them to engage. For some reason the rhythm of Policy advisors never beats with Pacific communities, therefore policy's end up not working for our people. This is common sense If you want community in your policy, policy advisors can't just do one of engagements and turn around in one night. The policies need to be more in tune with our communities. Relationships are key so TEC needs to have stronger relationships.
TEO3	As mentioned, TEC failed to engage with me in the institute and from what I experienced they obviously did not have the capability to do so. Sadly, TEC is and has a lot of public servants that have experience from other sectors but very few if any have come from education and in particular tertiary education. They are mono-cultural and sit there with little engagement and knowledge of how to link with community.
TEO4	Policy advisors are key to this process, and they must be enablers. They must know how to engage and ensure that they carry that voice, to ensure that they bring the voices of those to the minister and advocate for them. This is where the Ministry for Pacific Peoples lacks ability to be able to represent and maybe it's about coming back to the people again to develop a position or an entity that can advocate. The call to bring all of those in TEOs in leadership positions, in the executive levels and request Government to look at evaluating the strategy and its affect or response to Pacific people. As mentioned, PITPONZ a strong position and a body of representatives carried this policy, APSTE as we know it isn't strong enough as these people all work for TEOs, that position is not strong. Maybe this is the time to mobilise and create a group of leaders. These could include Victoria University, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland University, Canterbury, and Pacific leaders.
TEO5	Pacific people are reliant on those within the organisation, and it is upon the organisation to ensure that their people, policy advisors are well informed, are knowledgeable about the community that they need to interact with. You would think that this would have been in place by now, seeing the diverse population.
GPS1	I didn't see much consultation with Pacific people at all – within my role. I don't believe the ministry consults or genuinely consults – it's a tick-box process. Certainly, when Joyce was there – his big driver was to serve the economy. The third strategy was driven by MBIE and filling gaps in labour supply. Many ministers or TEC had very little knowledge of where to get data and how to measure their polices – much of the data was about enrolments – in government we had to do ring arounds in the institutes to see how many had graduated, what the retention was like!

GPS2	How can we engage better where we have ministers in place and positioned in parliament, yet Pacific did not come through strong in the strategy? I was an outsider through this process for 2020 and beyond. My impression is that Hipkins, significant that he holds the whole portfolio, he is energetic and my former colleagues at a meeting said he listens and then makes a call. The current ministers don't have the sway to influence. [redacted] was the minister there was not much respect for that person [redacted] unduly anxious and not decisive. Not a confident minister to make a call, strong ministers make decisions. The impression was that minister didn't have the confidence to make a call, so things moved slowly. That's an outsider perspective.
GPS3	Well, many things but it's obvious that they play to what is required of them – if it makes them popular then they will more than likely lean in this direction. I thought the Associate Minister was good when dealing with ethnic people but not with Pacific people – even though she is Pacific. So, it's not just about being Pacific, it's about serving, being ethical in your work and working for the people. The people will know soon enough if you are genuine or serving of their community. Aupito Sua William, I think is a good example of this – he engages with the people, but it walks this finely as he also toes the party line. Yet he engages with us, keeps us informed.
GPS4	The TEC has a little influence in how the strategy roles out – the TEC are the implementers. The challenge for us in the tertiary sector is that we believe the MoE strategists have very little oversight of the sector. It consults with ECEs, compulsory sector and with universities but very little when it comes to vocational. The *Pacific Education Plan* is a good example of this, where it proposes a seamless transition from ECE to school and universities. To be fair most of those that facilitate the consultation are our palangi colleagues. Which creates some disfunction when it comes to implementation. I recall back to 2020. I was nervous regarding where the strategy was heading as they went through the whole sector from ECE to secondary, but I know they didn't look at the data properly they only consulted with universities in depth they didn't really engage with ROVE and vocational apprenticeships. They shielded away from literacy and numeracy as well. It was always in there, so with it not being there its almost saying that these areas have been met. One of the issues with this strategy is measuring the priorities, there aren't any key measures, it's going to be hearsay. What will institutes do to show they have met the goals?
GPS5	You must ask yourself as a minister, how do you influence all parts of government. If you want more money to spend on a specific portfolio,

	how would you support Māori or Pacific. You would almost have to bargain with ministers. They would come back and say yes there are areas we can support Māori and Pacific and identify specific problems which they could address. But if I wasn't Pacific there wouldn't have been a response to specific areas. So, we targeted Māori and Pacific to spend from the budget. Advertising gave a million dollars, but target was specific to Māori and Pacific, including scholarships which is where they directed their funding. Iwi radio stations were overloaded with advertising, until they were over-requested. It requires a minister and a ministry that needs to be listened to then they get involved in the strategies, they become part of the solution, right environment from the government to deliver from all parts of government to deliver. The ministers with responsibility or portfolios in some ways bargained and worked together, i.e., "if you support my interests, I'll support yours" or their points of interest. It's interesting how they worked and as this matured, there was a better use of groupings. You'll have a cabinet committee that does all the signing off and then groups of ministers assigned to health and education. You see a much more maturing around planning and more Māori and Pacific MPs, it's just continued. If you look at the polytechnic structure, we have gone through to finding our own place to returning to equity groups. What it reflects to me is the public service, they ride this out and don't commit resources to it, they do core business they don't usually address Māori or Pacific, they farm this off to smaller Pacific teams or advisories. And even when you set up new organisations, they still insist on setting up a Māori team and even when you raise issues within, there is an enormous resistance to change and there is small resource allocation. Most organisations or ministries meet the needs of these specific groups by justifying that they have these teams. Leave them to play in this space! The demise of the private tertiary system is now under threat but throws up a challenge, but also opportunity to be seen in the limelight for all tertiary education. For example, the tertiary system throws their arms up to say we are under pressure as the international numbers are low, but they have as always failed to see that Pacific is under-represented and where is the focus on this!! Why aren't they working in this space there are numbers out there? Having a TEC in place to perpetuate the system is all well and good but the focus still needs to be on ensuring these students come through so that they can access tertiary. My current role it's not Pacific but I make it Pacific!! (leadership). I think in some areas we are more present like health (which Covid has

	helped bring about). Our champions have been very visible i.e., Api, Debbie Sorensen. But in education, Pacific is not visible – i.e., not one Pacific person has talked to me about the tertiary reforms. We assume that because Pacific is at the governance table our people will be taken care of it, but this is not so, unlike my job I've just taken it as my mandate. Pacific leaders can often disengage, and they don't take their communities voice with them. And you can't consult via digital. I don't think the policy process has improved; government silos still exist but specifically in some ministries.

As noted earlier, Question 4 was answered in two sections, 4a and 4b.

5.3.4 (a) Reflection on Question 4a

How well are Pacific people included in the process?

PTE1 mentioned that had it not been for the leaders in PITPONZ, Pacific people would have not been in the 2002 strategy in the first place. People of significance in the policy process with whom they had engaged were mentioned, such as Jenny Salesa, who was with MPIA at that time, Feroz Ali, and Racheal Skudder, who led the sector. Others like Sua William Sio (Labour MP) helped with the process or engaged Pacific communities. Yet, at the same time, some mentioned how they also knew that the Pacific leaders were championing the minister's words.

TEO1 said:

> *I distinctively recall that the facilitator, Jenny Salesa, then the TEC advisor said we only have space for one more strategy and so we need to be put together in the strategy Māori and Pacific.*

Yet, the community felt there was no other way to gain a voice and continued knowing that this was not what the community needed.

> *We had to compromise. In other words, we had to be lumped together yet, we as Pacific recognised Māori to have their own space as government should have an obligation. We are not the same (we occupy the same success rates) but the priorities as to why we sit there is not the same.*

Others in this sector mentioned the opportunity for consultation but were not impressed by how they were consulted and where the consultation process started:

> *there were large community consultations but they [advisors] prepared the solutions and asked us to identify the priorities. There is a gap between the powers that be and who they talk to and then bring to the community. They are already coming to us with preconceived solutions.*

The participant further continued, "*that the advisors did not ask their opinion on the solutions or if this document was meeting the needs of community*."

Yet they use the term co-design, they provide a cup of tea and butcher's paper to do workshops which they found to be less productive. It was also emphasised that when consultation takes place time frames for consultation are always short: "*Time frames are always tight, even over 30 years, the process is still short*."

Another PTE mentioned "*There is not a lot of promotion or engagement when these polices are being developed- you almost hear only afterwards that the process had taken place. If there was a process."*

The following comment from a TEO2, explained their thoughts on engagement:

> *The government policy needs to clearly be mandated to ensure it is enabling, engaging with the community in the first instance to gather their inspirations, develop a draft and then go back to community to ensure we have captured their aspirations. We keep saying that this model works for us as this is accountability. I've never known why that it's so difficult, it's never two-way engagement. Allow more time, our people can work quickly they just need to know who our community is and know how to engage with us.*

TEO5 said:

Pacific people are reliant on those within the organisation, and it is upon the organisation to ensure that their people, policy advisors are well informed, are knowledgeable about the community that they need to interact with. You would think that this would have been in place by now, seeing the diverse population.

GPS1:

I didn't see much consultation with Pacific people at all, within my role. I don't believe the ministry consults or genuinely consults, it's a tick-box process. Certainly, when Joyce was there, his big driver was to serve the economy. The third strategy was driven by MBIE and filling gaps in labour supply. Many ministers or TEC had very little knowledge of where to get data and how to measure them polices much of the data was about enrolments. In government we had to do ring arounds in the institutes to see how many had graduated, what the retention was like!

GPS 4:

The TEC has a little influence in how the strategy rolls out, the TEC are the implementers. The challenge for us in the tertiary sector is that we believe the MoE strategists have very little oversight of the sector. It consults with ECEs, compulsory sector and with universities but very little when it comes to vocational.

GPS5 emphasised that when you're in politics you can sometimes get into bargaining with others who want to address a specific area and so you also suggest what your area of interest is in. If you want more money to spend on a specific portfolio, how would you support Māori or Pacific. You would almost have to bargain with ministers.

5.3.4 (b) Reflection on Question 4b

What do you think would support the process for this community?

Much commentary, as mentioned, was made on the lack of capability of the policy advisors that engaged with community from, lack of ability, experience, or knowledge of community: "*Policy advisors also were seen as not capable of engaging with community.*"

Comments continued regarding policy advisors and their inability to engage:

> *TEC advisors that engaged with us were very removed from the policy process- they came out to consult but we didn't know where it went from there. Policy advisors have best intent maybe, but they don't know how to engage with the community.*

> *A good example that was successful was communities being engaged with those who had speakers of the language, engaged and in-depth however, when it was translated into English, they synthesised it and it didn't reflect what we spoke of. I.e., it was a palagi lens that was placed over the policy – the policy then got stalled.*

TEO2:

> *For some reason the rhythm of policy advisors never beats with Pacific communities, therefore policies end up not working for our people. This is common sense. If you want community in your policy, policy advisors can't just do one off engagement and turn around in one night.*

Furthermore, TEO3, mentioned:

> *TEC failed to engage with me in the institute and from what I experienced they obviously did not have the capability to do so. Sadly, TEC is and has a lot of public servants that have experience from other sectors but very few if any have come from education and in particular tertiary education. They are mono cultural and sit there with little engagement and knowledge of how to link with community.*

Commentary was then made regarding how the community can better engage and one TEO did not think that the TEC was the main vehicle but emphasised that this community's efforts need to be put into measuring the outcomes as suggested.

TEO4:

> *Policy advisors are key to this process, and they must be enablers. They must know how to engage and ensure that they carry that voice, to ensure that they bring the voices of those to the minister and advocate for them. This is where the Ministry for Pacific peoples lacks ability to be able to represent and maybe it's about coming back to the people again to develop a position or an entity that can advocate.*

> *The call to bring all of those in TEOs in leadership positions, in the executive levels and request Government to look at evaluating the strategy and its affect or response to Pacific people. As mentioned, PITPONZ a strong position and a body of representatives carried this policy, APSTE as we know it isn't strong enough as these people all work for TEOs, which is not strong. Maybe this is the time to mobilise and create a group of leaders. These could include Victoria University, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland University, Canterbury, and Pacific leaders.*

Others suggested the need for stronger positioning of ministers and ministries:

> *It requires a minister and a ministry that needs to be listened to then they get involved in the strategies, they become part of the solution, right environment from the government to deliver from all parts of government to deliver. The ministers with responsibility or portfolios in some ways bargained and worked together, i.e., "if you support my interests, I'll support yours" or their points of interest.*

It was suggested that the current Pacific Ministers do *"not have say with this government*."

A GPS participant mentioned leadership and their positioning but most importantly the need for these leaders to take their community with them.

GPS5:

> *But in education, Pacific is not visible – i.e., not one Pacific person has talked to me about the tertiary reforms. We assume that because Pacific is at the governance table our people will be taken care of it, but this is not so, unlike my job I've just taken it as my mandate. Pacific leaders can often disengage, and they don't take their communities voice with them. And you can't consult via digital.*

GPS6, a leader, mentioned that "*We started to position ourselves as individuals, but we forgot to take the collective voice with us.*"

Others mentioned the capability of the community,

> *We haven't been politically astute, our people are not angry anymore, they are tired. We have tried to do it other ways instead of getting angry. Leadership, you need to have good leaders in place to advocate, make the changes but they need to be positioned*

to be able to change the mindset. I think we need to be better crusaders and work in a different way.

Another mentioned relationship and the importance of being engaged. The policies need to be more in tune with our communities. Relationships are key so TEC needs to have stronger relationships.

GPS2:

How can we engage better where we have ministers in place and positioned in parliament yet, Pacific did not come through strong in the strategy?

GPS3

I thought the Associate Minister was good when dealing with ethnic people but not with Pacific people – even though she is Pacific.

So, it's not just about being Pacific, it's about serving, being ethical in your work and working for the people. The people will know soon enough if you are genuine or serving of their community. Aupito Sua William, I think is a good example of this – he engages with the people, but he walks this finely as he also tows the party line. Yet he engages with us, keeps us informed.

GPS4:

To be fair most of those that facilitate the consultation are our palangi colleagues. Which creates some disfunction when it comes to implementation.

I was nervous regarding where the strategy was heading as they went through the whole sector from ECE to secondary, but I know

they didn't look at the data properly they only consulted with universities in depth they didn't really engage with ROVE and Vocational apprenticeships. They shielded away from literacy and numeracy as well. It was always in there, so with it not being there its almost saying that these areas have been met.

One GPS participant talked about how Māori and Pacific are positioned in organisations and utilised as the reference point to reflect their contribution to equity but the response to communities is different.

GPS5:

What it reflects to me is the public service, they ride this out and don't commit resources to it, they do core business they don't usually address Māori or Pacific they farm this off to smaller Pacific teams or advisories.

And even when you set up new organisations, they still insist on setting up a Māori team and even when you raise issues within, there is an enormous resistance to change and there is small resource allocation. Most organisations or ministries meet the needs of these specific groups by justifying that they have these teams. Leave them to play in this space!

For example, the tertiary system throws their arms up to say we are under pressure as the international numbers are low, but they have as always failed to see that Pacific is underrepresented and where is the focus on this!! Why aren't they working in this space there are numbers out there? Having a TEC in place to perpetuate the system is all well and good but the focus still needs to be on ensuring these students come through so that they can access tertiary.

5.3.4 (c) Reflection summary

The participants know that they are not included or valued in the policy process. They provided experiences of non-inclusion, examples of being part of a process or a tick-box exercise and not valued as contributors who can support and help bring about change. Much of the anguish was about being tired, tired of trying to engage, tired of being undervalued in the process, and basically, they have given up on the fight. Participants also provided examples of how the community could be supported and what would be needed. However, they also reflected on the Pacific community and recalled when it was able to engage well and in particular environments. Therefore, they knew what was required of the community in order to respond.

5.3.5 Question 5: In hindsight what could the Tertiary Education Commission have done to better engage Pacific peoples in the process of developing the Tertiary Education Strategies?

PTE1	
PTE2/3	PITPONZ, Established in 1984-86. But there was a group under Racheal. It was a good example where government didn't have policy for Pacific, so they developed institutions to address the gaps – it was about getting people back into employment not education. There was a vacuum. We in the PTE sector thought that we had invested resource and demonstrating that this could work we could make it happen, so the policy engagement was supported because they were already established to support Pacific peoples, which is why it was under the Labour Department. There were incentives and the PTE sector was able to demonstrate and support policy. It was a Labour initiative, and it wasn't until they recognised that employment was connected to education and sustainable employment which is why level 4 quals started to make the difference. Prior to that, it all happened on the ground. You were taught by people who had experience not qualifications. From STEPS and Labour Dept. Then TOPs, training opportunity, came in after ACCESS, Ted Ratana made a change that training was all about whānau, keep the young ones off the street, gardening modules, driver's license etc. Many kids into glue sniffing, on the streets then TOPS came in, Training Opportunities.

	You could say up to 2002 Pacific people were engaged in policy as there was a need by Government that's how it started the privatisation of PTEs came under the Bolger government, National. It was a National policy. They couldn't leave this group to rely on the polytechnics. That's why PITPONZ came early …PITPONZ was in position before this and the maturing of Pacific leadership. As the years went by there wasn't a critical point or leadership change and the sector PTE – PITPONZ would meet in parliament, take out venues. RAISE PASIFIKA- the government didn't recognise this forum as we didn't manage organisations, we were not CEs, we worked for government institutions which was less influential. Do we need to have particular people to respond.? On the Māori side of things, my input is not needed as a Pākehā as they now have kick-ass Māori now in this sector. In other words, this forum not needed now. They now have particularly astute people in place.
PTE3/4	There is not a lot of promotion or engagement when these polices are being developed – you almost hear only afterwards that the process had taken place. If there was a process. We hold key positions in our organisations, but we never hear when these 'consultations' are taking place. I did go to a meeting once, but they had already noted key solutions to the challenges, we were just there to confirm their thoughts or what they wanted to put in place. If you are not valued, you're not invited to engage.
TEO1	I didn't have any inclination that the strategy was being developed nor did the Pacific advisory to the institute have any idea. Yet, I was responsive to the CEO of the tertiary organisation. Same with the Pacific Education plan. Even when I was in the Ministry of Education, the plan was for each of the sectors and required organisations to respond to the community's success. If you put this in the tertiary sector – PTEs, wānanga, polytechnic, universities – the strategy was theoretically for this sector and should have a Pasifika plan which aligns with the strategy. But this does not occur. So, these two strategies were not working in the same space, the tertiary strategies for the tertiary sector but the Pacific plan was for the whole of the sector. Once our communities have been consulted, we never get feedback and so at the end of the day we really don't know what it is that the advisor has taken from us. We also know that the end decision is made by a minister, also just because we may have a brown minister doesn't mean that it's the right person to engage.

TEO2	Interesting that mentioning of Pacific not being explicit in its approach to the funder, then one assumes that its more of an inclusive approach and that TEOs will know that Pacific should deliver, in other words, trust the organisation to do the right thing. I don't think our people are complacent and I don't know if our people have lost face or if racism exists. We are tired, we are silent, if they don't hear the silence, they don't know we are not happy. We need new leaders to raise the concerns as we know there is no accountability. When the vision and goals constantly change the institutions, response also changes with this, and so no consistency and traction.
TEO3	Not just TEC but most of the ministries lack, lack capability or a process to engage and this is seen across the sector. However, it should be required especially across population ministries this is essential as it addresses or should address the peoples. Consult with the people not only Pacific but Māori, Muslim and ensure that you gain the insight of some of the requirements that the strategy needs to address. I have little confidence in TEC, I'll provide an example. I worked with another large university to address Pacific in 2020, this required engagement with TEC, never at any time did the TEC ask my opinion or insight or alluded to me that a TEC strategy was being developed yet, we were both working on [redacted]. Just a bunch of F. wits really. Public servants gaining a salary and ticking the box. No genuine concern for community, no idea of the sector nor the people, nor the community. In the year I was there it was obvious that the staff turnover at TEC was high as the relationship manager for the institute continued to change. I.e., you dealt with one and came to some thought, then another would come as that person had left. It was obvious that people were not happy there. Granted Ministry for Pacific People (MPP) has a role to play but over the past few years for MPP it has been about survival. Now that they have gained increased funding their focus remains on only three things … if you're not in that focus then they really don't know what's going on. TES is a good example – as you can see, they had no or little input.
TEO4	I had a board, but it didn't have any clout to be able to speak to the institution to prioritise Pacific our Pacific support. But the board is positioned in not a powerful or authoritative way and there were too few of us in the TEO to form a group let alone a voice. This was some years ago and I spoke to a colleague that I worked with in the same TEO, funny enough she is still there doing the same job and serving her community. When I was there, we had two people then, eight years later she is now only one.

	Now that I'm more confident, I have more experience in this sector I am unafraid to be involved. In short Pacific people can be a barrier, but often our roles are personality driven. When we aren't in policy it's hard to get institutions to back us.
TEO5	I do think that Pacific people need to be included in the main document and not seen as separate, but there is a possibility of Pacific being supported by mainstream activity, where everyone benefits. What Pacific may need to do is to look at evaluating the strategy from a Pacific perspective. I.e., measuring how this strategy has worked in supporting Pacific people. It may not be that you need a specific strategy but it's important how you measure the outcomes.
GPS1	I think it comes back to Chris Hipkins and what Te Pūkenga is going to be, he avoided the advice from MoE, but he is very fixed on radical change. I suspect that the question to ask was the 2020 strategy written around his proposal for change. Therefore, anything that was to be in support of Pacific people wasn't included, but it was more so for Māori. There is a strong shift for Māori, and I think that is because Māori figure in the national reform. But the polytechnics that are responsive to Pasifika are really in pockets of areas not across. And it has gotten lost, where Māori has a national voice and Pacific are more regional. Pacific is seen less in policy documentation. Maybe the focus needs to be challenged as what works for Māori does it work for Pasifika? Where are the Ministry of Pacific Peoples?
GPS2	I hesitate to say this but if you had a different minister your positioning with policy would have been much better. I think being a minister who can drive with confidence a difference is made. Someone like Efeso Collins who works in the Council, you may not always like what he says but he drives strong simple messages, and he gets seen and heard all the time. He is clear and articulate and precise, you can't ignore him because of the intellect and power he puts into it, by power I mean personality and how he puts his message across. Those are personalities you want. If you look at the other Pasifika Ministers – like Phillip Field, he was also a good example. William Sio, I don't know, then there was Sam Lotu Iiiga, not as effective, nor a successful minister. The Key Government had a very strong core, but it was clear that Key had the trusted inner circle and then there was everyone else. That small group would meet in Key's house at times, this group was much higher hierarchy to be in the circle.
GPS3	We could say policies sit well with some Pacific communities especially third and fourth generation as many have become mainstreamed. The generation has lost the fight, and many don't know how Pacific came to be in many structures.

	What we need to understand is that we still have very few successes in the tertiary sector regarding completion of qualification. Participation has increased but that's it…. I.e., fees-free has been a failure that was supposed to support Pacific communities however, the wealthy students have accessed and funded their degree programmes, whereas Pacific have accessed certificates and been funded at a lower rate.
GPS5	What I have seen is an attempt at growing Pacific leadership it has been done with the right intent but not with the right delivery which has been a failure. It's been done with, how do you join mainstream leadership, these leadership programmes are really trying to get Pacific people to understand the process and how to engage with mainstream, not asking as a Pacific person, how do you engage as Pacific! It would be good to do a more culturally attuned programme. Carlo Miller is a starting point for understanding our culture – culturally based, "what does Pacific leadership look like". Most of these are how can you fit into this structure. I think Māori are developing this, identifying where your leadership comes from**.** Good example, the group that went up to Alaska. NUKA – Māori model based on understanding your role, who you are servicing, you're here to serve these people, then systems designed to support this. You won't get change; how do we expect Pasifika to succeed if they are in a system that is based on English aristocracy. Institutions create meaningless programmes that trap them into meaning less work, we must develop an understanding of what we want as community NGO for Pacific for Pacific. It still competes in the dog-eat-dog world; we need to be given the opportunity to address what works for us. I.e., co-design**,** which has a bad rap but, if you do it well, we know you can connect with your community, and you have these core skills and get to fund it base on Pacific values. There are little green shoots starting to show this in the community now especially in social services and health but there must be a willingness to whoever provides the resource. It does seem to me that the loss of Pacific private education space means we must go back to polytechnic, mainstream. They will never depart from mainstream – core business. Then you ask how there will be change in these large institutions, we need to change the main delivery they are resistant to change, these are entities unto themselves. It will also ways be state delivered not private. Universities are resistant to themselves.

5.3.5 (a) Reflection summary

Participants provided insight into how TEC could better engage with the Pacific community. These ranged from ensuring that TEC and policy advisors know who to engage with in the community and how to engage with the community, and that TEC needed to be genuine in their engagement. One participant agreed that Pacific should be mainstreamed, but the evaluation of the strategy needed to be evaluated with a Pacific lens to see if the strategy did impact Pacific Peoples. Others commented on the strength and positioning of Pacific ministers and their ability to influence the process as being a position of strength. However, one strongly commented when they were working with TEC and never once were they asked about the TES that was being developed or asked for their opinion, even though they were working alongside during the development of the TES.

On the positive side was a participant seeing what was termed as "*little green shoots starting to show this in the community*" and that these young people can bring about change. Yet, the question of funding and resources to do this was the tension behind possible success that could be achieved.

5.3.6 Question 6: In hindsight, what could the Pacific peoples have done better to engage in the Tertiary Education Strategies?

PTE1	It all started to collapse with the Don Brash speech – his Orewa speech. He stated, "all New Zealanders". We considered even though a Pacific provider in taking out 'Pacific' as it was working against us. But it was who we were, even though it was to our own detriment as it stifled the growth of the business. I.e., Career College, Best, NZ Institute of Sport, we cannot identify a Pacific provider that is still going. My values also changed, and I changed as a person. In future the drive must come from within the Government services, Ministry of Education, TEC needs to be proactive. The second most disengaged community in NZ is Pacific, Māori is the first. I noted that within the MoE governance group there is only one Pacific person at the table. How does one gain a voice? We also have Māori, and there is a sense that there is competition. However, Māori need to understand that Pacific will always put Māori before them, there's not enough of us in governing structures or in the ministry or in TEC. The

	public servants need to be united across the education sector and understand that education is bigger than all of us and we all need to work together. I.e., secondary/tertiary space. The current Minister, Aupito, should be the advocate to ensure its in place. It's not unusual for those in the MoE or the TEC to have not heard of the strategy, we also hadn't heard of the strategy. It's a struggle! Funding models changed the way we were to respond to community. They [TEC] had such control that to survive it almost meant our community was not the priority, many looked towards recruiting international. To survive PTEs had to create partnerships with people who were outside of our community, Indian, Chinese. NZQA also changed their rubric for categories. No-one measured contribution to community and priority communities. I and two other CEs hired a lawyer and went to TEC to discuss the changes and how these changes affected our Pacific community. Again, this was not listened to, and we struggled to get heard. They were not interested, so we knew we had to get out of the sector. The TEC needs to be able to listen to our community and we need to have more people at the table when the conversations are held. I'm in this sector and I didn't even know that the 2020 TES was released or invited to consult. The TEC needs to know the community before coming out to consult.
PTE2/3	In 1984-1985 we started to form PITPONZ, what you should know is that PITPONZ had the machinery had likes of people, researchers, Racheal, Anita, Audrey, Kerry Anne, PITPONZ was tight. So, leadership, Taito Phillip Field was a strong leader. Taito was in government and had huge influence at the time. This helped with advocacy. You also had Prebble, who had strong leaders in position. And had huge influence. So are those now in parliament are all about self-interest or in the interests of government with five that have never been in government and the Labour Party really tried to brown up the party. Jacinda doesn't talk about Pacific she only talks about All New Zealanders and Māori. To talk about people who are not Pacific but championed the people. For example, Mai Chen. Strong advocate for Pacific and the PTE sector. Another was Jonathan Boston, School of Government – senior government policy. The NZ health sector also launched a strategy in 2002, launched a Health Strategy. Those in the ministry have never taken their eye off the sector and so have maintained the momentum to keep Pacific engaged in the sector and they were much more organised.

	Annette King and Karen Poutasi had the back of Pacific people. Tariana Turia provided funding for Pacific, so we had very strong Māori who also advocated. MPP are researchers, they are not strategist which inhibits them from engaging. Ministry of Health didn't collect data on Pacific, but the Pacific community did. So, when policy is required to be addressed the sector had more data than the government. Medical practitioners can stand up and say this is who I've treated and this what has happened – with education this is lacking. TEC tracking system doesn't track the National Student Number to the end into employment, one must ask why this is taking so long, is this intentional. Pacific PTEs are pretty much closed now and that was the intention. It was intentional to have these PTEs closed. Here's Unitec that couldn't manage its financials and go through a successful transformation and it required Government to pay out 50 million dollars to keep it sustained. The government didn't reach out to PTES to see if they need support. I do think that the polytech's didn't want to support the PTEs, the polytechnics were losing money, so the PTE sector needed to be removed. Students' numbers or polytechnics dropped where PTEs didn't. A PTE always had the data-so could justify the reason for positioning. When Meng Foon [Human Rights Commission Executive] talked about racism in this country, its generational. I don't see that a leadership in a partisan leadership position will not rid the place of racism. You have human rights, etc., but the change that is happening is going to be generational. I remember reading from the compulsory sector. I recall so many incidents through the year that highlighted the challenges. I recall stories on the one size fits all and the colonial system that will not fit into diversity. I think change will come with generations. Now that we have just started to teach Māori in the curriculum. This can be evidenced. In the literature. Who was the most affected under the recession … always the under skilled? The proportion of population is always Pacific, yet this has not been addressed. It is elected leadership, so if MBIE had any whim of it. Joyce – was a smooth mover. MPP are the advisers on Pacific issues. If that is so under Mac, they are a funding agency, when Collin was in place they had strong policy, go back again to Vui Mark Gosche they also had a strong research arm. Collating data, to do a demographic sweep that can inform, and you can't argue with that.
PTE3/4	We could have done a lot of things but to be honest you only engage if you feel you are going to be listened to. We haven't had that sense for a long time, and we know the government is trying to get rid of our

	sector. Yet no-one can fill the gap**.**
TEO1	Communities need to be consulted by their specific groups we need to have Pacific people who are more knowledgeable to policy and policy processes. When community is consulted on the tertiary strategies, we need to inform them firstly as to what it is, the importance, the need to engage. Is it about us having to change, or is it that policy process needs to change to accommodate communities? Government needs to ensure they have policy advisors that can engage with Pacific communities and not send out young inexperienced advisors.
TEO2	There are systems change, policy change and I'm afraid its Wellington's, they have the power base down there which is disconnected. If policy doesn't engage, then our voice will be lost. We must remember it's not the TEC person that's required to do this, it should be whole of organisations. Policy advisors sometimes outside the policy framework. Policy should be simple, yet it's so complex, it's simple. Whatever the community voice is we put this into a framework. It's very complex when it leaves community as the strength of the politics and minister turns it. If you're a minister who is in tune with your community and a CEO that is in tune. Looking at 2020, long term strategy and we had an associate tertiary minister yet, in the 2020 strategy we still didn't get Pacific incorporate Pacific. Ministers become less popular if not meeting peoples need. Yet Pacific people provide large amounts of money for Pacific.
TEO3	It's hard to say, it's all about timing, every time a strategy comes out it either moves so fast that nobody knew, or they prepare a document draft ask for feedback and then tick the box and then say they have consulted. It's difficult and it would be fair to say that the tertiary sector is complex, and you must understand the systems and teaching and learning, the compulsory sector is hard enough and the tertiary sector is not as engaging or as informative when it comes to community. So, it's hard for community to engage but in saying that it's important that they do. Knowing who it is in their community that can be contacted, shouldn't they know. They should have established networks or ask the tertiary institutes who they are.
TEO4	It is difficult to represent the Pacific community when there is only one position or for example the TEC only has one position for Pacific. How is this position meant to represent and advocate, or do they have the ability, are they high up enough to have that input or provide input? And as mentioned, the possibility of a strong cohort of people, Pacific people to provide the strength required to address government. There are several people that talk about not working with government to develop Pacific education but working directly with industry. As the

	compliance is too hard. The health sector talks about funding, but they don't have education – i.e., mental health, reducing violence – MSD now has funding. I work outside policy; we must look at different ways and disrupt the way institutes work with our community. When you get the voices of the Pacific, and you get them involved they become champions of the work.
TEO5	The TEC needs to look within at its own capability. I mean who is in there one person!
GPS1	I was invited to a consultation process for the new funding system. I wasn't impressed they were trying to harvest views, genuinely interested in what people thought and then withdrew back into themselves and we hadn't heard from them for almost a year. I think there are two problems with the policy process it is fragmented into small tasks, which is why I think Te Pūkenga is bogged down. Different people doing different parts of the task, they have a requirement to consult but don't see it through. They work through things that only agree with the minister, which is part of the policy process but I'm not sure I've seen anything that has been presented to the minister with various options (except for Te Pūkenga) the strategy seems to be the be-all and end-all. I would challenge if there were a coherent process in the first place, there is a lot of interest groups, they have assumed there is a process and what's really needed is a lobby. If you wanted to get more involved in the process, it's getting data, understanding how or why the systems fail Pasifika. Whether it's worth exploring a COVE for Pasifika achievement, what you need is the data of micro and macro level, what constitutes good practice. Gaining a position to be able to lobby, they need to be seen as a solution. NZQA is much better at holding institutions to account through the KEQs. If you establish a COVE this allows influence in policy, influence in changes otherwise you'll be an advisory for this and an advisory for that!! Education policy is incredibly complex, you don't have immediate outcomes. Unlike health, where they are immediately accountable however, in education this is not so. Part of the problem is how Government is dealing with Māori prosperity – a lot about culture and not financial, funding the disadvantage. There is a strong focus if you like on Te Reo which is great but where is the same effort for the socio-economic situation and the ability to improve. Is policy process the right avenue or is it finding the platform to lobby. You need to be aggressively advocating!

GPS2	Really, it's not so much the policy process, it's about leadership position, and getting in the ear of the minister. Governments will always go through the policy process but it's not where decisions are made. The best way for Pacific to become part of the process, we need to change the policy process. But one of the problems is that the challenge with the minister, they are so busy but on the other hand – like Joyce, he visited every Friday with the community talking, so that he knew what was happening. If more ministers were to engage in a more meaningful way and structure who they spoke to, you may find some leeway into the process. A good minister would interrogate his advisors to reassure his thoughts. Problems with ministers like Maharey operate within their space only and only work at the higher level. But Joyce and Mallard could work on the ground and within the higher levels. Ministers need to be genuine in their consultation and meet people on the periphery. The big pressure for them is time. Joyce was never satisfied with what was always brought to him, he would always question and seek reassurance. Ministers who can engage with people who are going to be affected with reforms so he could try to see things through their eyes. Joyce had the capacity and energy when it came to industry but at the end of the day, it is where the interest of the minister lies. It comes down to ministerial style and their interests. And that's a very hard thing to influence if you can't capture the minister's imagination and attention That's hard for Pacific community, engaging is always going to be difficult. You can't solve the problem until you've identified it! So, I think you're onto something which I think it will be of real value.
GPS3	Education use to be the stirrers, where is everybody? Sailau, Melani etc – but I hear often that we are tired. How much do you fight and put effort into this? After all the advocation they still don't incorporate us in conversation. Sometimes mainstream thinks that if they support Pacific, Māori will be missing out. They feel they must choose. I keep telling them you don't need to discriminate you can support the two. Or is it about resourcing!! Sometimes the internal mechanism is disconnected to the direction of government as there is huge racism within the system and not enough Pacific within it. It takes a toll on our Pacific people!! Sometimes being the token person at the table is enough, being there is presence enough. Pacific leadership makes the difference, which is why it is also important to be in the mainstream system. You're not always sure if people are listening to you because they must or they are genuine, you have to sus out whether they are genuine. Titles matter, status matters in the system!!
GPS4	In future the drive must come from within. The Government services – Ministry of Education, TEC needs to be proactive. Within the MoE

	governance group there is only one Pacific person at the table. How does one gain a voice? It's a struggle.
GPS5	If MPIA is going to be ignored, what have the ministries got, they have self-interest when they have Pacific people internally. A good example is the Ministry of Education, they don't come out and source advice, because they might have one person that is Pacific that they utilise for the whole organisation. I know from that time, much of TEC was done by mainstream who did very little, they thought they knew what they were doing, so anything that came from MPIA was not valued. Ie Education, health. I don't think the MPP has had as much influence since the years 2003-2004. That was their heyday, they never returned to that position. So, they concentrate on two to three projects and play around with those and the limited funding. I don't know if cabinet papers still exist in MPP, they have money for housing playing in their own space. I encourage housing to consult with ministry but there isn't a natural inclination to do that, and the public service doesn't do that. Sometimes it requires a push from an individual, it won't change after all these years, until there are more Pacific leaders in public service. Even then, it may not become effective as those individuals have had to work within the system and become somewhat institutionalised and to be accepted by the position. So, when they try to make change, they are institutionalised and don't necessarily make changes. The diversity thing is interesting, I hear diversity, but they don't think diversity. They think because we have a Pacific person, we have addressed diversity, but we want the Pacific person to think 'white'. It's not diversity of view at the table, you're not guaranteed to get diversity you must be part of the team. So, you almost must be at a position of "who cares" but not a lot of people are in this position. Its particularly prevalent in the public service, i.e., you can see people sitting on boards but if you think about influence for Pacific there is very little or they are in a team, so not at decision making. Most are in the work force not in tier two or three – or as an advisor – often all on their own. Until they do a whole lot of structural changes to bring leadership into positions there will be little change. I do think it will happen in parliament as they can't avoid it, but it should happen. If they take the community with them.

5.3.6 (a) Reflection Summary

Many challenges and concerns arose from these questions, which focused upon leadership and their view of what good and poor leadership looks like. Organisations and their lack of recognition, lack of structures, failure to enable access at decision-making tables, and the inability to support Pacific occurs because organisations lack capacity, capability, and knowledge of this community. There was also a sense of sadness and despair that strong leaders who led them were no longer there, and once gone, there was no-one to take their place. Reasons for this could have been the lack of trust from organisations, the sense they were not heard, they knew that when they were engaging in consultations it was not a genuine process. However, they felt committed to at least try to see if they could enable their voices to be heard in the hope that Pacific would find its way into policy.

One Pacific participant mentioned that at the time, they were working closely with TEC, and not once did TEC ask for their opinion or alert them to the development of the next TES. One Pacific participant worked within the ministry and did not know that the TES was being developed. This validated the concerns that the Pacific community felt. It also reflects on the actual organisation and the dissemination of information and that those engaged with or linked to community are not provided with the option to inform the community, or the need to consult.

5.7 Chapter Summary

Much was gathered from the participants, revealing perspectives from differing positions and at differing times with the strategies. However, policy and policy process challenges did come to the forefront. Challenges were also revealed in identifying the positive and negative aspects of the TEC, MoE, and TEOs from their personal views and perspectives. Hindsight helped identify what, when, and how the participants could have done better to engage or support Pacific communities within the policy process.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS

6.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter examines the steps taken to analyse the data and explains how the research came to draw upon particular themes and domains. After transcribing the data provided from the participant feedback, this was coded under the specific questions asked. The data was then read and re-read, drawing out particular recurring words from the conversation. These were accumulated onto a whiteboard, identifying themes and intersecting words linked to each other. This led to further examination of the themes that led to domain summaries. Once the themes and domains were identified, the researcher was able to draw from these conclusions about the results.

6.1 Steps Taken to Analyse the Data

The importance of exploring themes by examining words, by reading and re-reading enabled the researcher to identify frequent or repetitive keywords often expressed throughout the conversations, and similarly identify organisations and people, as this brought the themes into context. Understanding the context in how these words have been used required the researcher to delve deeper by investigating further (Weatherhead & Daiches, 2010).

This provided greater insight as to why possible themes occurred throughout the data but also avoided the process of just eliminating further data to find recurring words or patterns. This process is termed a ‘domain summary’ approach.

To explain further, a theme identifies important, commonly occurring words in the data in relation to the question, but it does not express to the reader the underlying reason or given context as to why the participant may have used particular themes (Braun et al., 2019; Connelly & Peltzer, 2016).

By providing further understanding, the domain in which the word was utilised could be seen to be due to the political environment or the participant's position in their current role. Commentary from the participants has continued to be used in this chapter to emphasise key themes and domains.

The accumulation of themes was identified by writing up frequently used words and terminology on the whiteboards as headings and establishing the overlapping and intersecting domains.

The researcher did not utilise NVivo or any data collection application but became immersed in the data. This process moved from transcribing the voices to placing these on whiteboards, moving words, re-reading feedback and affirming the words of place on the board and searching for intersecting links bringing forth the voices of those heard.

Figure 20 Identifying Themes

The manual analysis of data is challenging but most rewarding as this process requires one to immerse oneself in the richness of data collected, giving one a real sense and appreciation of the words expressed and visual connectivity across the words spoken.

6.2 The Findings

There were vast numbers of discussion points that arose from the conversations that spanned across many aspects of the research topic, within different contexts and spanning several years. It is important to note that participants made mention of TEC in their interviews when referring to the policy drivers; although all of those interviewed acknowledge that the MoE is the developer responsible for education policy, the TEC was always at the forefront. Hence the continued reference to TEC. The following headings were identified.

6.3 Leadership

Leadership is one of the strongest themes identified throughout the participants' feedback. However, it also identified the many aspects of leadership which required a breakdown across the domains to further reveal the distinct characteristics identified, such as leadership style, leadership personality, leadership positioning, and leadership agendas which identified links to structural discrimination, racism, structural racism and assimilation as contributing factors which influence the policy process.

Participants noted that leadership styles and personalities enabled the community's voices to be heard and provided them with a platform to be heard. Names were provided of those whom they recognised as examples of strong leaders; not all of those identified were Pacific, but those seen to be strong advocates for this community. These included Honourable Taito Phillip Field (who passed away while this thesis was being written) who was mentioned quite a few times and came into parliament as the first Pacific Member of Parliament from 1993 to 2007. His strength in voice and advocacy for Pacific peoples was observed, as well as Richard Prebble, who was the Minister for Pacific Island Affairs in 1984 and Vui Mark Gosche, elected Pacific Member of Parliament from 1996-2008 (Whimp, 2019).

These Pacific leaders were described through the following:

> *So, leadership, Taito Phillip Field was a strong leader. Taito was in government and had huge influence at the time. This helped with*

advocacy. You also had Prebble, who had strong leadership and position. And had huge influence.

Mai Chen. Strong advocate for Pacific and the PTE sector. Another was Jonathan Boston, School of Government- senior government policy.

Annette King and Karen Poutasi had the back of Pacific people. Tariana Turia, provided funding for Pacific so we had very strong Māori who also advocated.

Education use to be the stirrer, where is everybody? Sailau, Melani etc.

The participants mentioned that leadership was recognised in their eyes for a person's contribution, their service and genuine commitment to the community, especially where these leaders saw the need to address the inequities being experienced by Pacific peoples. Thus, those who were not of Pacific heritage were also given recognition like Honourable Annette King, Karen Poutasi, Tariana Turia and Mai Chen.

A participant's experience supports this position within in their feedback:

It's important to know that providing those who have recognised legitimate leadership to engage with the community, a title doesn't give you the position and authority to engage, it must be recognised by community i.e., service.

Well, many things but it's obvious that they play to what is required of them – if it makes them popular then they will more than likely lean in this direction. I thought the Associate Minister was good when dealing with ethnic people but not with Pacific people – even though [redacted] *is Pacific.*

> *So, it's not just about being Pacific, it's about serving, being ethical in your work and working for the people. The people will know soon enough if you are genuine or serving of their community. Aupito Sua William, I think is a good example of this – he engages with the people, but he walks this finely as he also toes the party line. Yet he engages with us, keeps us informed.*

Leadership also came from organisations that were spearheaded by strong leaders, who were well positioned and well in advance of the TESs, knowing that established relationships were platforms for influence with key policy actors in the sector such as PITPONZ. This was a body of PTE Chief Executives within a political environment that positioned itself for Pacific peoples to gain access and implement policy for their community, pre-2002. Alongside them were politically positioned Pacific MPs who were also strong advocates.

> *In 1984-1985- we started to form PITPONZ, what you should know is that PITPONZ had the machinery, had likes of people, researchers like Racheal, Anita, Audrey, Kerry Anne, Arthur, Fiso, Tricia, PITPONZ was tight. There was a vacuum. We in the PTE sector thought that we had invested resource and demonstrating that this could work we could make it happen, so the policy engagement was supported because they were already established to support Pacific peoples, which is why it was under the labour department. There were incentives and the PTE sector was able to demonstrate and support policy.*

Positioning of leadership and, in this case, a strong representative body enabled influence within the policy process. These established networks and relationships were positioned to advocate through the process and be in position with perfect timing to influence the 2002 TES. In other words, the government and policy advisors came to them and not vice versa. The Pacific sector was well positioned and acknowledged.

Up to 2002 Pacific people were engaged in policy as there was a need by Government. That's how it started, the privatisation of PTEs came under the Bolger government, National. It was a national policy. They couldn't leave this group to rely on the polytechnics. That's why PITPONZ came early …PITPONZ was in position before this and the maturing of Pacific leadership. As the years went by there wasn't a critical point or leadership change and the sector PTE, PITPONZ, would meet in parliament, take out venues. This emphasised that the relationship between Pacific PTEs and the government were working together and were seen to be valuable stakeholders meeting them in parliament.

In the following years other bodies like RAISE PASIFIKA started to rise to position itself to take the mantle to fill the gap in Pasifika education leadership; however, this body was not recognised structurally nor was it able to be positioned and strengthened by leadership within government, nor gain the advocacy of Members of Parliament, as did PITPONZ. Yet, it was fully supported by the Pacific community through a Pasifika education fono with all the education sectors in Manukau Auckland represented (Tagata Pasifika, 2012)

RAISE PASIFIKA – the government didn't recognise this forum as we didn't manage organisations, we were not CEs we worked for government institutions which was less influential.

Even though these were leaders positioned within a TEO or PTE, this did not provide the same mandate or strength of positioning as people who led their own organisations such as PITPONZ. Therefore, this was seen as a body that lacked any traction, did not cause any political disruption, or need any political attention.

The Association of Tagata Pasifika staff in Tertiary Education (APSTE) is a national body, set up by the TEO liaison officers over 30 years ago to advocate to support Pacific people in tertiary education. It looked to position itself politically but became an organisation that supported the values and networking of those within in TEOs

and has even less of a political influence (Association of Pasifika Staff in Tertiary Education, 2021)

The leaders and organisations such as PITPONZ and RAISE PASIFIKA mentioned above have now diminished and most leaders have left their substantial positions. However, APSTE remains but does not hold a political position nor is it recognised as a point of reference for consultation for the TESs. Thus, as time went by, Pacific leadership and a political lobbying body that would be influential in the sector started to disappear. It is interesting to see that the body with the least influence is the body that remains today.

Within the time frame of this research, commentary was also provided about the leaders now in parliament who are recognised as Pacific leaders.

> *So those now in parliament are all about self-interest or in the interests of government with five that have never been in government and the Labour Party really tried to brown up the party.*

> *I hesitate to say this but if you had a different minister your positioning with policy would have been much better. I think being a minister who can drive with confidence, a difference is made. Someone like Efeso Collins who works in the Council, you may not always like what he says, but he drives strong simple messages, and he gets seen and heard all the time. He is clear and articulate and precise, you can't ignore him because of the intellect and power he puts into it, by power I mean personality and how he puts his message across. Those are personalities you want. If you look at the other Pasifika ministers like Phillip Field, he was also a good example. William Sio, I don't know, then there was Peseta Sam Lotu Iiiga, not as effective, nor a successful minister.*

Leaders and their personality came through the research as one of the strongest influences within the policy process. It was important to have a leader who was

positioned but also had a strong drive, was noted within the walls of politics as an influencer, a decision maker, but one who was positioned well as a senior MP. With these traits also came the minister's personal agendas, what they wanted, what they saw that was the right way to drive policy. These agendas drove policy.

> *It comes down to ministerial style and their interests. And that's a very hard thing to influence if you can't capture the minister's imagination and attention. That's hard for Pacific community, engaging is always going to be difficult. You can't solve the problem until you've identified it.*

> *Really, it's not so much the policy process, it's about leadership position, and getting in the ear of the minister. Governments will always go through the policy process but it's not where decisions are made.*

6.4 Leadership Agenda

Ministers who were well-positioned also had their views and agendas, which drove the policy process. For Pacific communities, the policy process was felt to be a tick-box process to show consultation had taken place but not in a genuine way. Therefore, it is important to highlight the agenda of the minister is at the forefront and that those that meet with a community, such as the policy advisors, are the bearers of an already established agenda (Considine, 2005; Guenther et al., 2010; Lewis, 2005). This was emphasised when the researcher posed the questions to the participants, and they replied by calling each TES after the minister when they referred to the strategies (Welton & Diem, 2021).

> *One of the significant Cullen TES, 2007-2012 was he specifically didn't want a Māori or Pacific section. I attended a meeting with a Māori conference with Māori academics, it was a hostile reception, extremely hostile. Cullen's view was the if we get it right for everyone – that will influence or have a spin-off for targeted groups in the second strategy.*

From the point where Maharey became minister and then Joyce came in. Maharey, Mallard, Cullen, Hodgson, Tolley briefly, then Joyce, every one of them was a high-ranked minister (except for Tolley). So, when someone like Cullen goes into cabinet committee with a document to be endorsed by cabinet level, provided it's not stupid, he will win the argument/position.

Joyce had a strong view about how the system supported the economy so there was more emphasis on that. He was very concerned with the effect of the large group of population who were underserved, at risk as to poor outcome. This could also be seen to influence the strategies and therefore affect the policy process in regard to consultation or value of consultation.

This feedback emphasised the limited amount of influence indigenous and minority communities have within the policy process, especially when the minister's agenda is set before it comes out for consultation. Fortunately, due to experience, communities are very aware of this and approach consultation with distrust and reservation knowing that their contribution is not or will not be valued. This will be further explored through the topic of Community Trust

6.5 Leadership Positioning

Many leaders who held specific Pacific roles were positioned at higher management level, such as directors, heads of departments, and managers in TEOs. Yet, for many, the position was in name only and did not locate them at the decision-making table nor were they recognised as an equal contributor. This was reinforced by the lack of recognition by the TEC themselves, who did not enter an institute requesting to meet or consult with leadership that was responsible for Pacific peoples but instead engaged with those at higher levels who supposedly provided the advice on Pacific matters.

This was some years ago and I spoke to a colleague that I worked with in the same TEO – funny enough she is still there doing the same job and serving her community. We were two people then – eight years later she is now only one. This is the effect of not having us visible in policy.

I have little confidence in TEC – I'll provide an example. I worked with another large university to address Pacific in [redacted] *– this required engagement with TEC, never at any time did the TEC ask my opinion or insight or alluded to me that a TEC strategy was being developed yet we were both working on* [redacted]. *Just a bunch of F. wits really. Public servants gaining a salary and ticking the box. No genuine concern for community, no idea of the sector nor the people, nor the community.*

I had a board, but it didn't have any clout to be able to speak to the institution to prioritise Pacific or support Pacific. But the board is positioned in not a powerful or authoritative way or there were too few of us in the TEO to form a group let alone a voice.

The institute itself or their institutional leaders gave little acknowledgement to their own Pacific leaders and did not refer to them when policy advisors came to consult regarding policy or areas of Pacific education.

I was only made contact through my direct up line which was an executive I was not contacted directly. No direct contact, there were layers before me, TEC information came to me through my institute through the strategy team and the executive, then second tier then the next layer which was me. So quite a way down. Some of us to far down the structure.

I think there was a nervousness from the institute, protecting the institutes reputation, credibility which they didn't want to disclose

with TEC or some of the things that were occurring in our institute. It was only when the institute wanted to ask us, we didn't have direct contact with TEC the institute protected themselves. As Pacific were the potential income stream, bums on seats and reputation. The institute was cautious in how we engaged.

The research identified, under the heading of leadership, the challenges faced by Pacific leaders specifically from within government ministries and within TEOs. These pivotal leaders in organisations were placed within tier two or tier three positions that had specific leadership titles. Yet, all of them spoke of the lack of recognition from policy advisors or TEC to seek their insight to the TESs. Thus, the position of Pacific leadership within TEOs did not provide a point of reference for either entity. What was not entirely determined was whether these positions were purposely kept from policy advisors by their managers to avoid exposure and the failings of the institutes, as mentioned by one participant.

6.6 Leadership Within TEC

The capability of policy advisors was regularly challenged. Participants expressed that policy advisors do not understand or know who the community is, let alone who hold positions of leadership that represent this community or those in prominent positions within institutions which TEC monitors and engages with. So, the consultation process was already seen to be flawed due to this inability.

The policy advisor must have the capability and positioned to engage with policy. These are some of the reasons we struggled to engage.

As mentioned, TEC failed to engage with me in the institute and from what I experienced they obviously did not have the capability to do so. Sadly, TEC is and has a lot of public servants that have experience from other sectors i.e., health and social development but very few if any have come from education and in particular tertiary education. They are mono- cultural and sit there with little

engagement and knowledge of how to link with community, let alone know who is in the community.

Secondly, the capability of the TEC as an organisation was questioned as to whether it also has the capacity to support Pacific or engage with Pacific communities. These leaders strongly expressed the view that both the TEC and the MoE reflected their lack of capability within government organisations by having only one Pacific person in an organisation that they would utilise as an advisor. Yet the Pacific advisor is not structurally positioned to be in a place of influence, to have their voice heard; nor are they positioned to reflect the voice of the Pacific community.

The capability in regard to TEC as having Pacific people is just one person and to develop a strategy or address a people it should be all of organisation. The reliant on the one person is a huge responsibility and unmanageable. Its ineffective, if it's an all of organisation approach where everyone understands, engages and is accountable. One person would be under resourced, then there's the issue of resource and knowledge – it's a lot to ask one person.

Policy advisors are key to this process, and they must be enablers. They must know how to engage and ensure that they carry that voice, to ensure that they bring the voices of those to the minister and advocate for them.

Pacific people are reliant on those within the organisation, and it is upon the organisation to ensure that their people, policy advisors are well informed, are knowledgeable about the community that they need to interact with. You would think that this would have been in place by now, seeing the diverse population.

In future the drive must come from within. The Government services – Ministry of Education, TEC – needs to be proactive.

Within the MoE governance group there is only one Pacific person at the table. How does one gain a voice? It's a struggle.

I didn't see much consultation with Pacific people at all within my role. I don't believe the ministry consults or genuinely consults, it's a tick-box process. Certainly, when Joyce was there his big driver was to serve the economy. The third strategy was driven by MBIE and filling gaps in labour supply. Many ministers or TEC had very little knowledge of where to get data and how to measure their polices, much of the data was about enrolments, in government we had to do ring arounds in the institutes to see how many had graduated, what the retention was like!

Thirdly, structural discrimination was identified of which will be further expanded upon in Chapter Seven. It was interesting, to say the least, to listen to a prominent leader who led the position for Pacific in their organisation for several years and yet their own institutional leaders and executive did not bring their voice to the forefront. This questioned whether these Pacific positions of leadership were given the recognition or whether this was a token position that did not merit sitting within the realms of institutional decision-making. For many in these roles, there was a sense of isolation, a known fact that these positions held little mana in the structure, even though the title named the level of management, the position had little mandate.

I was only made contact through my direct- up line which was an executive. I was not contacted directly. No direct contact, there were layers before me. Being in a Pacific role the TES consultation process should come directly to you as the point of reference for Pacific but no, it came to me through my institute. I was consulted through the strategy team and the executive of my institute, then second tier then the next layer which was me. So quite a way down. Some of us to far down the structure.

I think there was a nervousness of the institute – protecting the institute, reputation, credibility which they didn't want to disclose

with TEC or some of the things that were occurring in our institute, it was only when the institute wanted to ask us, we didn't have direct contact with TEC the institute protected themselves. As Pacific were the potential income stream – bums on seats – and reputation. The institute was cautious in how we engaged.

There was also discussion and a viewpoint that Pacific leadership was not going to make much progress because leadership was seen to have to become institutionalised to be successful.

6.7 Leadership Assimilation

With the Pacific population continuing to vie for leadership positions within various sectors, a participant noted that even though there are Pacific people in these roles, it does not mean that Pacific will be represented.

Sometimes it requires a push from an individual, it won't change after all these years, until there are more Pacific leaders in public service. Even then, it may not become affective as those individuals have had to work within the system and become somewhat institutionalised to be accepted by the position. So, when they try to make change, they are institutionalised and don't necessarily make changes.

The diversity thing is interesting, I hear diversity, but they don't think diversity. They think because we have a Pacific person, we have addressed diversity, but we want the Pacific person to think 'white'. It's not diversity of view at the table, you're not guaranteed to get diversity you must be part of the team. So, you almost must be at a position of "who cares" but not a lot of people are in this position.

It's particularly prevalent in the public service, i.e., you can see people sitting on boards but if you think about influence for Pacific

there is very little or they are in a team, so not at decision making. Most are in the work force not in tier two or three – or as an advisor –often all on their own.

Until they do a whole lot of structural changes to bring leadership into positions there will be little change. I do think it will happen in parliament as they can't avoid it, but it should happen. If they take the community with them.

6.8 Community Trust

Many of the Pacific participants felt there was a sense of loss, a tiredness, and that getting involved again was going to be a struggle. The community had lost faith in the system which diminished this sense of trust. Therefore, engaging was an exhausting exercise, as they knew beforehand what the outcome would be and that their meetings were a tick-box exercise with having little hope of influence. Yet, they continue to participate knowing this, hoping that some change will come about. They had experienced a great many consultations, not only from the education sector but also from other sectors with very much the same process and outcome. The following quotes are those expressed by the participants around their sense of helplessness and distrust.

Once our communities have been consulted, we never get feedback and so at the end of the day we really don't know what it is that the advisor has taken from us. We also know that the end decision is made by a minister, also just because we may have a brown minister doesn't mean that it's the right person to engage.

There is not a lot of promotion or engagement when these polices are being developed – you almost hear only afterwards that the process had taken place. If there was a process! We hold key positions in our organisations, but we never hear when these 'consultations' are taking place.

I did go to a meeting once, but they had already noted key solutions to the challenges, we were just there to confirm their thoughts or what they wanted to put in place. If you are not valued, you're not invited to engage.

I hear often that we are tired. How much do you fight and put effort into this?

The participants from PTEs and TEOs emphasised the lack of trust in the process which the TEC mainly facilitated and proposed as consultation, providing little transparency as to the process for the TESs. Timing was also highlighted, where the need to consult always felt rushed or untimely, or provided insufficient time to engage with community.

Some felt that this was a strategy, to move at a pace to get the policies done as soon as possible. With less voice and engagement there is less contention over process or outcomes meeting a tight time frame. As a few participants noted, they did not even know the 2020 strategy consultations were happening nor did they know of the strategy's release in November 2020, even those who worked in the ministry itself.

6.9 Distrust of Policy Institutions

Participants know that the MoE is the policyholder but tended to point the finger at TEC, as the forefront of the policy process, and its capability.

Participants expressed their distrust with TEC as it failed to recognise and position Pacific within its own institutional structures. The participants viewed this lack of recognition as a reflection of how much Pacific is valued and that TEC could not hold TEOs to account if the commission itself could not reflect its own expectations.

There are no Pacific people within the TEC executive or senior tier one or two management level, nor are there any Pacific people on the commission. There are a few Pacific in advisory roles, none of them carry Pacific titles. One Pacific person

recognised in the TEC by the participants does not have the title Pacific but is, from the community's perspective, well used by TEC to engage with Pacific peoples. The person in that position collaborates with a team of advisors but works alone when it comes to Pacific activity.

> *In future the drive has to come from within the government services, Ministry of Education, TEC needs to be proactive. The second most disengaged community in NZ is Pacific, Māori is the first.*

> *We have given up – there is a lack of trust. When I see TEC – my back just backs up – because of the experience had with them. We have given up and I now don't rate TEC as a credible organisation and with the administering of funds.*

> *There were large community consultations, but they had prepared the solutions and asked us to identify the priorities.*

> *There is a gap between the powers that be and who they talk to and then bring to community. They are already coming to us with preconceived solutions. I.e., it [the process] doesn't ask us to provide the solutions. Yet, they use the term co-design – they provide a cup of tea, butcher paper to do workshops.*

> *I have a good understanding of the TEC strategies as I was the manager. Unfortunately, I have never or was never contacted by TEC at any time while I was there, no email, no surveys, no workshop nothing to invite me to engage, yet I was in one of the biggest universities.*

> *TEC advisors that engaged with us were very removed from the policy process – they came out to consult but we didn't know where it went from there.*

Policy advisors have best intent maybe but don't know how to engage with the community. A good example that was successful was communities being engaged with those who had speakers of the language, providing engaged and in-depth; however, when it was translated into English, they synthesised it and it didn't reflect what we spoke of. I.e., it was a palangi lens that was placed over the policy, the policy then got stalled.

Time frames are always tight – even over 30 years – the process is still short.

It's hard to say, it's all about timing, every time a strategy comes out it either moves so fast that nobody knew, or they prepare a draft document, ask for feedback, and then tick the box. ... and then say they have consulted.

We could have done a lot of things but to be honest you only engage if you feel you are going to be listened to. We haven't had that sense for a long time, and we know the government is trying to get rid of our sector. Yet no-one can fill the gap.

I and two other CEs hired a lawyer and went to TEC to discuss the changes and how these changes affected our Pacific community. Again, this was not listened to, and we struggled to get heard. They were not interested, so we knew we had to get out of the sector.

The TEC needs to be able to listen to our community and we need to have more people at the table when the conversations are held. I'm in this sector and I didn't even know that the 2020 TES was released or invited to consult. The TEC needs to know the community before coming out to consult.

I have little confidence in TEC, Ill provide an example. I worked with another large [redacted] *to address Pacific in 2020, this*

required engagement with TEC, never at any time did the TEC ask my opinion or insight or alluded to me that a TEC strategy was being developed yet, we were both working on a [redacted] *strategy for* [redacted]*. Just a bunch of F. wits really. Public servants gaining a salary and ticking the box. No genuine concern for community, no idea of the sector nor the people, nor the community.*

I distinctively recall that the facilitator, [redacted]*, then the TEC advisor said we only have space for one more strategy and so we need to be put together in the strategy, Māori, and Pacific. Yet, the community felt there was no other way to gain a voice and continued knowing that this was not what the community needed. We had to compromise. In other words, we had to be lumped together yet, we as Pacific recognised Māori to have their own space as government should have an obligation. We are not the same (we occupy the same success rates) but the priorities as to why we sit there is not the same.*

I didn't see much consultation with Pacific people at all – within my role. I don't believe the ministry consults or genuinely consults – it's a tick-box process.

The sense of mistrust was not only expressed by Pacific but by Māori. This is noted by an experience had by a GPS participant when they went out to consult with Māori and received an aggressive stance because Māori also knew that this was an exercise that was not seen as genuine.

The TEC group use to convene the wānanga sector meeting with TEC every month or two months and we would attend, there was no tolerance around the table for a position that was perceived to not be in their interest. Feisty in putting forward their view and the official that attended would attend to the feedback, but the level of

advocacy or tone was always aggressive by comparison. But not always constructive.

But it didn't help that there were so many agencies and as government we had to represent government position – the TEC was one step removed so didn't overtly support so the wānanga meeting was difficult. The example provided by Māori and then their voice wasn't heard, then a policy arrives, and they aren't incorporated so they do respond aggressively. So, when you're not heard, we were at odds with each other and so it was difficult to come back.

Therefore, the process is not only felt by Pacific but by indigenous populations which feel they have failed to be explicitly heard by TEC. TEC is not seen in a positive light but seen with a real sense of authority that is not supportive nor interested in a people and their knowledge in regard to seeking solutions.

Only two participants used the word racism, which can be considered in two ways. The participants did not want to be seen as insulting or challenging, or they wanted to really emphasise the position they were in without being direct as to what the issue was.

I don't think our people are complacent and I don't know if our people have lost face – or if racism exists. We are tired, we are silent, if they don't hear the silence, they don't know we are not happy.

Sometimes the internal mechanism is disconnected to the direction of government as there is huge racism within the system and not enough Pacific within it. It takes a toll on our Pacific people!!

The researcher found this interesting yet, there were many examples offered of experiences of racism. This will be further explored in Chapter Eight.

The feedback emphasised the limited relationships that TEC has with community and the lack of understanding of how to engage or who to engage with, and a lack of knowledge and understanding of the cultural process of engaging. TEC also understands the inequities that exist, as TEC is the primary source of data.

6.10 Positioning Pacific in an Organisation

Participants spoke of how the various sectors placed a Pacific position, Pacific person, or a Pacific advisory group within the structure of an organisation, which was alluded to by some as a ploy to give the appearance that the sector or organisation is inclusive of Pacific values. This was partially the reasoning that participants saw the MPP move its focus to just three areas, as various sectors and ministries showed that they have a Pacific Strategy and internal Pacific representation and, thus, do not need to be held accountable by MPP.

However, some positions were seen as token positions, as mentioned in the section under leadership. In most cases, these positions were not recognised in the hierarchy and had little influence.

It was mentioned that some organisations utilised Pacific people who were often more so the general administrative worker in the organisation but got the opportunity to sit internally as an advisor to represent Pacific. Organisations used this single voice as a way of consulting Pacific peoples in their work outputs.

> *If MPIA is going to be ignored, what have the ministries got, they have self-interest when they have Pacific people internally. A good example is the Ministry of Education, they don't come out and source advice, because they might have one person that is Pacific that they utilise for the whole organisation. I know from that time, much of TEC was done by mainstream who did very little, they thought they knew what they were doing, so anything that came from MPIA was not valued. I.e., education, health.*

> *I noted that within the MoE governance group there is only one Pacific person at the table. How does one gain a voice? We also have Māori, and there is a sense that there is competition. However, Māori need to understand that Pacific will always put Māori before them, there's not enough of us in governing structures or in the ministry or in TEC.*

A couple of participants also alluded to the concern of having the 'one' person represent Pacific as the voice of the community. And that those who are positioned as such tend to lose their Pacific consciousness and assimilate into the organisation and become more Westernised in their thinking. This is due to influence, the need to carry the party line, the need to feel inclusive of the team but also the threat of being singled out and therefore less empowered to bring voice to the table.

> *It won't change after all these years, until there are more Pacific leaders in public service. Even then, it may not become effective as those individuals have had to work within the system and become somewhat institutionalised and to be accepted by the position. So, when they try to make change, they are institutionalised and don't necessarily make changes.*

Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was challenged about her cabinet selection and was questioned as to how and why the cabinet was so diverse, calling her out using the term "virtue signalling", which she rejected, mentioning that this reflects NZ and those appointed were on merit (Ardern, 2020).

> *The diversity thing is interesting, I hear diversity, but they don't think diversity. They think because we have a Pacific person, we have addressed diversity, but we want the Pacific person to think 'white'. It's not diversity of view at the table, you're not guaranteed to get diversity, you must be part of the team. So, you almost have to be at a position of "who cares" but not a lot of people are in this position.*

It's particularly prevalent in the public service, i.e., you can see people sitting on boards but if you think about influence for Pacific there is very little or they are in a team, so not at decision making. Most are in the work force not in tier two or three – or as an advisor – often all on their own.

Sometimes the internal mechanism is disconnected to the direction of government as there is huge racism within the system and not enough Pacific within it. It takes a toll on our Pacific people!!

We have given up and I now don't rate TEC has a credible organisation and the administering of funds. I.e., one person that is in the MoE that looks after the whole of Auckland for Pacific – one person, that's not enough – how do we gain accountability – there is no capacity.

Having participants lose faith in MPP and lose faith in its capability leaves the Pacific community in a vulnerable position. This is coupled with the views of some participants that ministers themselves become institutionalised and "white in their view" with little scope or advocacy for Pacific people.

6.11 Political Economy

The political environment has very much influenced the direction of policy agendas in which the politics of the day have reacted. This was seen in the 'Closing the Gaps' policy with Helen Clark in 1999; the conversations in the political arena with Winston Peters, who was the then Deputy Prime Minister, around this documents controversy over favouring Māori. Don Brash, the National opposition party leader in 2004 claimed 'one nation for all', calling his speech 'Nationhood', and mentioned that policies should be based on need, that Māori did not have the right to position themselves, as we are all New Zealanders, as mentioned in the literature review.

These political events did influence the behaviour of the policy process where we saw the release of the TES in 2007, state the words "All New Zealanders" instead of naming the priority groups (O'Sullivan, 2008).

From 2002, where Pacific was specifically identified as a strategy under the TES policy, there was the shift in 2007 to 2012 where the policy was re directed to "All New Zealanders".

This was reinforced by participants' views.

> *It all started to collapse with the Don Brash speech – his Orewa speech. He stated, "all New Zealanders". We considered even though a Pacific provider in taking out Pacific as it was working against us. But it was who we were, even though it was to our own detriment as it stifled the growth of the business. I.e., Career College, Best, NZ Institute of Sport, we cannot identify a Pacific provider that is still going. My values also changed, and I changed as a person.*

Another prominent leader found that as policy moved after 2007, their Pacific unit within government was disbanded, and they became redundant. This reiterated that policy direction impacts Pacific capability within the organisations and thus moved their priorities, lessening the capacity, and showing the vulnerability of Pacific.

> *But then there was a change of government that occurred, and they got rid of the whole team!!!!!!*
>
> *So, it is significant that you lose your job before the policy addresses all New Zealanders in 2007-2012.*
>
> *Some political shit and then all of this happens. Every policy advisor was nervous and had to ensure Brash's speech had an effect.*

> *I recall when Peter Hughes got rid of Māori Pacific units in the ministry, which he also tried to influence TEC. They wanted Māori and Pacific part of mainstream.*

Sadly, those with Pacific titles or organisations with a Pacific name looked to change or delete the word Pacific to stay financially viable and relevant to the government, meaning that their values and purpose were forcibly changed to remain in favour with the government.

> *We considered even though a Pacific provider in taking out Pacific as it was working against us. But it was who we were, even though it was to our own detriment as it stifled the growth of the business.*

6.12 Leadership for Pacific Peoples

As mentioned under leadership, the participants had discussed the noticeable shift from 2002 to 2017 regarding the positioning of Pacific and who they recognised as strong leaders. There is mention of the MPP, previously known as the MPIA, sufficient to warrant further examination of participants' feedback.

Participants referred to MPP's position within government, the perspective that the organisation did not have the capacity to engage in policy. The participants also alluded to the organisation's focus on funding and having only three specific areas of focus rather than being able to advocate across the sectors, especially within education. A couple of participants recalled people who worked in MPP in the earlier years, but no-one was able to recall names past 2012.

The MPP identifies itself as the public service department of New Zealand charged with advising the government on policies and issues affecting Pasifika communities in New Zealand (MPP, 2017).

Participants commented about MPP's position of influence in the earlier years.

Ministry of Pacific Peoples use to be key to accessing policy but things in MPP have changed so much, more focus on funding.

First Tertiary Strategy with Lockwood Smith, there was government input in and around community. Reno from MPP, NZQA, ERO all inputted.

From top level approach the way in which government works you would think that after the Closing of the Gaps you would have thought every ministry would have had a portfolio to push these issues and that would happen, but the strange thing is that, that's not how it happened but it required TPK and MPIA to push their colleagues and depts to have their depts do that and that's totally inefficient.

My recollection with the Closing the Gaps arrangement, that inspires all the different agencies and ministries to access funding – if there is no funding there is no interest.

As the years passed, the participants felt that MPP started to lose its place as a ministry with influence as its inability to position itself and affect policy was becoming more evident with the lack of Pacific being advocated within policy.

Granted Ministry for Pacific People (MPP) has a role to play but over the past few years for MPP it has been about survival. Now that they have gained increased funding their focus remains on only three things … if you're not in that focus, then they really don't know what's going on. TES is a good example – as you can see, they had no or little input.

The NZ health sector also launched a strategy in 2002, launched a Health Strategy. Those in the ministry have never taken their eye off the sector and so have maintained the momentum to keep Pacific engaged in the sector and they were much more organised.

Annette King and Karen Poutasi had the back of Pacific people. Tariana Turia, provided funding for Pacific so we had very strong Māori who also advocated.

MPP are researchers, they are not strategist which inhibits them from engaging.

MPP are the advisers on Pacific issues.

If that is so under Mac, they are a funding agency, when Collin was in place they had strong policy, go back again to Vui Mark Gosche they also had a strong research arm. Collating data, to do a demographic sweep that can inform, and you can't argue with that.

I don't know if cabinet papers still exist in MPP, they have money for housing playing in their own space. I encourage housing to consult with ministry but there isn't a natural inclination to do that, and the public service doesn't do that. Sometimes it requires a push from an individual, it won't change after all these years, until there are more Pacific leaders in public service.

The public servants need to be united across the education sector and understand that education is bigger than all of us and we all need to work together. I.e., secondary/tertiary space. The current minister, Aupito should be the advocate to ensure its in place. It's not unusual for those in the MoE or the TEC to have not heard of the strategy, we also hadn't heard of the strategy. It's a struggle!

I don't think the MPP has had as much influence since the years 2003-2004. That was their heyday, they never returned to that position. So, they concentrate on two to three projects and play around with those and the limited funding.

There is less confidence in MPP's capability and capacity as some participants have observed less advocacy and oversight of the education sector. For many, this is one of the reasons the education sector is losing its place for Pacific.

6.13 Political Will

Participants expressed the changes in government over time and the lack of political will to support the Pacific community, to maintain the community's position as a priority group. They spoke of shifts in the direction and language that were expressed in their meetings with the TEC. The politics were changing, and they could see the effects.

As one participant expressed,

> *I can recall or go back to when the CE came and spoke to us as PITPONZ, Tim Fowler, he was deputy CE of TEC. He used to come to peak bodies like PITPONZ. We were aware of the changes, when I took over as CE of my organisation, I could see the changes. I could see the end of Pacific; I could see the language that Tim Fowler was using. I remember we were all hustled into a room in Manukau with community and the providers, new words were used we went from pathway, scaffolding to pipeline.*

Another mentioned,

> *Tertiary provision for Pacific people the person that visited was Gus Gilmore. He spoke about pipeline; how can we have a steady stream of pipeline. I became resentful towards him and towards the system because I felt used. We were called part of the pipeline, of the 2014 TES respond too.*

A GPS also commented from their point of view,

> *Government found it too hard, and you can see that it was too hard to support Pacific, i.e., Steven Joyce, ignored it – too hard. I recall driving into Albany and hearing Tim Fowler was interviewed saying we held those targets, and they haven't been achieved and so we are taking them away. It's too hard with Pacific.*

Seeing that these changes were starting to occur, one provider looked to align themselves with the changes to stay in favour with TEC and the tertiary sector by deleting the word Pacific from their organisation. Others commented on an event that shifted the response to Pacific.

> *You can see the political economy and Steve Maharey, Helen Clark she started off in her office the Closing the Gaps with all the CEs, she sent out all policy for Māori and Pacific to dissolve the term and then came the term All New Zealanders. Helen Clark, responded to Don Brash and sent out Maharey and Mallard to neutralise all Māori and Pacific and this then became priority groups, makes me sad.*

People within government departments also mentioned the removal of positions and departments specifically in response to Pacific Peoples. The political will to maintain Pacific Peoples within policy was being seen less and less though the years.

6.14 Policy Process

Participants provided their experiences with policy processes. Most of them could not identify a particular process utilised by government and noted that much of the process was out of communities' hands. Many discussed their experience of being part of a process in which they felt decisions had already been made.

> *Sometimes the internal mechanism is disconnected to the direction of government as there is huge racism within the system and not enough Pacific within it. It takes a toll on our Pacific people!!*

Another mentioned walking into the consultation with a list of already established decisions, which they were to confirm. A TEO participant noted attending a consultation that was a workshop, carried out in their Pacific languages. However, the interpretation of what was said resulted in marked differences in the final outcomes.

GPS participants made interesting comments seeing that they were mainly at the heart of policy processes.

> *It comes down to ministerial style and their interests. And that's a very hard thing to influence if you can't capture the minister's imagination and attention. That's hard for Pacific community, engaging is always going to be difficult.*

Another spoke of what was currently being observed with the formation of Te Pūkenga, which is the merging of 14 polytechnics.

I think there are two problems with the policy process, it is fragmented into small tasks, which is why I think Te Pūkenga is bogged down. Different people doing different parts of the task, they have a requirement to consult but don't see it through.

Gaining a position to be able to lobby, they need to be seen as a solution.

The challenge for GPS participants was that they were unable to confirm a policy process and much of the agenda was set by the minister.

6.15 Chapter Summary

The findings provided by the participants mentioned above were varying and complex. Yet, the participants were also very clear about what they saw, felt, and knew the key variants influencing policy and policy processes.

They understood that critical influencers, positioning, and leadership could change the course of policy and the policy process itself.

Participants identified the various strands of leadership as the drivers and influencers in the policy process, knowing how events and the economy influence the direction of policies. They were leaders inside these organisations or in government ministries and had felt the impact of policy changes at the forefront.

The sense of mistrust in the policy process and the TEC was evident and an emotional experience for many. Expressing how they felt going through the proposed consultation process, they knew their thoughts and contributions would not hold any weight. They were a 'tick box' along the way, and their voice would not be seen in the policy. Yet, they always attended, in the hope of a change.

This was an experience they had over many years, so it was understandable that they were disheartened and lacked trust in a system and an organisation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CAN YOU SEE ME?

7.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter provides some of the theories which have or may have created the more significant complexities involved in understanding the policy processes experienced by the Pacific community, in particular, the experience had with the TES processes and how the community came to be positioned within the TESs.

The research required a deeper inquiry into the findings to enable a greater appreciation and insight to be brought into the conclusion chapter. In doing so, one may further understand how the Pacific community came to be in this position.

Many aspects of the research draw upon further ideologies that encompass the broader complexities that affect the need to address policy processes for indigenous and minority communities. This may help answer why the Pacific community has struggled to engage in policy processes. These include racism, ethnicity, New Zealand-born and Island-born Pacific peoples, socio-economic challenges, educational and historical influences, to mention a few, that have impacted the research through the findings that identify the inequities in the policy process.

7.1 Intersectionality

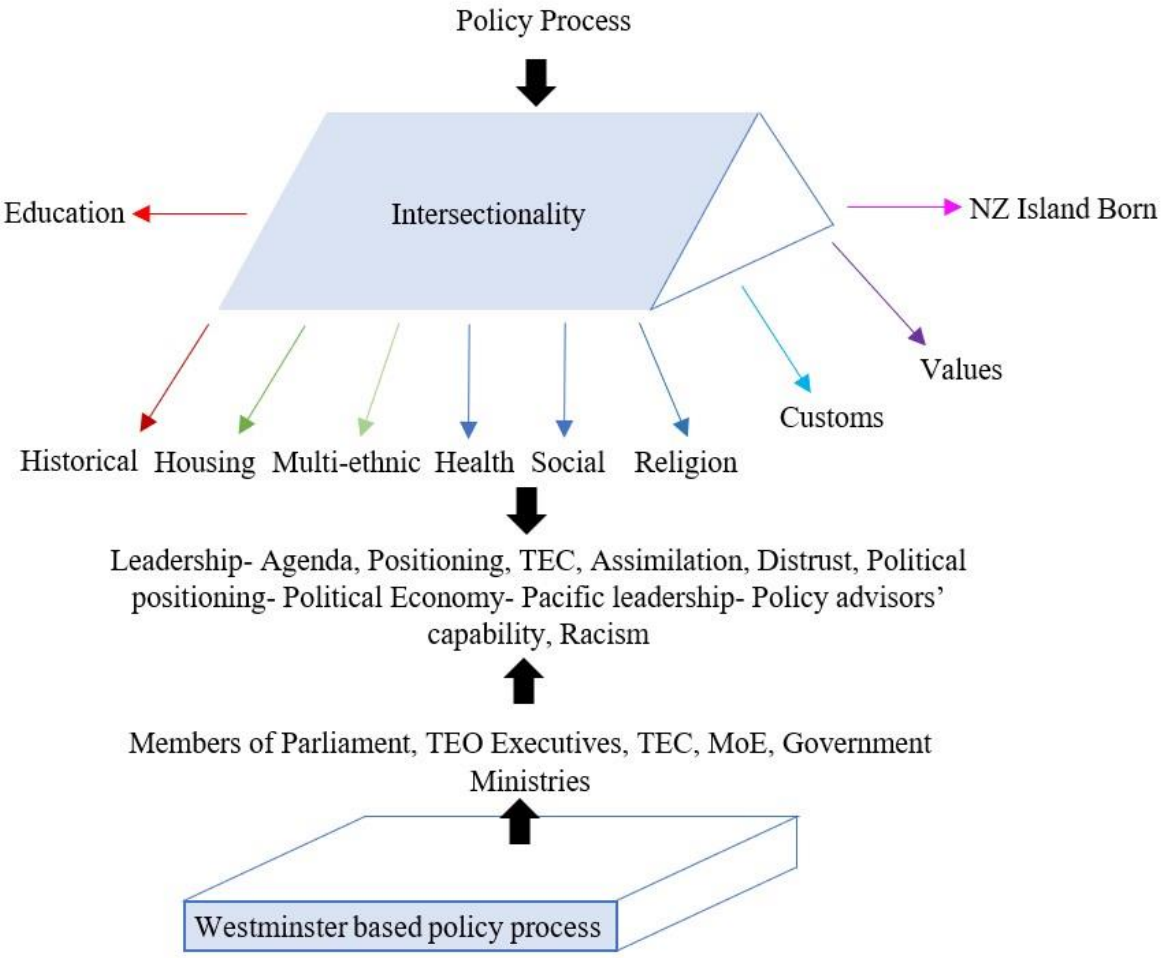
As mentioned, throughout this research, the policy process is often very complex as many aspects inform the process, a point which the participants also expressed through their interviews. To gain a broader understanding, it is best to take a step back and view this through a different lens or a prism.

The theory of intersectionality (Grenshaw, 2018) may provide further explanation to these complexities to better understand Pacific Peoples' position. Intersectionality is described as viewing a specific community or race of people by looking at all the aspects that position a particular community in a specific way. This can be through the lens of history, as mentioned in the literature review where Pacific people first started to arrive in New Zealand to fulfil New Zealand's labour requirement and then experienced the racism and the event of the Dawn Raids (Dawn Raids, New Zealand History). There are views and statistics of Pacific people's economic and social situation, health, race, gender, societal positioning, and views, as noted in Chapter Two.

These aspects all impact on a community and their ability to position themselves to engage, be in a place of influence and leadership, find a platform for their voice, and be engaged in the process. Grenshaw (2018) emphasises that to view just one aspect, for example, why Pacific people fail to engage in policy or TEC or why the government fails to engage with Pacific people, will not provide the answer. The answer cannot be viewed in isolation due to the various strands and societal levels that have an impact. The issues should be viewed through a prism, allowing the view to be split into the many variables that impact the reasons why particular things happen, to gain the answer.

7.1.1 The view through a prism – Intersectionality

Figure 21 Pacific Intersectionality



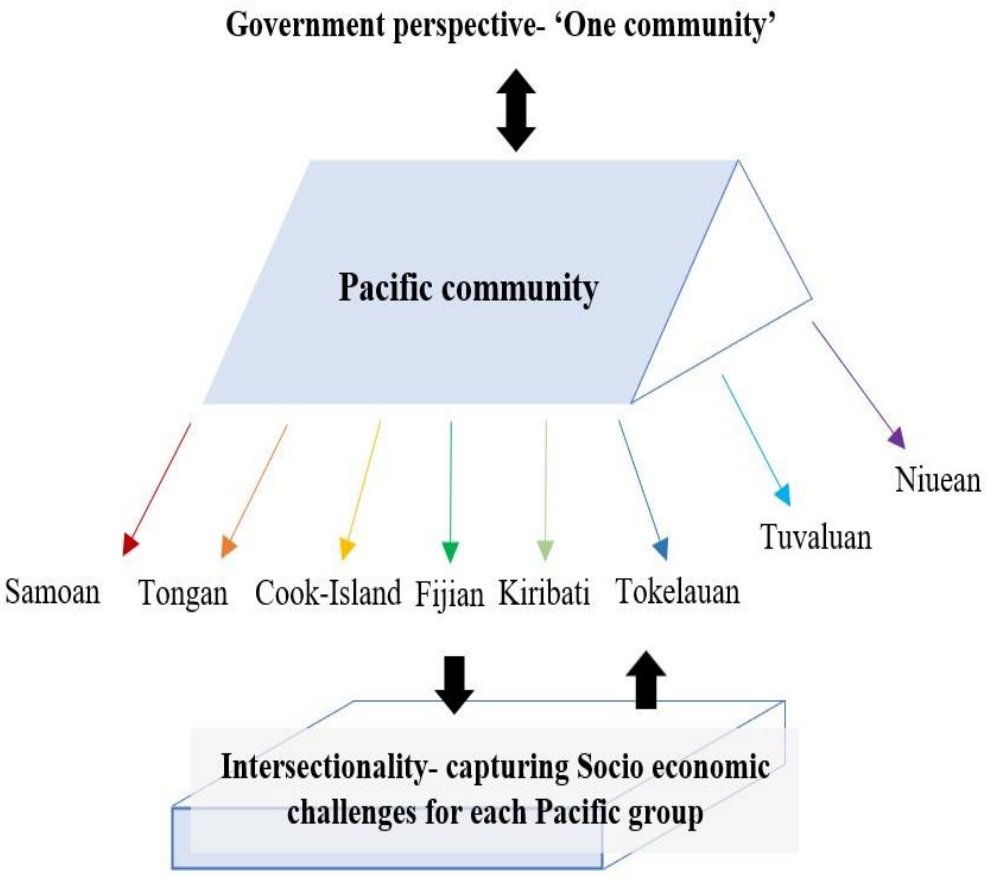
The intersectionality diagram provides an example of the views obtained through a prism. It identifies some of the variables for Pacific that may impact their position to engage in policy, such as health, history, and religion, as illustrated. This is reinforced by the themes strongly identified by the participants through their policy process experiences. Beneath this are the structures that have yet to recognise Pacific and their positioning within these institutions. Then the foundation, the historical embedding of the policy process through Western colonial eyes, and ways of engaging.

In viewing this, one would have to question how a community navigates through and in between when the foundation and the structures that the community sits upon are large entities that house within them structural racism, political positioning, and inequitable representation, amongst many other barriers.

Emphasising the greater complexity the Pacific community faces is the fact that the community represents several different nations. Viewing this through a prism shows that the Pacific community faces many challenges and layers before it ventures into the policy process, especially when each ethnic group labelled under one name brings forth its intersectionality lens.

7.1.2 The Pacific community

Figure 22 The Pacific Community



The Pacific community is viewed by the government as one people within NZ policy and consulted with as one people, creating varying views from the communities. The next layer is how Pacific people see themselves as individual islands/ethnicities as a people, not to mention the differences one may experience between New Zealand born and Island-born Pacific Peoples, knowing that each of these Pacific communities has its own language and culture with some similarities. However, these differences are well known and acknowledged amongst the Pacific community. Each Pacific Island group has challenges, needs, successes, and social-economic challenges which they may face separately, as seen in Figure 17. Addressing this community as one group is an easy way for policy and the government to process information. However, an excellent example of meeting the needs of each group was seen with the Covid vaccination drives. Communities were individually recognised and responded to according to their ethnic identity, resulting in separate ethnic Vaccination Days. The result was a successful drive where, overall, Pacific people in total achieved high vaccination rates (Ministry of Health, 2021)

Nevertheless, the challenges also exist among Pacific People themselves and how they view their differences. This was expressed through the experience of Dr Debbie Ryan, a Samoan doctor, when she took over a clinic previously managed by a Cook Island doctor who passed away:

> Even then, Pan-Pacific strategies are made difficult by fierce parochialism among the many Pacific communities, as Dr Ryan found when she co-purchased the late Joe Williams' Glen Innes practice. As a Cook Islander, Dr Williams had attracted compatriots from throughout New Zealand. Then, when a Samoan took his seat, they moved on. (Perrott, 2021)

This is but one example, showing the complexities of working with a diverse community that is seen as one.

7.2 Colour Evasiveness

Then there is the ideology of colour evasiveness as mentioned by Gotanda (1991), where one may suggest that they are ethical or sensitive to ethnic differences or people of colour. Gotanda suggests, when he refers to the United States Constitution that the constitution is colour blind, and it leans towards enabling white dominant power to remain in power without blatantly saying it up front, while those of colour remain powerless.

Annamma et al. (2017) make this statement about Gotanda's document:

> Non-recognition of race. This theme addressed how race is allowed to be noticed, but not considered and Gotanda recognized, 'The inherent self-contradictions of nonrecognition can be summarized in terms of dialectical logic: A subject is defined by its negation; hence, an assertion of non-consideration necessarily implies consideration. Said differently, to know when one must ignore a racial difference, one must first recognize that racial difference' (p.17).

This is seen to be the case when it comes to the TES. When race is not considered but evaded in policy documents, it obscures the truth and accountability of a particular community. It avoids the drive towards equitable outcomes and accountability of TES, such as a policy that lends itself to include and identify all under the one label as All New Zealanders or places Māori and Pacific People into the same category, failing to recognise difference. Or the other alternative is where policy swings with the political agendas and politics of the day, rather than considering the requirement to recognise difference and address the need to enable equitable outcomes.

7.3 The Window of Opportunity

These changing policies and the lack of recognition of race can also be affected by a concept identified by Kingdon (1985), called ‘windows of opportunity’.

In the findings, participants noted the most significant shift in the strategies for Pacific people was after the Don Brash Orewa speech identified in the literature review. These events or incidents have an impact that can occur in a timely manner that affects political agendas and create changes in policies and policy process. Kingdon (1985) refers to this process as a “policy primeval soup” (p. 4) where experts, researchers, think tanks, and private and public organisations pool together to address events that have occurred. A good example of this is how fast Covid spread. Where the world experts gathered, and our country authorities have come together to inform people and deliver vaccinations. Here solutions can be found, and policies move swiftly through parliamentary walls to become policy, to affect us all. These events occur and gain the attention of our leaders to make the change because of an event. The diagram below reveals similar events or windows of opportunity that happened over the years, indicating how Pacific people in the TES have changed and the effects of windows of opportunity.

Figure 23 The Changing Policies. How the Pacific community is identified within each strategy and affected by a “window of opportunity”.

TES released	How Pacific is identified in the TES?	Windows of Opportunity	Policy Actors	Policy Institutions	Political Economy
2002-2007	Priority Pacific Strategy	Pacific community mobilised under PITPONZ	PM Helen Clark MP Steve Maharey Pacific Leaders – MP Taito Phillip Field MP Arthur Anae	Labour Government	High unemployment rate for Pacific
2007-2012	All New Zealanders	Clydesdale report Don Brash Speech	Māori Party established	Labour Government	Global Financial Crisis
2010-2015	Listed as one of the four priorities	Pacific community protest down Queen Street	PM John Key MP Tolley MP Joyce	National Government	Industry establishing stronger links with education

2014-2019	Māori and Pacific stated together as a priority	Christchurch Mosque shootings	MP Joyce	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment	National – Labour wins election 2017
2020	No position within TES	No significant event for Pacific	MP Chris Hipkins restructures vocational education	Labour Government – Ministry of Education	Labour Government

The diagram shows how each of the strategies changed focus over the years and led to the inconsistent response to Pacific people. It questions the genuine policy process of needing to address an issue. Yet, political opportunities have driven the TES, the quick change in direction creates uncertainty in the sector, confusion in how to respond, and a lack of consistency in changing TEO directional behaviour.

> At its core the systems perspective is one that argues that the individual's agency's actions become powerful in relation to the things that concern them when they are linked to a larger process for negotiating and perhaps mobilising the actions of others (Considine, 2005, p. 14)

7.4 Structural Racism

Structural racism can be described as indirect discrimination when systems appear to treat everyone equally, but in reality, this does not occur (Geiringer & Palmer, 2007; New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2020).

Structural racism is identified by the participants who were fulfilling Pacific leadership roles in the institutes at second and third tier management levels, and who were carrying the responsibility of Pacific Peoples as their management portfolio. They emphasised that they were not provided with the same mandate as others in the leadership team, nor were they invited to sit at the table with the TEC or MoE to discuss Pacific within their workplace. As well as this, TEC did not acknowledge Pacific leadership or invite them to discussion or consultation about the TES when visiting the institute. One would have to ask, why is this?

The Human Rights Commission in New Zealand has identified strong evidence of structural racism. It remains an ongoing issue that they have continued to try to address (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2020; Talamaivao et al., 2020).

It was disheartening to hear the participants describe their experiences and feel undervalued and unable to support the community they also represent. Their voices were not heard, and their position was not recognised. The Pacific leaders were only called upon at the request of their leaders within the institute and they felt that they could not talk freely and openly to the policy advisors or TEC directly.

One participant felt that the executive of their institution did not want TEC to know the challenges being faced internally. Leadership, in this case, could also be seen as virtue signaling or tokenism.

7.5 Virtue Signaling

It can be contended that individuals run institutes, organisations, or governments, and those who respond to their communities are responsible for setting up systems and structures. This was discussed by participants when Pacific people or individuals were intentionally placed in particular roles to address Pacific matters. For many organisations, this helps provide an external view to show they are meeting Pacific community strategies. As a result, the MPP did not have to position themselves to address a ministry or provide an oversight of an organisation's policy. This was clear from the participant's point of view where they found the MPP stepping away from organisations, such as the MoE, by not making them one of their focus areas. This is because the MoE proposes to have Pacific representation at the main decision-making table.

As defined by Levy (2019, p.1)

> Accusing someone of virtue signaling is to accuse them of a kind of hypocrisy. The accused person [institute] claims to be deeply concerned about some moral issue but their main concern is – so the argument goes – with themselves. They’re not really concerned

> with changing minds, let alone with changing the world, but with displaying themselves in the best light possible. (p. 1)

Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was accused of virtue signaling when she selected her very diverse Cabinet members (Ardern, 2020). She challenged this accusation and mentioned that her selection of cabinet and the portfolios members of Parliament carry is based on skill.

The participants also challenged the status of their Pacific MPs. They commented that their perception was that they have very little mandate and toe the party line, and therefore are unable to take a solid position to advocate for their Pacific community. This is also mentioned under the discussion of leadership in Chapter Six, section 6.6, under "Leadership Assimilation". The participants identified previous strong Pacific leaders and MPs who they recognised as strong leader advocates; however, they did not identify anyone in the current cabinet lineup. They saw the current Pacific MPs as Pacific people but not Pacific representatives.

7.6 Structural Discrimination

Structural Discrimination is considered to be an indirect discrimination and is identified when an action or omission of policy appears to treat everyone equally but, in truth, creates an adverse effect impacting a community (Geiringer & Palmer, 2007; New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2020).

The positioning of Pacific Peoples and leadership to be able to engage in policy processes has had its impact. The elimination or the watering down from what was once a direct requirement to respond to Pacific Peoples in the 2002 TES, to be moved and recognised as All New Zealanders, was harsh. But then, further, incorporated with Māori, then moved again to be included into an Equity Group by 2020 has created organisations and TEOs that see this community as a commodity. It is at times interchangeable, fashionable, then not. In NZ's current climate with the international market declining, domestic students are now the focus (Education Counts, 2020a, 2020b) needed to keep TEOs financially afloat.

However, the declining international numbers would have a negligible effect if the focus had been directed to domestic and Pacific students throughout the years. Yet as the literature review mentioned, money is the key focus and international students mean dollars. These changes in direction for the Pacific community within policy have caused institutions to sway, limiting the ability of the Pacific community to continue to make progress and create greater traction for this community to reach equitable outcomes. The community's inability to make substantial progress and leverage themselves within organisations has lessened their ability to engage as organisational structures move. As one participant from a government ministry mentioned, their Pacific unit dissolved when the policy changed as there was no more required accountability for this community under the TES.

Sir William Macpherson, head of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry wrote that structural racism "persists because of the failure … to recognise and address its existence and causes by policy, example, and leadership" (Lander, 2021)

Addressing disparities must be a genuine commitment for organisations where the responsibility to ensure Pacific leadership and decision-making is positioned well in the structures, especially when policies move and sway with the politics of the day.

7.7 Chapter Summary

Although this research does not want to dwell on or evaluate the impact of the TES policy, it is the reason why this community needs to engage in policy processes – to ensure positive results that meet equitable outcomes for the Pacific community. In an article from *Stuff*, the view is very much the same:

> Recognising and addressing that gap has been a key strategy of the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) and individual institutions for years, and yet last month the TEC confirmed that the hundreds of initiatives deployed to date have made little to no impact in shifting the dial, calling them well-intentioned distractions from necessary system-wide approaches. (Quince, 2021, para. 2)

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

8.0 Chapter Introduction

The previous chapter provided the reader with insight into how and why the community has been limited in its ability to engage in the policy process by considering the historical implications, the differing values, navigating within a Westminster model of politics and systems and being viewed as a minority in a country.

The present chapter provides recommendations on ways in which the Pacific community can better establish and position themselves within policy and government processes, so that progress can be made, and Pacific voices can be heard. It also offers ways for policy advisors, ministries, and governments to approach and engage the Pacific community, utilising a process incorporating Pacific values.

8.1 Thesis Review

Chapter One discussed the reason for the study, providing background to the researcher's experiences in the tertiary sector in managing change over the years to respond to the TES and experiencing the many Pacific initiatives implemented to address the inequities in the sector. In addition, the experiences and the impact of Pacific people losing positions, and departments closing within the sector, by the mere effect of a policy shift, were described. The chapter also identified the lack of knowledge and research regarding Pacific Peoples engaging with policy, particularly the TESs. This is followed by the aim and research questions.

Chapter Two provided key literature and findings relevant to policy processes that indigenous and minority populations have experienced, such as Māori and Aboriginal Peoples and Torres Strait Islanders, and how these populations have faced challenges in engaging with the policy system. The chapter then looked at the Australian and New Zealand policy system and looked at these through a Pacific

lens. The chapter also provided insight into policy systems proposed by Maori and Pacific peoples.

Chapter Three provided a view of the five tertiary education strategies and identified where Pacific peoples have been prioritised and how the TESs started to change their identification of and response to Pacific Peoples. The chapter also referred to government documentation released over the years and significant media or community events that may have caused a shift in the response to Pacific Peoples.

Chapter Four presented the methodology used within the research to interview and examine the findings. This research required a qualitative case study methodology as it examined a period of time and relied on the experiences and stories of community and community leaders. Underpinning the methodology is the use of Talanoa to engage and enable a relationship to form so that participants could freely express their thoughts in a safe place. The researcher, of Fijian descent, worked within a Fijian framework.

Chapter Five provided the raw feedback from the participants. The feedback was accumulated and placed under the questions asked. At the end of each question, the researcher offered their reflection on the feedback and responses from the participants.

Chapter Six captured the themes that arose from hearing the participants' voices. The themes extended into domains, enabling the research to delve deeper and ask why these themes may have come about, examining if they had arisen over time or if a significant event occurred brought the theme to light.

Chapter Seven provided insight into theories that might explain why some themes and domains had arisen. The researcher felt it was important to find the answers that led to recommendations, which require a broader consideration of the Pacific community and their current position.

Chapter Eight, the present chapter, provides the conclusion, followed by the recommendations. The recommendations are addressed to the Pacific community, the TEC, and policy advisors.

Chapter Eight is followed by the research references and the appendices.

8.2 Summary of Key Findings

From the findings and experiences of the participants, it was clear that there was no transparent policy process for the community to decipher, so the community could not see how the policy process works or at which point of the process they were engaging. They were seen as mere receivers at a particular point of the process as the whole process was not explained to them. The community wishes to understand and engage with policy processes and wants to be informed about their point of engagement and what the process will entail. If this is a deliberate strategy as mentioned in some of the participants feedback that, engagement was not genuine, advisors that came out to consult were far removed from the actual policy writers, there was little knowledge of consultations taking place.

There must be a consistent policy process and format to follow that incorporates Pacific Peoples' values to gain a better insight and a level of understanding of how the community fits in the process. Over the years, it would be fair to say that each policy process for the TES took a different route, a separate policy process, and this makes it challenging to navigate for the community. As mentioned in the literature review, the government also acknowledged its failings in providing a policy process. If this were the case then, understandably, a community would have little hope of engaging and being a part of the policy machinery. Shifts in government priorities, shifts in leadership, shifts in resources all impact the policy machinery.

Learnings from Māori and Policy struggles.

As part of our learnings to engage in policy it is important to also take into account Māori and Indigenous communities that have faced the same or similar challenges.

Pacific peoples addressed their sense of powerlessness in the process, being on the periphery as well as being disempowered to really make changes or be engaged in the process. Johnston (1998) makes mention of the power imbalances and relationships of power and power dynamics in decision making. that occur when one community or people is dominant over and what it is incumbent upon all is understand ‘difference’.

Theories of Power
Engagement
Policy cycles

8.3 Understanding the policy process.

Governments should be transparent with those in the community about the policy process beforehand and provide the policy background in consultation with them. Policy advisors should understand that the community that comes to consult is a diverse group from various sectors. Some participants experienced different policy processes to address multiple sectors, as the same leaders were drawn from the community to consult. Providing the process and background to the policy being consulted upon would enable an understanding and provide accountability for the government and the community in attaining authentic engagement.

8.4 Leadership

Leadership was found to be the key element in policy processes for Pacific Peoples. The participants acknowledged that the leadership agenda is a critical driver for setting the initial direction of policy. They knew that, within the TESs, ministers drove the direction for consultation and, in many cases, already set an agenda as to what was to be in the policies. Other aspects of leadership are positioning within the structure and the ability to influence and provide accountability, acknowledging that some Pacific leadership positions are provided with the responsibility to contribute on behalf of the community voice, yet the people in those positions do not have the

opportunity to consult externally. Others suggested leadership has been incorporated into organisations where a Pacific person or a Pacific leader fails to advocate because they have been assimilated and lose their ability to support the community against mainstream organisations.

8.5 Distrust

There is distrust in the community about how policy advisors or government ministers consult on policies. The community acknowledged the lack of trust they have when consulting, yet they still participated where and when the opportunity arose, knowing that this may just be a tick-box exercise. The Pacific community viewed TEC with skepticism and suspicion when approached. The participants identified the TEC as the most distrusted organisation in education. Participants felt that the TEC was meant to be positioned to help, support, and enable the delivery of education. Instead, it was seen to be the organisation that looked for loopholes to close organisations or processes down instead of finding solutions to enable continued support to the community. An example provided by a participant was that TEC supported government institutions to continue to stay financially viable. By contrast, there was less support for private providers who serviced communities.

8.6 Political Positioning

What cannot be underestimated is the need to be politically positioned, not only as ministers or advocates but for those who support or lead sectors. The findings revealed the importance of having a political body that the government could refer to or that could act as a watchdog or lobbyist. This was expressed when Pacific Peoples had PITPONZ to lobby and advocate for Pacific with the result that it was included in the policy process. The noted absence of such a group or point of reference saw the demise of Pacific in Tertiary policy.

8.7 Leadership for Pacific Peoples

The participants expressed their disappointment in the current Pacific ministers in cabinet and their lack of advocacy or personality to push through policies to ensure Pacific is incorporated and prioritised. The MPP was not viewed as a strong advocate or able to influence the policy or policy advisors. The ministry lacks the responsibility to support education for Pacific Peoples.

8.8 Research Limitations

The research was carried out over the country's Covid lockdown periods, when Auckland, as a region, was in lockdown for long periods. This limited the opportunity to practice and embrace Pacific methodologies. Of the 15 participants, only 10 were interviewed face-to-face, and the other five were interviewed on Zoom. The ability to have a good Talanoa was inhibited by a screen, or the limitation on numbers, lessening the ability to engage at times and to read expressions, share humour and embrace each other.

Access to participants was also challenging. Some participants were difficult to reach due to their health and, because of the research timeframe, they were excluded from the opportunity to be interviewed.

A 16th participant (from a GPS) was interviewed by phone, but only after the collation of data. It was too late to incorporate the participant's answers into the overall research findings. However, the conversation reaffirmed the researcher's conclusions.

Research on Pacific people and policy processes was limited, particularly Pacific people's engagement with the TES in New Zealand. Much of the study was based on other indigenous experiences; although there were some similarities, it was difficult to validate them against a Pacific framework.

8.9 Can You Hear the Voices? Recommendations for Ministry of Education, TEC, Policy Advisors, and the Government

Political Will

Many of the changes affected by the shift in policies are positioned by the government. There is a lack of desire or political will to have Pacific people identified as a priority population. The Education Act 2020 states that the minister may issue a statement of national education and learning priorities under Section 5 paragraph 6, alluding to Pacific people only by recognition of community or recognised Pacific education organisations. The new Te Pūkenga – New Zealand Institute of Skills and Technology charter, Schedule 13, No 4(F), states that Te Pūkenga must "meet the needs of all of its learners, in particular those who are under-served by the education system, including (without limitation) Māori, Pacific, and disabled learners; …".

Thus, seeing the move away from recognition of the Pacific community as a priority under the Education Act but noting that Pacific is only under Te Pūkenga, lessens the community's position and the ability to achieve equity across the sector.

Evidence-based research

There is much discussion on the need to utilise research to provide sound evidence and policy advice (Alexander, 2012; Alkema, 2014; Anae & Mila-Schaaf, 2010; New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2017). Yet, New Zealand policy advisors have failed to listen, to heed research recommendations, particularly with the evidence on addressing Pacific educational outcomes. Research needs to be brought to the forefront of the policy process before the agendas of our politicians, and to be investigated by policy advisors who should be research informed.

Shifting policies

There was a shift in the TES policy from 2002, addressing Pacific peoples as a priority group which was well-positioned, in the first strategy. However, by 2007, Pacific peoples were labelled "All New Zealanders". In 2010, Pacific Peoples became one of the priority groups and, in 2014, Pacific Peoples became part of a

strategy that included both Māori and Pacific Peoples. By 2020 the positioning of Pacific people in the TES was under equity. The policies over the years have failed to remain consistent to gain traction and address the inequities across the tertiary sector. This begs the question as to whether these policies were evaluated by the Pacific community or whether the Pacific community was consulted. Where was the evidence that proved the need to move Pacific people as a priority group? And is the position of the Pacific community a genuine one or a political one? Hence, there is a need to maintain the focus and stability of a strategy that enables communities to gain traction and continue to progress is essential.

TEC and the positioning of Pacific

It is difficult for the sector to see how the government, TEC, or MoE mirror their response to Pacific people when they do not reflect the behaviour required in the sector. Currently, there are no Pacific TEC Commissioners, no specific Pacific roles, no Pacific leadership roles, and not even a Pacific Advisory Group to advise the organisation, which it has had in the past from 2004 to 2006 (MoE, 2004). Yet TEC suggests what the sector can do for Pacific on the MoE website in the 2020 *Pacific Education Action Plan* (it must be mentioned that this is not a policy document). However, TEC does not identify any of the responsibilities it will put in place to be responsive to Pacific peoples.

TEC must position genuine Pacific roles of responsibility within the organisation to enable responsiveness and accountability through a leadership role and reflect the behaviour it wishes to see in the sector and in response to the current perception of structural racism.

TEC needs to know the community.

The Pacific participants stressed their concerns over TEC's lack of visibility and understanding in knowing the Pacific community and how to engage with them. It is evident to the participants that TEC is not committed to the Pacific community, nor do they know the community. TEC did not know who the leaders were in the Pacific community and had not brought the sector together to consult. The growing disconnect is concerning when a Pacific Leadership role could significantly enhance the connection, bringing greater capability to TEC.

Trust

Trust is not easy to regain for an organisation when one has had previous bad experiences. However, this is much needed, as a relationship between the two would enable greater support for the community and TEC, possibly impacting better outcomes for Pacific people. A Pacific leadership position would significantly enhance and enable this, to facilitate the relationship and allow greater accountability.

Evaluation

There has been very little evaluation of the progress and impact of the TESs, especially where priority groups have been mentioned. This needs to occur, as with any other policy, to determine what is further required or if the previous policy was effective, by providing evidence of success or otherwise so that there is constant progress.

Funding

The participants had little oversight of funding to support the policies in place for each strategy. Pacific leaders had to negotiate internally for the funding that TEOs obtained from TEC. There was no transparency over how much was provided to the TEO to support Pacific. Thus, to empower a community to support and enable their Pacific students' progress, the funding provided by TEC should be stated and provided to Pacific leadership so that Pacific units or centres within TEOs can best determine what is required for their students to succeed.

The Pacific Education Plan

At the release of every TES, was also the release of a *Pacific Education Plan* (PEP). The PEP is intended to sit alongside and support the TES. However, the PEP or the *Pacific Action Plan* have not been, and are not, considered policy documents. Unfortunately, the TES is seen as the sole central document that TEOs are required to respond to. Very few TEOs know of the PEP; thus, the PEP falls outside of policy requirements and is not adhered to. The TES must make substantial reference to the PEP for TEOs to take note. However, the preference would be for the government to

approve the PEP as a strategy, much like that for Māori and *Ka Hikitia – the Māori Education Strategy*.

8.10 Are Your Voices Heard? Recommendations for Pacific Peoples

Political watchdog – ears to the ground

The Pacific Members of Parliament need to ensure that they have their ears to the ground. In other words, they must be aware of the policies that are about to be consulted on and warn the community ahead of time, to bring the sector together, lay out the policy direction, and advise how the community can engage in the process. From the participants' feedback, it would be fair to say that the last TEC had very little promotion within the Pacific community and sector. The TEC did not come through the MPP channels and failed to come through those who were leading in the sector for Pacific. The MPP needs to play a role, watching and informing to ensure the community is engaged and can participate.

Window of opportunity

The findings in the research indicate that ‘windows of opportunity’ that are timely help to engage the political ear and inform policy advisors of the changes and shifts in society. The shift across the years in TEC policy did not occur because of progress; TEC did not evaluate the policies' effectiveness but rather swayed to the politics of the day and the ‘window of opportunity’. Knowing this, the community needs to gain a heightened awareness and mobility to bring forth issues in a timely manner to gain a profile.

Engaging Pacific MPs

Knowing that leadership is a crucial finding of this research as one of the most influential elements in the policy process, the Pacific community needs to hold Pacific MPs to greater account and engage with them in forums to promote their thoughts and issues. The Pacific MPs should also gain the confidence of those MPs who hold significant influence over others in parliament, especially those with portfolios such as, Honourable Carmel Sepuloni Minister of Social Development, at the time of writing this research.

Pacific MPs supporting each other.

In Chapter Six, section 6.7, reference is made to “Leadership Assimilation”. Participants’ perception of the current Pacific MPs is that they did not want to step out of line but were happy to ‘toe the party line.’ NZs present Parliament has one of the largest Pacific caucuses, as noted on Radio New Zealand (Hopgood, 2020). Yet, the participants mentioned that Pacific people are losing their place in policy and have little advocacy at the policy level. Thus, a platform for Pacific MPs to advocate for each other and their community would be seen as a strength. During this research, the Māori MPs did just that and gathered at the beginning of 2022 to support each other and work together to support Māori (Sherman, 2022).

Pacific Tertiary Education Lobby Group

As mentioned in the literature review, Pacific positioning was strongest when it had a body or a lobby group that positioned itself politically to ensure their voices and concerns were heard. This provided a point of reference for the MoE to consult, and

to be advised by on education for Pacific people in the tertiary sector. A participant suggested this should occur again, and that the reference group should be well-informed, engaged with the sector and recognised by the institutions. These may include those in Pacific leadership positions within the TEOs, giving them recognition and the ability to inform the government without being seen to be under the restrictions of institutions by giving them anonymity to bring issues freely to the forefront.

Trust

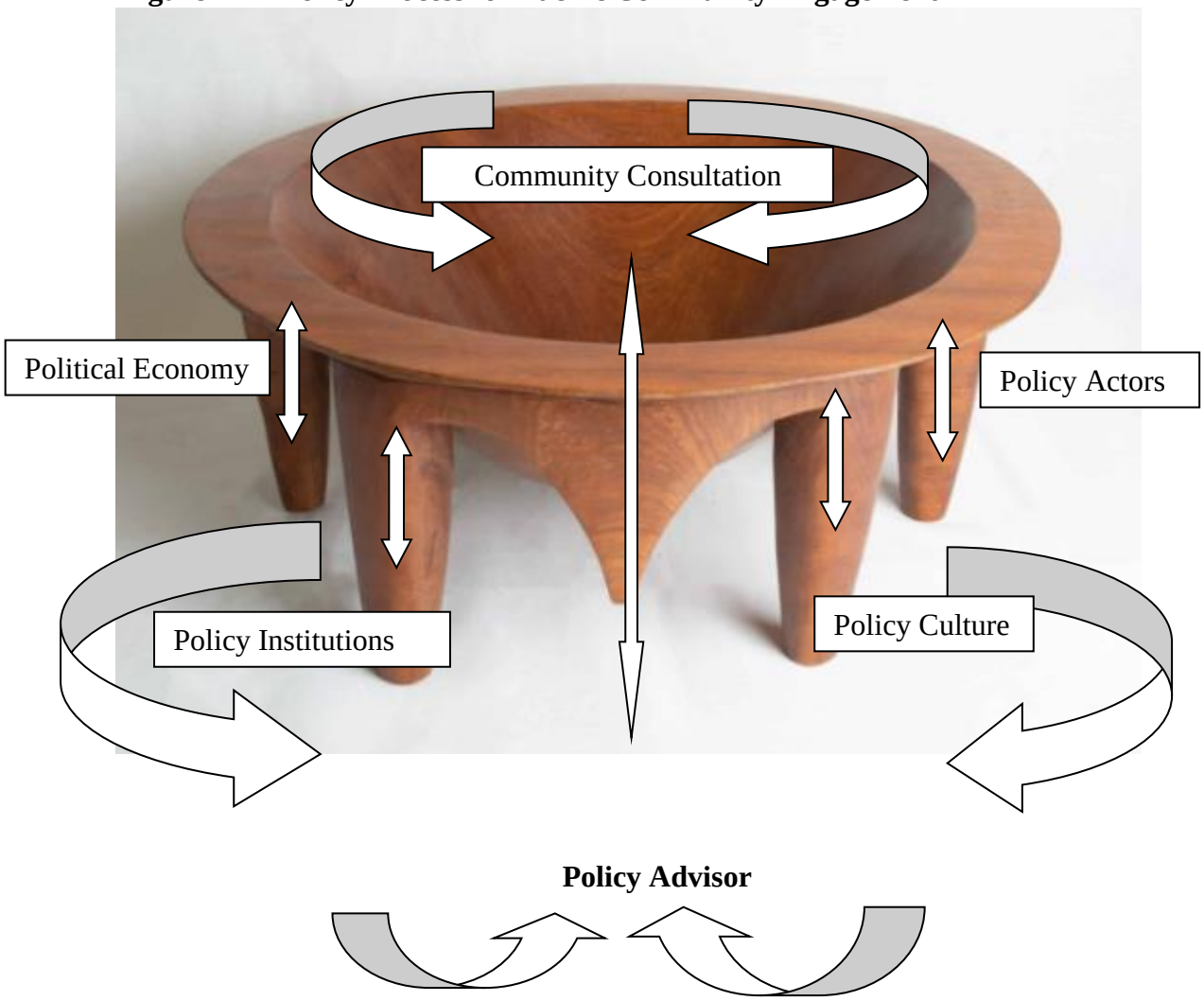
As mentioned in the recommendations for the TEC. The Pacific community also needs to form a relationship with TEC and look to engage in supporting them and their activities and conversations by inviting TEC to community fonos so they can hear the conversations being had and contribute to the discussions. This will help to build the relationships and, hopefully, regain trust.

8.11 A Policy Process for Pacific Community Engagement

The challenge is for policy advisors who work in a Western framework or process of consultation to acknowledge and understand that different communities engage in different ways. Currently, policy advisors engage in one way, through a Western framework. Understandably, it would be difficult to move this framework as it has been embedded for hundreds of years; hence the diagram below still maintains the four pillars upon which policy is derived (Considine, 2005).

The approach to engagement can be altered to be more flexible based on which community policy advisors are engaging with. Communities would see this as being much more genuine, respectful, and trusting in the process, as they would be familiar with the open engagement and understand the peripheries and the need to consult in the way they are accustomed to.

Figure 24 A Policy Process for Pacific Community Engagement



Adapted from Aumua (2008, p. 70). This diagram has been edited to support the recommendations of this research.

The diagram proposes a policy process for policy advisors to engage with the Pacific community, with the community being the central focus. The Tanoa Bowl is significant in Pacific cultures, it centres the community and signifies the sharing and coming together to participate in the consultation. The Kava (liquid mix) continues to be made until resolution or understanding has been formed and agreed – meaning, the discussion remains open until all understand, and a consensus is formed.

These values of open consultation and taking time to understand, share and be transparent until everyone agrees, or comes to a consensus, contradicts the current

process. The research revealed the pace and limited time to consult and be informed, mentioning the current engagement process as not being genuine in terms of the meetings with policy advisors and the lack of transparency. An example of this is consulting with community with already preconceived ideas and agendas established, hence the distrust in the process. This requires a shift and an understanding of values, knowing that not all engage in the same way and a recognition that this needs to be understood. This would require advisors to be connected or understand the values and differences; otherwise, it is not authentic engagement, it will be limited in how the policy advisor will be informed and, thus, it will affect policy and policy implementation.

The process requires the policy advisor to take all these pillars into account with information flowing both within and outside of the bowl or, in this case, community. However, it must be noted that the significant voice central to the consultation is the Pacific community which remains centred in the consultation process.

8.12 Thesis Closing

The researcher hopes that further research will be supported to evaluate the effectiveness of each of the TESs, to investigate if the last 20 years have had any impact, enabling progress and success for the Pacific community and, if so, to ask when and under what strategy?

> If you seriously want better outcomes for Pacific young people and their families, then policy settings that impact upon them need to be congruent with this world. You need to be drawing upon the strengths, understandings, and meanings of this world. … That would lead to a plurality of policy settings, of research approaches, of methods of evaluation practices in the field. … In the Pacific case, it would enable policies and practices that will enhance identity, draw upon positive strengths in the cultures and facilitate authentic Pacific development. (Efi, 2003, p.9 cited Anae, et. al, 2010)

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Participant Invite

Policy Process- Pacific peoples: A voice to be heard -Tertiary Education Strategies in New Zealand 2002-2020

Kia Ora, Talofa lava, Malo e le lei, Kia Orana, Taloha nei, Fakalofa Lahi Atu, Ni Sa Bula Vinaka, Warm Greetings.

I would like to invite you to participate in my research, but before doing so please take care to understand the reasons for the research and what your involvement will be. It is important for you to know how the research plans to contribute to further knowledge regarding the development of policy processes, specifically for Pacific peoples. Please feel free to ask any questions and take your time to read through the information before you decide to take part.

Researchers Information

- Researcher: Linda Aumua

- aumualinda@gmail.com or Mob: 021502312
- Supervisors- Professor Paul Kayes
- Research in fulfilment of PhD Philosophy.
- Linda is currently employed at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland.

Aim of the research:

The overall aim of the study is to investigate policy processes for Pacific and indigenous peoples. A Case Study of Pacific peoples' engagement with the policy process utilised in the development of the Tertiary Education Strategies between 2002-2020 will be examined and placed against a policy framework. This policy process will be analysed against New Zealand and Australian processes experienced by Indigenous peoples. I hope to capture the talanoa around the participation and experience of the Pacific community and their interface and engagement with government policy processes, in the development of the Tertiary Education Strategies.

Participant Recruitment

You have been invited to participate in the research having been identified as being employed in a government role or under the Tertiary Education Commission, held a position within a Tertiary Education Institute or owned a Pacific, Private Training Provider or recognised for your leadership in the community. Your name has been identified through historical evidence identifying roles that participants fulfilled during the time frame this research is examining, from 2002-2020.
No names have been excluded intentionally. Those identified held vital roles in their institutes which may have contributed to the development of the Tertiary Education Strategies. However, should a person from the community identify as wanting to participate, this person would not be excluded.

There are Twenty participants in total. Five participants' will be interviewed individually, face to face and a minimum of five participants in each (x3) focus groups. This will allow for fuller, manageable discussion enabling each person's voice to be heard. It also allows for the researcher to view the group and seek questions from those who are more reserved or to seek clarification on experiences voiced throughout the discussion.

The Participants will be asked to offer their knowledge voluntarily. However, the researcher will contribute financially a koha or mealofa to enable participants to attend with the support of petrol vouchers. Refreshments will also be offered to thank the participants for their time and contribution.

Project Procedures

The voices of the participants will be recorded for transcribing purposes only. The transcripts will be used to contribute to the findings and to analyse and draw conclusions from. They will not be used for any other purpose. All transcripts will be filed under an encrypted code and filed for five years in secure storage. The recordings will be destroyed. Every participant has the right to ask for a transcript of their contribution and will be provided a copy to ensure that the information gathered is correct. The research hopes to obtain permission from the participants

to reveal their names. This is to provide the wider community of the effort undertaken, by those being interviewed in their contribution to the Tertiary Education Strategies. However, if this is not permitted the researcher will preserve the confidentiality and anonymity of all participants. Anything of a sensitive nature that maybe shared or wishes to be shared during a focus group, can be discussed at a later agreed time with the researcher.

Participant's involvement

The participants have the right to choose whether they be part of a focus group or face to face interview to ensure the participant's comfort. A face-to-face interview may take 45 minutes, where as a focus group may take over an hour to complete. Participants within a focus group will require others to keep information shared, as confidential.

Participants Rights

Every participant has a "Statement of Rights" which include the right to:

- Decline to participate.
- Decline to answer any question.
- Withdraw from the study at any time.
- Participants may choose to turn off the audio recorder at any time.
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher.
- Understand that you have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.
- You may contact the researcher and/or supervisor if you have any questions about the project.
- Completion and return of the questionnaire imply consent. You have the right to decline to answer any question.

Ethics Committee Approval Statement

- This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee, ECA # eg. 09/001. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Committee administrator as below:

Contact Details for Ethics Committee administrator:

Kahukura.epiha@wananga.ac.nz

Postal address:
Private Bag 1006
Whakatāne

Courier address:
Cnr of Domain Rd and Francis St
Whakatāne

Appendix 2: Consent Form

School of Indigenous Graduate Studies
Rongo-o-Awa
Domain Rd
Whakatāne

Policy Process- Pacific peoples: A voice to be heard -Tertiary Education Strategies in New Zealand 2002-2019

CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of study explained to me.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree to participate in this study under conditions set out in the Information Sheet but may withdraw my consent at any given time.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name – printed: _____

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Research project: Policy Process- Pacific peoples: A voice to be heard -Tertiary Education Strategies in New Zealand 2002-2020

Kia Ora, Talofa lava, Malo e le lei, Kia Orana, Taloha nei, Fakalofa Lahi Atu, Ni Sa Bula Vinaka, Warm Greetings.

This questionnaire is confidential and will only be used to collate data. The questionnaire is based on your position between 2002 - 2020 during the development of New Zealand Tertiary Education Strategies.

Name……

Please state your ethnicity/s: _____

Please state your gender: _____

Current role at the time of engagement with the TES's.

_____

The following questions will be in reference to the time period – 2002-2020

What was the name of the organisation that you worked for? _____

What was the title of your role? _____

Would you have been the central person for contact regarding consultation for Pacific people in your previous employment or community? Y or N

Had you had any contact with the Tertiary Education Commission over this period: Y or N

If yes, please state if this was regarding any of the tertiary education strategies and with whom:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Vinaka Vaka Levu- thank you for your time.

Linda Aumua

Participant Questions for Focus Groups and Individual interviews.

1. What was your understanding of the Tertiary Education Strategies when you were in your role or as a stakeholder?

2. From your own experience or knowledge, how did Pacific people gain access to the policy process in the development of the Tertiary Education Strategies?

3. How did you address the process or engage with the process in the development of the Tertiary Education Strategies?

4. From your experience how well are Pacific people included in the process and what do you think would support the process for this community?

5. In hindsight what could the Tertiary Education Commission have done to better engage Pacific peoples in the process of developing the Tertiary Education Strategies?

6. In hindsight what could the Pacific peoples have done better to engage in the Tertiary Education Strategies?

Appendix 4: Ethics Approval

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

EC2020.20

28/10/2020 Student ID: 2171377

LInda Tinai Aumua
Government Buildings
PO Box 2583
Suva
Fiji
679

Tēnā koe LInda

Tēnā koe i roto i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā.

Ethics Research Committee Application Outcome: Approved

The Ethics Research Committee met on Wednesday 14th October 2020 and I am pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. The committee commends you on your hard work to this point and wish you well with your research.

Please contact your Supervisor Professor Paul Kayes as soon as possible on receipt of this letter so that they can answer any questions that you may have regarding your research, now that your ethics application has been approved.

Please ensure that you keep a copy of this letter on file and use the Ethics Research Committee document reference number: EC2020.20 in any correspondence relating to your research, with participants, or other parties; so that they know you have been given approval to undertake your research. If you have any queries relating to your ethics application, please contact us on our free phone number 0508926264; or e-mail to ethics@wananga.ac.nz.

Nāku noa nā
Kahukura Epiha
Ethics Research Committee Administrator

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