Managing Pasifika Diaspora in Australian Rugby League

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Certificate of Original Authorship

I, David Lakisa, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the UTS Business School at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise reference or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution. This research is supported by the Australian Government Research Training Program.

Signature:

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Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AFL	Australian Football League
ARL	Australian Rugby League
ARLC	Australian Rugby League Commission
ARLIC	Australian Rugby League Indigenous Council
ARLPC	Australian Rugby League Pasifika Council
ARU	Australian Rugby Union
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
NFL	National Football League
NRL	National Rugby League
NRLW	National Rugby League Women's
NSW	New South Wales
NSWRFL	New South Wales Rugby Football League
NSWRL	New South Wales Rugby League
NZR	New Zealand Rugby
PC	psychological contract
PIRA	Pacific Islands Rugby Alliance
RA	Rugby Australia
RAP	Reconciliation Action Plans
RLWC	Rugby League World Cup
SFD	sport-for-development
USA	United States of America

Glossary of Terms

This section defines relevant terminology used throughout this study. The emphasis is on Pasifika and Māori terms.

Pasifika

There is much debate regarding appropriate terminology when discussing Pacific Islander and Māori, Pacific people, Tagata Pasifika, Pacifica and Māori. However, for the purposes of this study and its Australian context, the term 'Pasifika' refers to the Pan-Pacific peoples and their diaspora (Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian), whose ethnic background includes New Zealand Māori, Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Niue.

The primary researcher is cognisant of the fact that such terminology can conflate diverse cultural practices and identities, which runs the risk of oversimplifying the varied and complex migratory pathways, experiences and histories of research participants and their broader communities. Pasifika communities in Australia, when compared to New Zealand, Pacific Islands and the USA, are an emerging demographic group. Pasifika cultures share commonalities, but they are also ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse.

Pasifika entourage

The 'Pasifika entourage' refers to sociocultural motivations that influence employee expectations in the workplace, such as family, culture and spirituality.

National Rugby League entourage

The 'National Rugby League entourage' refers to key stakeholders who may influence a Pasifika employee's workplace relations, such as coaching staff, club and game administration staff, in addition to player agents and the media.

Māori Terminology

Aroha	to love and show compassion for, care for and respect
Iwi	refers to the larger tribal communities and translates as 'bones'
Kaupapa Māori	Māori-focused research (research for Māori by Māori)
Mana	having status, influence or power, authority or prestige
Māori	collective identity of the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Pākehā	often used to refer to New Zealanders of European (predominantly British) descent
Tapu	respect, sacred
Whānau	family unit (can be genealogical or based on purpose for gathering)

Pasifika Terminology

Alagaupu	Samoan proverb
Alofa	to love and show compassion for, care for and respect
Āiga	family
Fa'aaloalo	courtesy and being respectful
Fa'asamoa	cultural practice and tradition
Fonofale	meeting house

Mea alofa	gift
Moni	real, authentic
Palagi	often used to refer to people of European (predominantly British) descent
Pasifika	blanket term for Polynesian (including Māori), Micronesian and Melanesian
Tagata	people
Talanoa	conversation, deep discussion, dialogue
Tapu	sacred

Abstract

This thesis was concerned with diversity management in professional rugby league football in Australia. It examined the workplace perceptions and expectations of two groups: Pasifika (Pacific Islander and Māori) employees and their non-Pasifika employers in the National Rugby League (NRL), the premier rugby competition in Australasia. The study sought to explore whether Pasifika workplace perceptions, expectations, and contributions aligned with diversity management practices in the NRL.

The study adopted an interdisciplinary approach that incorporated both Pacific Studies and diversity management. It drew upon psychological contract (PC) theory in order to understand workplace experiences. These were explored via a culturally appropriate *talanoa* approach to interpersonal dialogue, this involving exchange of conversations, stories and ideas with 40 relevant individuals in the NRL.

The findings revealed that Pasifika employees in the NRL place greater emphasis on *relational* aspects of the exchange relationship, specifically drawing upon familial motivations, cultural values and customs, as well as community service and spirituality. The study was able to contribute to sport management scholarship in two key ways. First, by advancing qualitative research into Pasifika workplace experiences – both on and off the field – in elite rugby league. Second, the thesis broadened the scope of psychological contract research to encompass diversity management considerations – in this case by generating knowledge about how Pasifika employees navigate Western workplaces.

Fa'afetai/Acknowledgements

Chapter 1: Introduction

"As a game [rugby league] we've got to learn more about the Polynesian culture and the way they're brought up; what they believe in; and what they value. It's a learning curve our game has to go through" (Bellamy, 2013, p. 39).

1.0   Overview

Engagement with cultural diversity management in Australian football codes is not new. Australian Rules football has had a long association with Indigenous Australian athletes (Hallinan, Bruce & Coram, 1999; Klugman & Osmond, 2013; Light & Evans, 2018; Tatz, 1995); Association football (soccer) in Australia shares a rich history with European migrant communities (Danforth, 2001; Mosely, 1994); and the two rugby football codes (union and league) have seen substantial growth in participation from both Aboriginal and Pasifika communities, particularly since the 1990s (Brawley, 1997; Cadigan, 2008; Horton, 2012; Panapa & Phillips, 2014; Valiotis, 2008; Zakus & Horton, 2009). This demographic change involving Pacific Islanders and Māori in Australian Rugby League (ARL) has been described by one study (Lakisa, 2011) as the "Pasifika revolution", signifying that players of Pasifika origin are now a vital cultural and physical presence in the NRL labour force. With that cultural shift in mind, this thesis seeks to explore and unravel Pasifika experiences and contributions in the NRL workforce and, more broadly, the Australian workplace, through the conceptual lenses of sport management and Pacific studies.

The need to manage cultural diversity in professional sport organisations is a contemporary reality. In terms of population, while the Pasifika diaspora constitutes some two per cent of Australia's 25 million population (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS],

2019), it comprises an enormous 46 per cent of National Rugby League (NRL) playing contracts (National Rugby League Wellbeing & Education, 2017). Therefore, the Pasifika diaspora forms a substantial cohort in rugby league. What kind of workplace is the NRL for players and administrators of Pasifika heritage and identity? As previous research has established, minority groups may face workplace challenges that are different from those experienced in the majority culture. Such challenges may include cross-cultural misunderstandings (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2001) that cause distrust between employee and employer. This seems particularly so when a workplace lacks cultural competence— an absence of awareness about the social identities of employees (most commonly those from minority groups) for whom that sense of self is vital in all situations (Tiatia, 2008). Research has also demonstrated that workers from minority backgrounds are more likely to be under-represented in executive-level or board-related roles. This has been attributed to an absence of opportunity rather than a lack of capability (Holland, 2012). Workers from minority groups, particularly in environments where they have little power, are susceptible to exploitation, marginalisation and emotional distress—particularly when managers and fellow workers lack sufficient understanding of, or respect for, the sociocultural milieu of minorities (Field, 2013).

Conversely, minority groups may also find welcome opportunities in workplaces that value and nurture cultural diversity. Via talent development (through inclusive hiring practices), empowerment of employees from minority backgrounds and what has been described as "cultural efficacy" (Manuela & Sibley, 2015), a diversified—and capable— work environment offers the chance for employees to do their jobs and to be themselves.

This thesis explores diversity management in professional rugby league football in Australia. More specifically, this research examines the intersections between the research areas of sport management and Pacific studies. First, a key aspect of diversity

management in sport is the absence of research exploring cultural experiences in rugby league administration, in addition to questions about workplace expectations for Pasifika employees (Lakisa, 2011; Ravulo, 2017). Second, Pacific studies in Australia is an emerging field (Rose, Quanchi & Moore, 2009); currently, there is renewed interest in Indigenous knowledge systems and modes of "Pacific enquiry" (T. Teaiwa, 2006) in professional sport due to the significant Pasifika presence in rugby football codes (Lakisa, 2011; K. Teaiwa, 2016).

In terms of the sport industry, scholars have indicated that sport organisations may garner an advantage over competitors by adopting effective cultural diversity practices. This is particularly relevant in contexts where the athlete workforce is culturally diverse; an off-field workforce that complements a diverse playing group will align well with its zeitgeist (Cunningham, 2015; Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; Taylor, Doherty & McGraw, 2015). Conversely, where diversity and inclusion policies and practices are not delivered fully or implemented properly in sport organisations, both their function and reputation may be compromised (Adair, Taylor & Darcy, 2010; Cunningham, 2009, 2015). The same could be said for NRL and sporting organisations alike. This thesis seeks to better understand workplace expectations between employees and employers and making use of a diverse and inclusive workforce.

1.1   Research Question and Objectives of the Study

This thesis by publication adopts the premise that the workplace roles and experiences of both employers and employees are likely to be enhanced by a better understanding of their respective perceptions and expectations of both self and other. At the core of this study is the need to better understand Pasifika culture and experiences in the workplace (see Figure 1.1). To date, research examining the workplace relations of any minority

cultural group—in this case, Pasifika employees in professional sport organisations using Pasifika research methods—has been limited. In terms of research method, this study hopes to develop a model for sport-related research and practice through the lens of talanoa while at the same time seeking to advance the growing body of literature that explores the participation and sociocultural motivations of Pasifika athletes in Australian rugby codes (Horton, 2012; McDonald & Rodriguez, 2014; Mumm & O'Connor, 2014; Panapa & Phillips, 2014; Puletua, 2014; Valiotis, 2008), through a focus on Pasifika employment relations (Ravulo, 2014; Stobbs & Sandner, 2013). Given that rugby league has the largest percentage of Pasifika representation of any Australian sport (Puletua, 2014), the overarching research question for this thesis is: how are the workplace perceptions and expectations of Pasifika employees aligned (or misaligned) with those of their employers in the NRL[1]?

Pasifika culture

Australian Rugby League
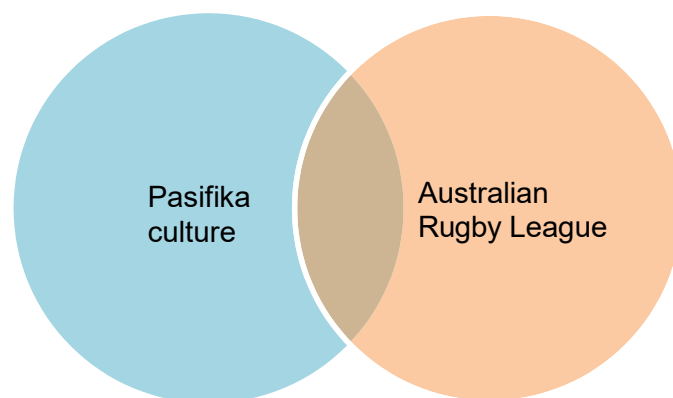
Figure 1.1 Existing research gap in Australian Rugby League.

Key constructs of Rousseau's (1995) theory of psychological contract (PC)—understood as the unwritten or perceived mutual obligations between employee and

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[1] The National Rugby League (NRL) is Australia's premier rugby league competition with 16 participating professional clubs. The NRL competition is organised and conducted under the auspices of the Australian Rugby League Commission (ARLC), the official governing body of rugby league football within Australia.

employer are used to unpack diversity management concepts relating to nuanced workplace perceptions and expectations. Three objectives have been developed to guide the research which are:

1. to capture historical and contemporary experiences of Pasifika contribution to ARL through the culturally appropriate research method of talanoa

2. to identify types of PC that exist and broaden the understanding of PC theory between Pasifika employees and their NRL employers

3. to provide *whole of game* strategies to improve diversity management practices in the NRL.

1.2 Research Context and Key Concepts

This section contextualises the current status of Pasifika in the NRL. It does so by providing an introduction to Pasifika migration to Australia and the complexities surrounding Pasifika integration into the game of rugby league.

1.2.1 Pasifika migration to Australia

Migration patterns of Pasifika to Australia date back to *blackbirding* (Docker, 1981) and the slavery of South Sea Islanders (known as 'the kanakas') for sugar cane farming in Queensland in 1863. A decade earlier, a small number of Māori from New Zealand also participated in the Victorian gold rush (Hamer, 2007). Recruitment of cheap Pacific labour ended, largely due to the introduction of the Pacific Islanders Labourers Act 1901, which exempted Māori (Hamer, 2014), and the rise of the so-called *White Australia Policy* (formerly known as the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901), which ordered the deportation of Pacific Islanders—although many managed to stay (Peacock, 1979). Migration from the Pacific was not noticeable until the 1960s, when it coincided with softer Australian immigration policies and the pursuit of greater economic and

educational opportunities by Pasifika immigrants. As with many other migrant groups, the search for greener pastures was a critical driver of Pasifika migration to Australia (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2000).

In 1973, the gradual dismantling of the White Australia Policy occurred and, soon after, the Racial Discrimination Act (1975) was passed. These shifts in policy permitted a steady rise in Pasifika migration to Australia (George & Rodriguez, 2009). Additionally, the consolidation of the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement allowed Australians and New Zealanders to move more easily between countries to visit, live and work. However, Australia was concerned that this would permit poorly skilled Pasifika people to enter the country which resulted in a review of and subsequent changes in policy. From 2001, this restricted the provision of access to social security payments to only one group—New Zealanders (including Māori) in Australia (Lee & Francis, 2009). Therefore, some Pacific Islanders entered Australia via an initial residency in New Zealand. Many of the Pasifika migrants were students who sought education at schools or universities and then married and settled in Australia. Typically, they sponsored relatives back home, initiating chain migration (Lee & Francis, 2009).

1.2.2 Pasifika presence in the National Rugby League

The influence of Pasifika identities on Australian sport history is longstanding. In the early 20th century, Hawaiian surfer Duke Kahanamoku and the Solomon Islander Sydney-based swimmer Alick Wickman gained public recognition for their respective contributions to their sports. Kahanamoku was labelled the "father of Australian surfing" (Osmond, 2010), while Wickman has been widely acclaimed for introducing the Australian crawl stroke to freestyle swimming (Osmond & Phillips, 2004). There were also "Pacific pioneers" in rugby league (Prichard, 2005)—notably Peter Moko, who is understood as the first Polynesian to be contracted to play in the New South Wales Rugby

League (NSWRL) competition (1909) (Coffey & Wood, 2008). Glen Pakere, Brownie Paki and Ted Pickrang followed suit in 1910, 1915 and 1930, respectively (Coffey & Wood, 2008; Middleton 2013).

In the wake of changing migration laws, a small number of Pasifika players based in New Zealand plied their trade in Sydney-based clubs during the 1960s to the 1980s (Stevenson, 2009). However, it was not until the 1990s that a steady influx of players of Pasifika descent formed a substantial cohort (Panapa & Phillips, 2014; Puletua, 2014). In 2017, that cohort stood at a staggering 46 per cent of professional player contracts in the NRL (National Rugby League Wellbeing & Education, 2017). The increase in Pasifika representation may have contributed to the introduction of the New Zealand–based Auckland Warriors, now named Vodafone Warriors, who entered the ARL competition in 1995 (Matheson, 2009). When measured against the high number of players, representation is much lower in non-playing roles—such as coaching and support staff, game development, community, wellbeing and education officers and administration roles. Approximately nine per cent in the NRL headquarters and up to eight per cent across the 16 NRL clubs (National Rugby League Wellbeing & Education, 2017). Low representation is similar at grassroots and junior levels with 3.5 per cent of coaches, match officials, sports trainers and off-field volunteers identifying as being of Pasifika descent (National Rugby League LeagueNet Digital, 2017).

The culturally and linguistically diverse athlete labour force of the NRL is unlike any other professional football league in the world, in terms of its ethnocultural composition. Pasifika (46 per cent) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (12 per cent) comprise nearly 60 per cent of the NRL's contracted players (Heptonstall, 2015). In the past decade, the high percentage of culturally diverse participants in the NRL and its clubs have catalysed the implementation of much-needed, athlete-centred, education- and

wellbeing-focused programs that are designed to cater for the influx of Pasifika athletes (Lakisa, 2011; Marsters, 2017; National Rugby League Annual Report, 2019; Ravulo, 2014). As this study will show, these initiatives are also intended to assist coaches and administrators gain insights into the cultural sensibilities and rethink cultural diversity management strategies.

In the past decade, the profile of international rugby league in the Pacific Islands has risen. This is due mainly to the increase of international test matches and the success of Pacific Island nations in the 2013 and 2017 Rugby League World Cups (RLWC) (National Rugby League Annual Report, 2019). Since 2009, various sport-for-development (SFD) programs and, to a lesser extent, player development pathways in the Pacific Islands regions have been established, thanks primarily to funding by the Australian government via the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). Further, growing participation rates and the increased commercial interest profile of rugby league have opened doors gradually for teams from New Zealand (since 2008), Papua New Guinea (since 2014) and Fiji (commencing 2020) to compete in the NRL second-tier competitions in New South Wales (NSW) and Queensland. In terms of delivering SFD messages on topics such as domestic violence, non-communicable disease and obesity in the Pacific region, the NRL has partnered with DFAT, the Australian Sports Commission and the Rugby League International Federation to conduct Pacific Outreach health promotion and sport development programs and assist with local-based stakeholder engagement and game education resources (National Rugby League Annual Report, 2019; Sherry, Schulenkorf & Seal, 2017; Stewart-Withers & Brook, 2009). In 2014, NRL executives announced the development of a *Pacific Strategy*, yet little is known about the specifics. However, it is known that the growing presence of domestic rugby league competitions and SFD programs in the Pacific Islands, face

challenges such as sustainability programming, player pathway development and further resource training, particularly in the volatile socio-economic conditions of small Pacific Island nations (Sherry et al., 2017; Stewart-Withers & Brook, 2009). Therefore, it remains to be seen whether proposed and established initiatives, such as the Pacific Strategy and Pacific Outreach programs, bear sustainable fruit from their labours, particularly since these are based in the Pacific rather than in Australia.

1.3 Contribution to Knowledge and Practice

This study contributes to sport management knowledge in two primary domains. First, it aims to advance empirical studies of Pasifika in Australian rugby football codes by investigating Pasifika contributions and experiences (both athlete and non-athlete). In doing so, it engages a culturally appropriate method of research with Pasifika peoples—talanoa. There is an emerging body of literature on Pasifika identities in the Australian rugby codes, which relates to cultural identity (Bergin, 2002; Brawley, 1997; Panapa & Phillips, 2014), migration, social advancement and upward mobility (Horton, 2012; McDonald & Rodriguez, 2014; Puletua, 2014; Valiotis, 2008), cross-cultural understanding (Mumm & O'Connor, 2014) and bodies, performance and masculinities (Hawkes, 2019; Horton, 2014). What is largely absent, however, is research that explores Pasifika aspirations and experiences in rugby league administration, in addition to questions about diversity management in that context. Therefore, this thesis seeks to explore and unravel Pasifika experiences and contributions in the NRL workplace.

Second, this study aims to identify types of PC and broaden the understanding of PC theory in the exchange relationship of professional sport settings in Australia. Its contribution is specific to how Pasifika cultural values and identity play a pivotal role in fostering positive PC. In recent years, insights have emerged into challenges—amidst

limited opportunities—for Pasifika-ancestry administrators in both rugby league and rugby union. Researchers who have identified tensions for Pasifika personnel in both playing and administrative ranks (Stobbs & Sandner, 2013), ranging from a lack of cross-cultural competency within the NRL (which applies as much to Indigenous as to Pasifika employees) (Panapa & Phillips, 2014; Ravulo, 2017), to the under-representation of Pasifika professionals in administrative roles compared to playing roles (Lakisa, 2011; Puletua, 2014) and the lack of culturally focused support programs within the game (Ng Shiu & Vagana, 2016). This doctoral thesis, while cognisant and appreciative of that body of work, constitutes the first series of studies to explore and evaluate diversity management and Pasifika experiences in the commercial environment of rugby league's peak professional body, the NRL.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis by Publication

A thesis by publication comprises a manuscript of published works (see Chapter 4). Together, this suite of four published works and unifying set of chapters contribute to theory and practice in sport diversity management by contributing to a body of knowledge about diversity management and PC theory. The chapters are organised as follows. The present chapter frames the objectives of the study by outlining the research context and problem and concepts relating to Pasifika migration and integration in ARL. Chapter 2 critically analyses literature that is relevant to Pacific studies and diversity management. It evaluates the state of Pacific studies in Australia, sport mobilities, and key values and customs when discussing Pasifika diaspora. Chapter 2 also explores diversity management issues by describing the evolution of PC and its application to Australian sport settings. Key PC constructs, notably mutuality, reciprocity, breaches and violations, are also discussed. Chapter 3 outlines the research design and methods used in this study.

The theoretical framework, including epistemological and ontological orientations and ethical considerations, is introduced in addition to relevant Pasifika research models and methodologies. Chapter 4 features the four peer-reviewed manuscripts (published or in-press) that are pertinent to this thesis. Chapter 5 provides a summary of the key findings and subsequent discussion of the overarching question and research objectives. The final chapter outlines key contributions to theory and practice, and implications for practice relating to Pacific Studies, PC and diversity management, limitations and future research.

1.5   Situating the Researcher

The author of this thesis is New Zealand–born, of Samoan (Polynesian) heritage and now an Australian citizen, with previous experience as a rugby league administrator in the NRL—in the area of coaching and development with a focus on Pacific Islander and Māori athletes and their communities. These contributing factors permit an *insider* approach, but with Polynesian perspectives. The Pasifika diaspora in Australia is, like the islands of the Pacific, demographically and culturally diverse. This can lead a Pasifika person to be considered an outsider to Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian cultures such as Tongan, Māori, Fijian, Papua New Guinean, Gilbertese or Nauruan. However, common cultural characteristics in researcher–participant relationships may produce observations and results that are predictable rather than novel, a challenge known as *ethnographer bias* (K. M. Dewalt & DeWalt, 2011). These research considerations are elaborated further in Section 3.2.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.0   Overview

"Oceania is vast, Oceania is expanding, Oceania is hospitable and generous, Oceania is humanity rising from the depths of brine and regions of fire deeper still, Oceania is us" (Hau'ofa, 1993, p. 16).

This literature review focuses on two areas of scholarship: Pacific Studies and diversity management. These areas underpin the objectives of the study and its overarching research question: how are the workplace perceptions and expectations of Pasifika employees aligned (or misaligned) with those of their employers in the NRL?.

First, Pacific Studies is introduced via (re)framing the values and principles relevant to the context of the Pacific Islands and the position of the Pasifika diaspora in Australia. This is complemented by an examination of Pasifika sport identities and mobility, cultural identity and associated diversity management issues. To better inform the exchange relationship between Pasifika and non-Pasifika, several Pan-Pacific ideologies— *mana* (status and prestige), *vā* (socio-spatial relationships) and *tapu* (sacredness)—are introduced and juxtaposed with Western theories. This section elucidates the principle of 'Pasifika empowerment' (Hau'ofa, 1993), a goal of inspiring and empowering Pasifika people to resist and overcome maltreatment and subjugation, as has been reported in the contexts of imperialism, neo-colonialism and white supremacy, that Pasifika peoples suffering belittlement, boundedness and (from a power relations perspective) smallness (Hau'ofa, 1993; Teaiwa, 2014). From a transformational paradigm, activist scholars have asserted that, to counter a legacy of colonialism, Western culture has much to learn—and gain—from core Pasifika cultural values such as

community connectedness, extended kinship, customs that emphasise reciprocity and the benefits of spirituality (Crawley, Pulotu-Endemann & Stanley-Findlay, 1995; Hau'ofa 1993). This strength-based approach focuses on Pasifika strengths and innovation rather than stereotypes of deficiency (Anae, 2019; Salesa, 2017; Teaiwa 2014).

Second, diversity management issues will be examined via drawing on Rousseau's (1989, 1995) concept of PC. The framework is used to highlight relational and transactional perceptions and expectations that help to frame empirical research on employment relations. Next follows an analysis of key constructs in PC—mutuality, reciprocity, breaches and violations.

2.1 Framing Pacific Studies

Australia has a vibrant and growing Pasifika community. It also shares a long and deep historical engagement with the Pacific Islands region (Rose, Quanchi & Moore, 2009), particularly in terms of foreign aid, trade, investment, defence and border security (Hau'ofa, 1993). The Pacific Islands, or Oceania (excluding Australia), is a vast and diverse region and home to almost 20 per cent of the world's languages, in addition to approximately 10 million people (including New Zealand) (Bedford & Hugo, 2012; Lal & Fortune, 2000).

The framing of Pasifika peoples has evolved much since colonisation. The most defined framing was produced in 1832 by Dumont d'Urville, who labelled Melanesia (black islands) as distinct from Polynesia (many islands) and Micronesia (small islands) (Lal & Fortune, 2000). Leading Pacific Studies scholar, the late Professor Hau'ofa, offered a widely accepted reconceptualisation of the Pacific in his influential essay "Our Sea of Islands" (1993). Numerous Pacific scholars, artists and students trace their intellectual activism to this essay (Teaiwa, 2014). Hau'ofa argued that Pacific Islanders

are connected rather than separated by the sea and views the ocean as a highway, long traversed by Pacific ancestors. Two-dimensional or imaginary lines exist due to those continental Europeans and Americans who drew colonial boundaries (Hau'ofa, 1993) (see Figure 2.1).
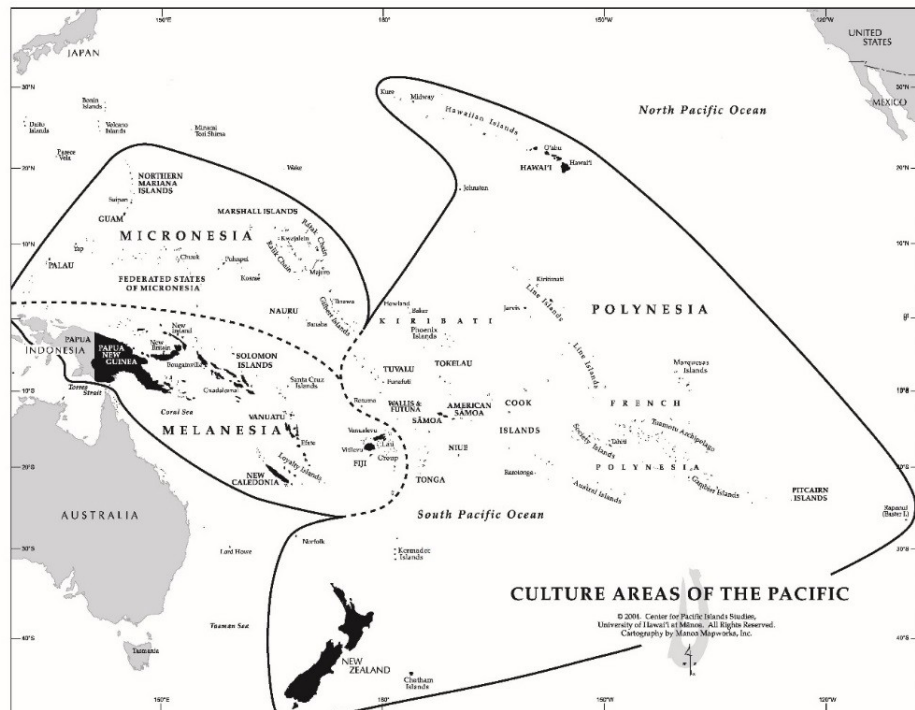
Figure 2.1 Culture areas of the Pacific: Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia (University of Hawai'i, 2001).

Subsequently, the non-Pasifika political scientist Fry (1997) wrote about the longstanding practice of framing Pacific Islands peoples in three senses, "First, drawing geopolitical boundaries around them for the purposes of making generalisations, second, intending to shape the lives of the people so bounded and third, in the colloquial sense, setting them up for the outcomes not of their making" (p. 307).

Teaiwa (2014) suggested a (re)framing of Oceania, arguing that "geopolitical powers such as Australia and the United States need to be as interested in what they can learn from the Pacific as in what they can gain from dominating it" (p. 68). Therefore,

despite the Pacific Islands relatively small populations and modest economies, Pasifika issues matter beyond this region, due to the social, cultural and economic effects they either have, or could have, on neighbouring countries such as Australia. As Hau'ofa (1993) emphasised, there is much that the West can learn from Pasifika ideals, values and principles. He articulated the notion of world enlargement, stating that:

> The world of Oceania is neither tiny nor deficient in resources ... Islanders have broken out of their confinement, are moving around and away from their homelands, not so much because their countries are poor, but because they were unnaturally confined and severed from many of their traditional sources of wealth, and because it is in their blood to be mobile. They are once again enlarging their world, establishing new resource bases and expanded networks for circulation (p. 156).

Pacific studies in Australia is an emerging field (Rose, Quanchi & Moore, 2009; Teaiwa, 2014). Although migration of Pasifika people to Australia increased noticeably between the 1970s and 1990s, academic research on Pasifika–Australian communities has only really come to the fore since the early 2000s. Studies in the areas of health, welfare and education have typically arisen from a critical sociological perspective, focusing on a series of negative social indicators and social barriers, which together indicate a progressive yet more commonly marginalised and disempowered demographic. For example, Aloisio (1986) found that Polynesian and Melanesian groups in NSW struggle to access general community services. Francis (1995), Va'a (2003) and Ravulo (2009) have reported on elevated criminal activity rates among Pasifika diaspora. Meanwhile, Horsley (2003), Cuthill and Scull (2011), Ponton (2015) and Lee and Craney (2019) have asserted that there are significant sociocultural barriers for Australian–Pacific

Islander communities in terms of pursuing further education in secondary and tertiary settings.

A positive feature of Pasifika populations in Australia is their strong involvement in religious practice, particularly Christianity (New South Wales Department of Community Services, 2006), despite its colonial origins. While many Pasifika populations experience economic inequalities and reside in low socio-economic areas of major Australian cities (Chand, 2011; Lee & Craney, 2019), these diverse groups have also often experienced complex patterns of migration and mobility (Lee & Francis, 2009; McCall & Connell, 1993; Va'a, 2001); these uneven trajectories affect a coherent sense of cultural identity or constant negotiation of identity, race and class (George & Rodriguez, 2009; Hamer, 2007; Lee, 2003; McGavin, 2014; Taito, 2017). Indeed, in view of the shifting nature of the Pasifika diaspora in contemporary Australia, the Australian Association for the Advancement of Pacific Studies published a 2009 National Strategy for the Study of the Pacific. A total of 53 recommendations were made to raise consciousness about the need for Pacific Studies in Australia, not only within universities but also across government departments, non-government organisations and special interest groups (Rose, Quanchi & Moore, 2009).

Emerging research in and about the Pacific region gives currency to the notion that Pacific Studies, or modes of Pacific enquiry, matter both in Australia and abroad (Teaiwa, 2006; Wesley-Smith, 2016). There is now a strong desire for Indigenous modes of inquiry and, in this case, Pasifika and Māori scholars to explore their own histories and produce interpretations thereof (Hapeta, Stewart-Withers & Palmer, 2019; Thaman, 2003; Smith, 1999, 2004). Historically, postcolonial research framed by Eurocentric models of enquiry has dominated the Pasifika research space. However, several influential models of Pacific academic research have emerged in the last 20 years, one benefit of which is

the empowerment of Indigenous peoples to assume scholarly authority over their knowledge systems, experiences, representations, imaginations and identities (Thaman, 2003; Nabobo-Baba, 2008). Chapter 3 outlines relevant Pasifika research models and details the value of the specific Pasifika methodologies used in this study. Following on from Pacific Studies, the next section of this literature review introduces sport mobilities and cultural identity with respect to Pasifika cultures.

2.1.1   Pasifika sport identities and mobilities

Pasifika sport identities

Internationally, Pasifika identities are more visible in sports and popular culture than ever before (Teaiwa, 2016), from the late Jonah Lomu, considered by many as rugby union's first global superstar (Lapassett, 2013), to Hollywood actor and professional wrestler, Dwayne the Rock Johnson. To a lesser extent, Australian–Pasifika athletes are also present on the global sporting stage, partly due to high-profile sportspeople such as Tim Cahill (soccer), Jarryd Hayne (American football), Israel Folau (rugby union and rugby league), Alex Leapai (boxing) and Mark Hunt (mixed martial arts). Thus, the global reach and labour migration of Pasifika athletic prowess, particularly in ARL (and rugby union), could be compared to other waves of sports migrants from particular countries or ethnicities, such as the global relocation of Kenyan runners, West African footballers or Central American baseballers to the United States of America (USA) (Horton, 2014; Zakus & Horton, 2009). These groups share their own collective experiences of migration, mobility, social inclusion and cultural identity (Darby, 2000; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Poli, 2006).

Maguire and Falcous (2011) have offered a broad, global perspective on cultural, economic and spiritual boundaries in sport, which involve a "complex and shifting set of interdependencies [that] contour the migrant trails of world sport" (p. 5). Besnier (2015)

has narrowed down the location of borders and crossings of Pacific Islander (and West African) footballing talent to the "world's peripheries [global South] and the world's centres [global North], or larger wealthy areas of the world" (p. 849). Various scholars (see e.g., Carpenter & Light, 2019; Guinness & Besnier, 2016; Molnar & Kanemasu, 2014; Schieder & Presterudstuen, 2014) have held similar positions when examining the itinerant nature of Fijian rugby union athletes. These players have showcased their sporting talents across global competitions while also, as the research indicates, navigating sociocultural complexities. This has escalated since the professionalisation of rugby union in the mid-1990s; the new money on offer influenced migratory patterns, with Pasifika football talent expanding globally (Dewey, 2008; Ryan, 2008).

Pasifika–American footballers have drawn considerable attention from many USA-based scholars. Against the backdrop of postcolonialism and the history of sport in the Pacific, Franks (2009) drew on the narratives of Polynesians, revealing how "sport has [for this group] encouraged the crossing of cultural boundaries, struggles for recognition and the hurts of discrimination" (p. 2397). Tengan and Markham (2009), writing in the context of the University of Hawai'i football team, explored how Polynesian warriorhood and masculinity embody the broader history of Islander engagements but are also entwined with US militarism and neoliberal global capitalism in the Pacific. Both studies highlighted the undervalued contributions of Polynesian bodies and culture to American football, which seems strikingly similar to "the interplay of race and gender in the history of Hawaiians and American football" (King, 2009, p. 2448).

In terms of recruitment and participation, Uperesa (2010) used the terms "Polynesian pipeline" (p.14) and "gridiron capital" (p.53) to explain the transnational movement and source of social mobility, status and prestige of Polynesian footballers in

American Samoa. Exemplified in her work is the concept of "fabled futures" (p.3), which refers to the aspirations of Pasifika footballers in high-revenue sport, who often confuse the possibility with the probability of sporting success (Eitzen, 2009). Adding to the economic aspirations of Māori and Pasifika people, from an educational standpoint, Keung (2014) explored the motives of 70 Polynesian division one college footballers, reporting on how these student–athletes perceive social pressure from their family and culture regarding their academic, athletic and career motivations. While these USA-based studies are Polynesian-centred and focus primarily on the mobility, migration and representations of Polynesian–American footballers, the contemporary issues raised are comparable to the changing face of professional football codes in Australia. Much like their US counterparts, Pasifika footballers in Australia feature heavily in the national consciousness via representation and media coverage (Teaiwa, 2016), or what Maguire (2011) has referred to (in an international context) as the "global-sport media complex" (p.965).

In the last decade, the media have reported a *Pasifika revolution* (Lakisa, 2011) in Australian sport, which has centred on the significance—and challenges—of Pasifika kinship networks, migration, aspiration and reciprocity. For example, Australian newspaper headlines have reported on a *weave* of Pasifika experiences in rugby league (and union): "Family pressure can weigh heavily on Islander players" (Lane, 2013); the "browning of the Wallabies" (Zavos, 2007); "From farm to fortune" (Chamma, 2012); "NSW winger Daniel Tupou tells how his family narrowly avoided deportation" (Proszenko, 2014); and "Mata'utias choose family over country" (Kennedy, 2015). These media reports illustrate fluidity and sensitivities surrounding Pasifika involvement in Australian rugby circles. Unsurprisingly, academic research has explored shifting identities, including several studies from Pacific Islander and New Zealand perspectives

(Dewey, 2008, 2014; Falcous, 2007; Grainger, 2008; Hokowhitu, 2004; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2012; Schaaf 2006). For now, the *Polynisation* (Skene, 2015) of Australian rugby codes is a reality and is expected to increase (Lakisa, 2011).

In Australian rugby union and league, a growing scholarly fascination with on-field Pasifika successes has led to an increasing body of research and knowledge. There is substantial Pasifika participation and recruitment into professional (and semi-professional) rugby football competitions (Dewey, 2008; Ryan, 2008) based in, from and to Australia (Zakus & Horton, 2009), New Zealand (Hokowhitu, 2004; Schaaf, 2006), Oceania (Dewey, 2014; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2012) and Europe and Asia (Besnier, 2012, 2015). Other studies have described the burgeoning involvement of Pasifika in Australian rugby football as the Pasifika revolution (Lakisa, 2011), *Pasifika exotica* (McDonald, 2014), "a new wave" and "exquisite products" or "valued commodities" (Horton, 2012, p.2399). This type of research has explored a range of interrelated issues: Pasifika performance, bodies and masculinities (Horton, 2014; McDonald & Rodriguez, 2014); race and the importance of maintaining Pasifika cultural identity in sport settings (Bergin, 2002; McDonald, 2014; Panapa & Phillips, 2014); the formation of tight-knit Pasifika communities in Australia (Brawley, 1997); in addition to upward mobility and labour migration for the self and others, referring to an increase or shift towards a higher social status or economic position (Horton, 2012; Lakisa, 2011; McDonald & Rodriguez, 2014; Puletua, 2014; Valiotis, 2008; Zakus & Horton, 2009).

Pasifika mobilities

Outward labour migration of athletic talent, described in early research on foreign student-athletes in the USA as the *brawn drain* (Bale, 1991), remind us that Pasifika experience in sport is "far from fixed [and] best understood in motion" (King, 2009, p. 2448). To use Salesa's (2003) concept of Samoan migration or *malaga* (movement),

rewired routes have long been traversed by Pasifika people prior to colonisation. Labour migration and upward mobility act as leading enablers—or, conversely, barriers—for Pasifika footballers and their entourage. Horton (2012) asserted that Pasifika performance "has become a zone of potential success, aspiration and social advancement for Pasifika people" (p. 2388). The notion of social advancement is amplified by the high concentration of Pasifika diaspora that reside in low socio-economic status postcodes of Australia (Chand, 2011). For example, in reflecting upon his journey as a seasoned NRL player (and now NRL administrator), Puletua (2014) referred to his experience of making the senior grades of football in these terms:

> A defining moment for our family [was when] we would move from the small three-bedroom Housing Commission home in Mount Druitt to a six-bedroom home in neighbouring St Marys … So many aspects of our lives would change from this point on: being able to replace our run-down Kingswood with two well-serviced brand new vehicles; a large screen TV that would replace the black and white box and a coat hanger; video game consoles and new sofas; contributions to the church being doubled; and the most memorable acquisition: a pair of brand new Nike Air Max shoes (pp. 13–14).

Several studies have emphasised that the expectations of family and friends comprise the most difficult aspect of being a professional footballer of Pasifika heritage. Schaaf's (2006) in-depth interviews with three Samoan professional rugby players in New Zealand, and McDonald and Rodriguez's (2014) combined study of 14 Melbourne-based Polynesian rugby players and 67 Polynesian migrants in Sydney and the Hunter region of NSW, yielded similar findings. These empirical studies highlighted two problematic issues surrounding Pasifika sporting mobility. First, aspirational male Pasifika footballers often experience profound levels of financial and cultural pressure

due to family and church commitments—social and financial—outside sport. These pressures may even cause a Pasifika athlete to experience mental health challenges, particularly if performances (and remuneration) are negatively affected by injury or poor form (Horton, 2014; Lakisa, 2011; Teaiwa, 2016). As Teaiwa (2016) has warned, the rise in popularity and profile of Pasifika athletes, coupled with the expectations of family and community in sharing of their wealth, may:

> Dramatically increase the pressures on athletes and popular artists to be responsible for not just their own, but everyone's image, everyone's hopes, and everyone's mana. The expectations can be unbearable and, coupled with other factors including injury or loss of contract, the suicide or attempted suicide rates of rugby league players are growing at a worrying rate (p. 113).

For many Pasifika footballers, the substantial pressure to perform is also linked explicitly to the Pan-Pacific concept of *mana*, referring to spiritual efficacy, status and prestige (Keesing, 1984; Palmer & Master, 2010). Exploring three interrelated Pan-Pacific values—mana (status and prestige), *vā* (socio-spatial relationships) and *tapu* (sacredness)—will aid in understanding these problematic pressures in rugby league from a Pasifika perspective. These fundamental values are introduced to highlight the central role they play in any discussion of Pasifika sport mobilities and cultural identity, using mostly Polynesian standpoints (Tongan, Samoan and Māori).

While sport rewards performances by Pasifika athletic bodies, families and kin rely on sharing the economic rewards from those efforts. This pressure may cause players' personal and spiritual welfare to be compromised or abandoned (Cadzow, 2013; Field, 2013; Lakisa 2011). Further, in terms of managing and understanding cultural pressures, Horton (2014) concluded that there is considerable room for improvement in the areas of welfare support, personal development, mental health and counselling services. Similarly,

Lakisa (2011) stressed the vital nature of the increasing need for off-field appointments in rugby league, particularly in the areas of coaching, education welfare and game administration.

2.1.2   Pasifika values: Mana, vā and tapu

In the case of sport mobilities, mana, vā and tapu have a profound influence on Pasifika and Māori motivations, expectations and performance (Diaz, 2011; Erueti & Palmer, 2014; Hapeta, Palmer & Kuroda, 2019a; Hapeta et al., 2019b; Hokowhitu, 2005; Palmer & Master, 2010; Teaiwa, 2016). In many Pasifika cultures, these distinct but interrelated sociocultural and spiritual concepts (Anae, 2007, 2019) act as markers for contemporary "successful wayfinders" (Spiller, Barclay-Kerr & Panoho, 2015). Although the broad perspectives offered here offer guidelines for improving Pasifika education and leadership outcomes in New Zealand (Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu & Finau, 2001; Airini et al., 2010; Spiller et al., 2015), researchers have argued for their application in Australian-based professional sport, both for individual and organisational settings (Horton, 2012; Lakisa, 2011).

Mana

The Pan-Pacific term mana derives from Austronesian languages and has roots in both cultural and religious anthropology (Codrington, 1891; Marett, 1914). In Polynesian and Melanesian beliefs, mana is an impersonal supernatural power that can be transmitted or inherited (Barnard & Spencer, 1996; Keesing, 1984). This spiritual quality is not limited to an individual but also applies to peoples, places and inanimate objects (Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi, 2018). For example, in the last decade, beyond the sporting field, Pasifika individuals and organisations have experienced significant progress and success in the Australasian arts and entertainment sector. This indicates that Pasifika have 'already shown a great deal of innovation, strength and vibrancy' (Salesa,

2017, p. 283), resulting in according *mana* for self and others. Therefore, to possess *mana* in sport or performance settings is to have influence, status, power, authority, effectiveness and prestige (Besnier & Jolly, 2016; Kerr, 2013; Palmer & Master, 2010; Teaiwa 2016) or, as Diaz (2011) described in the context of American football, "mana is what accounts for [Polynesian performance,] remarkable and unrivalled success as an ethnic or even demographic group" (p. 101). Thus, the influence of mana cannot be ignored—it is vital for this thesis because it can help to frame workplace expectations and performance from a Pasifika perspective. As Teaiwa (2016) has illustrated, "niu (new) mana", referring to the application of *mana* in a contemporary and diasporic context, is critical for any discussion of Pasifika achievements and movements in sport. This further highlights the complexities of the significance and influence placed on mana by Pasifika individuals and communities.

Vā

Vā, in simple terms, is the space or relationship between people or things (Ka'ili, 2005, 2017); it is a Pan-Pacific way of "conceiving the secular and spiritual dimensions of relationships" (Airini et al., 2010, p. 10). Anae (2007), among others, has advocated that vā should be deeply valued, nurtured and cared for because it is closely associated with the creation of balance and harmony in human relationships, places and physical resources (Ka'ili, 2005; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2020; Mila-Schaaf, 2006).

In relation to sport settings, vā is applicable at many levels, both within and between self and others. Indeed, the vā or interconnected spaces between Pasifika performance and motivations, such as family, faith and culture, is considered sacred and must be both respected and nurtured across social spaces, including sport. The same could be said for the vā between the exchange relationship of Pasifika employees and their non-Pasifika employers, which presents opportunities for mutual (dis)trust or (dis)respect. It

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is crucial to understand the concept of a *relational self*—or being reliant on relationships that are occurring in the vā—because, in Pasifika culture, collective efforts are designed to establish growing, thriving relationships (Airini et al., 2010; Ka'ili, 2017; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009; Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi, 2018). Invariably, stakeholders must allow time for this dynamic process of 'cultural continuity' in diaspora contexts to occur (Airini et al., 2010; Faleolo, 2020), creating an environment of respect and trust in which *mana* and *tapu* can develop naturally and spiritually.

Tapu

In Polynesian cultures, tapu denotes holiness or sacredness (Marsden, 1975). It is vital to this study to describe the role of spirituality in the lives of Pasifika and Māori employees, due to the influence it may have in and around the sport workplace. In Māori cultural systems and mythology, tapu is regarded as "the sacred state or condition in which a person, place or thing is set aside by dedication to the Gods and thereby removed from profane use" (Marsden, 1975, p. 197). It involves rules and prohibitions with spiritual restrictions (Smith, 1975). From a Samoan perspective, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi (2018) and Le Tagaloa (1996) have also posited that there are special relationships between people due to their sacredness. Today, across many Pasifika cultures, tapu remains strong and is observed in matters relating to sickness, death and burial. Breach of tapu, or the action of offending God or Spirits (Metge, 2010), is believed to cause human or divine sanctions such as sickness, trouble or even death (Barlow, 1991; Firth, 1959; Metge, 2010).

In summary, fundamental Pasifika and Māori values and belief systems frame ideologies and understandings in and around the workplace. The thoughtful work of Hapeta et al. (2019a) has suggested that any sport striving for social change and "seeking to partner with Indigenous communities ought to be informed by Indigenous

philosophical viewpoints" (p. 481). Pasifika methodologies and Pasifika voices are crucial for building knowledge about the employment experiences of this population. The next section of this literature review investigates concepts of diversity management by drawing upon Pasifika issues in ARL.

2.2   Cultural Diversity Management

Cultural diversity in the workplace is considered an everyday reality in multicultural societies (Cunningham, 2015; Fink, Pastore & Riemer, 2003). While it has been shown that diverse workforces may give rise to the generation of new ideas and dynamic relationships (Adler, 2002), challenges in managing diversity have also been identified. Of course, "diversity involves coming to terms with alterity (otherness) and negotiating inclusion (togetherness)" (Adair et al., 2010, p. 307). Therefore, workplace diversity involves the management of both surface-level and deep-level differences (Cunningham, 2015; Harrison, Price & Bell, 1998), which may have either constructive or destructive effects in the workplace (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999). Positive diversity management in sport organisations involves the development of an ethnoculturally inclusive workforce that is both productive and satisfied (Hoye, Smith, Nicholson & Stewart, 2015; Taylor et al., 2015).

Research on sport organisations has highlighted the complexities of human resource management issues (Chelladurai & Kerwin, 2017) and their application in different sports, geographical locations, and cultural contexts (Taylor et al., 2015). The nature of cultural diversity management in professional sport organisations is a sparsely researched area—much of the extant work has focused on racial aspects of North America sport (Cunningham, 2015). The literature on Western approaches to workforce diversity management practices is extensive. Internationally, it is now widely accepted that an

ethnoculturally diverse and inclusive workforce is likely to benefit organisations because it is commonly associated with higher levels of employee satisfaction, productivity, loyalty, shared knowledge and competitive advantage (McCuiston et al., 2004; Mor Barak, 2015; Sharma, 2016; Stewart & Brown, 2010). While shared knowledge transfer has occurred, leading to policy creation, there are significant differences from country to country due to social, geographic and historical differences (Cunningham, 2015; Patrickson & O'Brien, 2001; Sharma, 2016). Moreover, workplace diversity is affected by both deep-level and surface-level variables such as age, gender, social status, religion and ethnicity, among others (Cunningham, 2015). In Australia, the context for the present study, research on workforce diversity is limited. A lack of clarity within workplaces about the goals and benefits of diversity management has been identified (Davis, Frolova & Callahan, 2016). Indeed, despite many Australian organisations claiming to be progressive in terms of diversity and equal opportunity policies (Syed & Kramar, 2009), many lack the capability to promote such aspirations in the workplace. Evidence has suggested an apparent disconnect between organisational goals (values) and policy instruments (outcomes) that actually contribute to change (Davis et al., 2016; Patrickson & O'Brien, 2001).

2.2.1 Managing 'the Pacific way'

One gap in scholarship on Pasifika sport lies at the intersections of diversity management and Pacific Studies—managing *the Pacific way* (Tupouniua, Crocombe & Slatter, 1975). One example of this relates to perceptions and expectations among Pasifika employees—both on and off the field—which affect employment relations. Previous studies have highlighted a need for workplace reform in rugby league circles by outlining practical strategies to *engage* rather than estrange Pasifika diaspora in its governing body (the NRL) (Lakisa, 2011; Puletua, 2014; Ravulo, 2014, 2017). It has been argued that this

should not merely be for the sake of representation or a sense of obligation, but rather to facilitate greater consultation, interpretation and partnerships with Pasifika individuals and communities (Lakisa, 2011; Ravulo, 2017, 2020).

As mentioned previously, I held the role of NSWRL Pacific Islander Coaching and Development Officer from 2007 to 2011, which has been followed by ongoing consultancy opportunities since 2012. In this role, I both witnessed and experienced firsthand a range of issues and challenges for Pasifika athletes and administrators. These complex problems are outlined in Table 1. The issues are organised into five key categories: kinship networks, education and welfare, cultural values, spirituality and social issues.

Table 1

Management Issues for Pasifika Athletes in Australian Rugby League (adapted from Lakisa, 2011)

Kinship networks
Familial motivation
Reciprocity/remittance patterns
Relocation issues and homesickness
Cultural nuances/expectations
Financial pressures
Understanding Pacific history/anthropology
Education and welfare
Player migration/family relocation
Upward mobility
Cross-cultural (mis)understandings
Education and post-career opportunities
Allegiance and eligibility issues

Position stacking
Junior league issues (e.g., weight-for-age and judiciary)
Under-representation in game administration
Exploitation/saturation in programs
Cultural values/customs
Social identity crisis
Negotiating through social spaces
Assimilation/acculturation
Generational influences (e.g., (re)connecting with culture)
Australian-born vs. foreign-born
Spirituality
Religious practices and belief systems
Motivations
Contractual leave of absences
On-field rituals and acknowledgements
Social issues
Mental health issues (e.g., suicide, and depression)
Contemporary successes in other areas (e.g., arts, media and entertainment)
Racism/vilification incidents
Gender equality issues
Linguistic barriers
Literacy issues
Community development programs
Sport-for-development outcomes
Participation in other sport and recreation activities

Lakisa's (2011) study included only a small sample of 47 Pasifika athletes from five of the 16 NRL club teams, which limited the generalisability. The scope of this research was relatively narrow, being primarily concerned with sociocultural motivations

and associated challenges of Pasifika athletes. While the study was insightful and advanced empirical research, it failed to adequately explain opportunities for both *non-playing* and *non-Pasifika* athletes and administrators, particularly in the context of workplace expectations or diversity management. Moreover, given the author's appointment, the first of its kind for both the NSWRL and the NRL, which serviced Pacific Islander and Māori communities in ARL, the inaugural role may have caused cultural and historical bias in the author's assumptions—otherwise referred to as *ethnographer bias* (K. M. Dewalt & DeWalt, 2011).

For contracted players in the NRL, cross-cultural misunderstandings have played a critical role in the integration of Pasifika into the NRL workplace (Panapa & Phillips, 2014; Ravulo; 2015). Fundamental values in Pasifika cultures, often described as the Pacific way (Tupouniua et al., 1975), include family or kinship ties, faith or religion and culture, encapsulating respect, love, service and reciprocity. These features of Pasifika cultures offer useful starting points when working with Pasifika diaspora (Anae et al., 2001, Lakisa, 2011; Pilisi, 2020). Too often, though, there exists a significant disparity between principle and practice, otherwise known as the *execution gap* (Lepsinger, 2010). This is particularly so in Western organisational settings—corporate or civil society—that bring together both Pasifika and non-Pasifika workers (Ah Chong & Thomas, 1997; Ravulo, 2020).

Stobbs and Sandner (2013) provided a unique case study that examined player–management relationships at one NRL club (Newcastle Knights). The researchers employed Huang's (2001) Organisation-Public Relationship Assessment scale—a five-dimension, 20-item instrument with the ability to assess cross-cultural understanding—and also conducted focus group interviews. Their findings indicated that Pasifika "players trusted [and] believed they had the opportunity to make decisions about their welfare and

were generally satisfied and committed to their relationship with the Knights" (Stobbs & Sandner, 2013, p. 61). That said, focus group responses also revealed that, although management were aware of Pasifika cultural values, they did not fully understand the significance of family ties and religious obligations to this group. This study revealed that the general wellbeing of Pasifika footballers remained a concern for those players.

Stobbs and Sandner (2013) provided valuable insights into cross-cultural tensions between players and management at an NRL club level. However, their study lacked depth due to several limitations. First, the size and scope of the study were limited to a single NRL club in regional NSW with very few Pasifika participants (n = 4). Second, from an employer or management perspective, there was a substantial lack of participants (n = 1). The NRL entourage engage and liaise with many key decision-makers, including board members, coaching and medical staff, player education or welfare officers, club recruitment officers and player agents. A cross-section of employer perspectives is critical in discussing cross-cultural management; however, this was absent from the study. Critically, the research was also limited by not engaging with Pasifika theoretical frameworks and methodology to authenticate Pasifika perceptions and expectations. Pasifika scholars have strongly contended that such engagement adds authenticity and cultural integrity (Baba, Mahina, Williams & Nabobo-Baba, 2004), provides scholarly congruity with research aims and is appropriate to the knowledge systems of Pasifika participants (Nabobo-Baba, 2008).

Advocates of Pasifika scholarship contend that research with Pasifika peoples must use strategies that are culturally inclusive of Pasifika and Māori epistemologies (Anae et al., 2001; Hapeta et al., 2019b; Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Ng Shiu, 2011). A prime example of this in sport research and practices is Hapeta et al (2019a) study of cultural identity, leadership and wellbeing in the context of a New Zealand–based Provincial

rugby team. This research provided strong evidence for the efficacy of Indigenous storytelling in rugby codes, which incorporated and embraced Māori stories (pūrākau) and symbols into team-building practices and culture. The analysis revealed that "team narratives, values and expectations were enhanced, in particular the cultural identity, sense of belonging, leadership and wellbeing of a number of team members on and off the field" (p. 68).

Culturally inclusive strategies also imply safeguarding for Pasifika and by Pasifika policies and practices. However, this pro-Pacific approach has cultural limitations. In the context of New Zealand's health and education systems, Anae et al. (2001) and Samu and Suaalii-Sauni (2009) have suggested that language barriers, inter- and intra-ethnic differences, gift exchanges, formal and informal relationships (e.g., chief titles, nobles) and Australian/New Zealand/Island–born or –raised differences must be considered more carefully when engaging Pasifika diaspora. Therefore, adopting a complete pro-Pacific approach in any management field is complex and may not guarantee success.

Under-representation of Pasifika leadership and management

Research in New Zealand sport, specifically in rugby union clubs (Dee, Ferkins, Naylor & Bryham, 2016; Hapeta et al., 2019), in addition to a study of executive roles in national sporting organisations (Holland, 2012), provide much-needed starting points for Australian sport workplaces in terms of managing the Pacific way. Holland's (2012) PhD, entitled "Governance of New Zealand national sport organisations: Pasifika and Māori voices", provides a seminal examination of the lack of Pasifika and Māori representation on national sporting organisations boards. He found that most sports organisations in New Zealand do not have Pasifika or Māori directors. Key reasons for under-representation include (but are not limited to) the pressure to conform to cultural and gender roles and

negative stereotypes and expectations. Stereotypes included that Pasifika and Māori candidates are viewed as only fit for natural athlete rather than administration roles. This is not dissimilar to other minority groups in US professional sporting organisations who are under-represented in coaching and administration roles and continue to face personal and systemic forms of bias regarding obtaining such positions (Cunningham, 2015).

The New Zealand studies also revealed that Pasifika expectations and contributions in non-playing roles were underpinned by strong cultural values, such as the significance of family, church and church commitments (Dee et al., 2016; Gordon, Sauni & Tuagalu, 2013). Pacific Islanders viewed leadership as service, embraced informal, relational and collective approaches and expressed their ongoing pursuit of "navigating two worlds" (Dee et al., 2016), referring to negotiating Pacific and Western ideals in the workplace. The idea of balancing two worlds or a *negotiated space* is crucial in Pasifika and Māori research because it denotes a process of encountering and incorporating new knowledge in both Indigenous and Western settings (Smith et al., 2008). Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009) have added that the application of negotiated spaces for Pasifika peoples living in Western societies necessitates a purposeful and "conceptual space—a junction of intersecting interests and negotiations in between different ways of knowing and meaning making" (p. 1). In terms of management and leadership, Pacific Islanders typically viewed "Europeans as authority figures and the systems … [as] often aligned with a more European approach" (Dee et al., 2016, p. 3). Unfortunately, the commissioned report on this topic for New Zealand Rugby (NZR) by Dee et al. (2016) lacked methodological rigour. The study did not attempt to capture other Pacific Islander (or Māori) perspectives other than those with Samoan heritage. The small purposeful sample of eight individuals, while they were considered respected figures with

experience, were solely from Auckland—this did not allow for generalised findings from other regions of New Zealand.

Having diverse leaders in influential positions may suggest mentors tend to select protégés who resemble themselves in terms of background, education, gender, race, ethnicity and religion (Robbins & Judge, 2013, p. 427). An international example of affirmative action in inclusive hiring practices is found in the USA-based National Football League (NFL) competition (Garber, 2007). The Rooney Rule, established in 2003, requires NFL teams to interview minority candidates for head coaching and senior football operation jobs (Proxmire, 2008). It is named after Dan Rooney, chairman of NFL team the Pittsburgh Steelers, who has a long history of giving African Americans opportunities to serve in team leadership roles. This management practice seems to cater directly to the high percentage of African Americans in playing roles in the NFL, although other cultural groups are also likely to be among the interviewees. However, some argue that the Rooney Rule is not sufficient to constitute affirmative action because the management practice can create tokenistic appointments and has, since its inception, fallen short of organisational goals to increase diversity for minority head coaches or coaching staff in the NFL (Fox, 2015; Fanning Madden & Ruther, 2010).

Other key reasons for the under-representation of Pasifika and Māori on national sporting organisation boards has been the lack of Pasifika and Māori role models and awareness of opportunities in sport governance roles (Holland, 2012). As Holland (2012) has suggested, there are no simple, short-term solutions in terms of how to gain greater Pasifika and Māori representation in sport; however, there are three main pathways by which people of Pasifika and Māori descent typically gain and enter administrative and governance roles. First, they have been influenced by family precedence and a culture of service in sport. Second, they learned leadership firsthand via active participation in sport.

Third, they developed skills sets by which to assume such a role, often by attaining post-secondary qualifications. In the Australian case, as Zakus and Horton (2009) and Horton (2012, 2014) have contended, the profile and presence of Pasifika players in the Australian codes ought to provoke a reassessment of Pasifika participation and leadership in off-field roles. This is, in large part, because there have been very few appointments of Pasifika-heritage personnel in game administration roles or executive-level jobs in the past decade of Australian football sporting codes (Mackay, 2018; Ravulo, 2015, 2017; Valiotis, 2008).

This thesis focuses on diversity management as a mechanism to better engage minorities—in this case, Pasifika—in the Australian sports workplace. To date, research has not explored the relationships between Pasifika employees and non-Pasifika employers; I argue that PC theory can be used as a basis to explore the latter's workplace norms and expectations beyond contractual obligations.

2.2.2 Psychological contract

Development of psychological contract theory

The concept of the *psychological work contract* was first introduced by Argyris (1960), who interviewed employees and managers in two manufacturing plants and then described PC as the perceptions of unwritten obligations or implicit agreements between employers and employees. The seminal works of Argyris (1960), Levinson, Price, Munden and Solley (1962) and Schein (1965) characterised the subjective nature of employment relationships and emphasised the implicit understandings between employees and employers; these may relate to tangible or intangible resources, such as economic rewards, job security, job satisfaction, commitment and performance. However, it was Rousseau (1989, 1995) who revitalised interest in PC by asserting the existence of an unwritten contract of mutual beliefs, perceptions and informal obligations

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formulated in the minds of those involved in the exchange relationship. Grounded in social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Conway & Briner, 2005), PC serves as a framework for understanding the contemporary employment relationship (Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski & Bravo, 2007) for both the traditional employer–employee view (Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000; Guest, 1998) and volunteer relations (McCormick, 2013; Taylor, Darcy, Hoye & Cuskelly, 2006). From a human resource management perspective, PC is concerned with matching promise to reality (Grant, 1999) and is perceived by many scholars to be a major component in the diversity management goals of recruitment, retention, employee motivation and job satisfaction (Guest & Conway, 2002; Robinson & Rousseau, 1994). Each of these is vital for facilitating staff knowledge and acceptance—key prerequisites of success (Rousseau, 1995).

One major critique of PC concerns the absence of studies of marginalised groups. PC is heavily influenced by cross-cultural and cross-national perspectives, which are typically complex and sometimes poorly understood (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000; Schalk & Soeters, 2008). Such perspectives are otherwise known as *cultural variation* (Thomas, Au and Ravlin, 2003). Such variation may cause inadvertent rather than deliberate breaches and violations in employee and employer attitudes and behaviours, such as misunderstandings and insensibilities around cultural values and customs (Restubog, Bordia & Tang, 2007; Rousseau & Schalk, 2000; Thomas et al., 2003).

Types of psychological contract

PC obligations are commonly classified into two broad, yet explicitly connected, categories: (1) *transactional*, which are short-term inducements involving economic or monetary exchanges; and (2) *relational,* which are long-term social and emotional exchanges such as trust, good faith and fairness (Robinson, Kraatz & Rousseau, 1994).

MacNeil (1985) has configured these relationships along a two-way continuum using the elements of focus, timeframe, stability, scope and tangibility (see Figure 2.2).

DESCRIPTOR	ELEMENT	DESCRIPTOR
economic, extrinsic	←------- FOCUS -----→	economic and non-economic, socio-emotional, intrinsic
closed-ended, specific	←------- TIMEFRAME -----→	open-ended, indefinite
static	←------- STABILITY -----→	dynamic
narrow	←------- SCOPE -----→	pervasive
public, observable	←------- TANGIBILITY -----→	subjective, understood

TRANSACTIONAL CONTRACT ←————————————— CONTRACTUAL CONTINUUM —————————————→ RELATIONAL CONTRACT
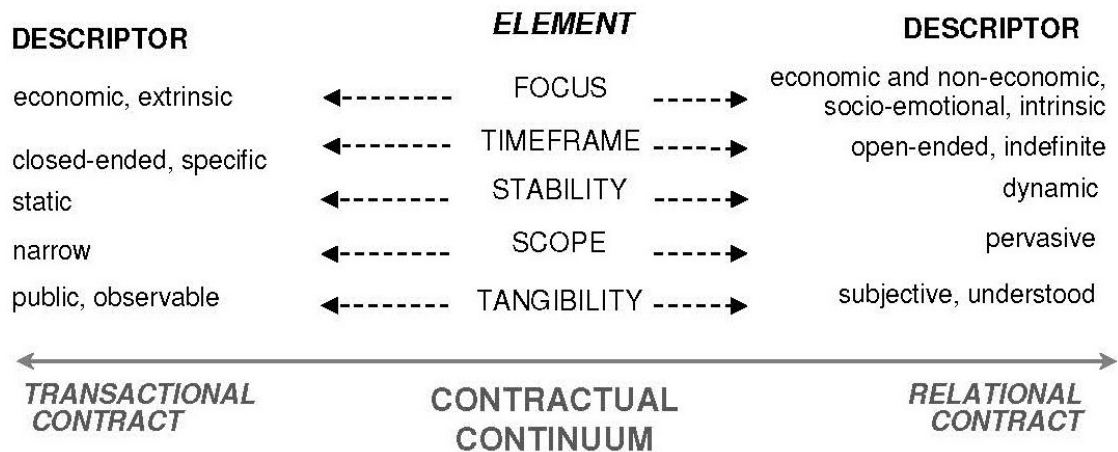
Figure 2.2. Psychological contract continuum (MacNeil, 1985).

More recently, Coyle-Shapiro and Parzefall (2008) have argued that empirical evidence does not so clearly indicate an inherent distinction between the transactional and the relational. Indeed, Shields (2007) has suggested that there is room for crossover between these categories. Since Rousseau's original concept was established in 1995, he and others (2001) have developed two additional variants: (3) balanced and (4) transitional (see Table 2). *Balanced* contracts are a mix of transactional and relational promises and obligations (Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000; Shields, 2007) and *transitional* contracts refer to contract terms that change in response to a crisis or short-term contingency, such as restricting or downsizing (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000; Shields, 2007). These variants take into greater consideration the individual's schema or mental model of perceptions of the employment relationship (Rousseau, 2001). The four types are characterised by specified and unspecified performance contingencies (Shields, 2007), in addition to time-limited frames which account for the degree of difficulty in predicting the future during times of volatility and transition (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000).

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Table 2

Four Types of Psychological Contract (Shields, 2007, p.55)

	Specified performance contingencies	Unspecified performance contingencies
Short-term	**Transactional**	**Transitional**
	Espoused deal: 'If you perform at a high level for as long as we need you, we will provide you with exciting work and opportunities to develop your human capital and employability'. • Rewards are based on short-term role performance, particularly task behaviour and results • Emphasis on individual performance and rewards • Rewards matched to external markets Example: Sales, executive and senior management roles	Espoused deal: 'If you work harder than before, we may be able to keep you on, but you may have to be prepared to take a pay freeze or pay cut'. • Rewards not linked to performance or membership • Work intensification • Reward levels in decline • Incentives to quit or accept redundancy deals Example: during restructuring or downsizing
Long-term	**Balanced**	**Relational**
	Espoused deal: 'If you contribute consistently as a team player and organisational citizen, we will offer you a reward mix that balances your needs and ours'. • Rewards based on contribution broadly defined, including competencies, membership, task or results and citizenship	Espoused deal: 'If you are loyal and work hard and as directed, we will provide you with a secure job, steady pay increases and internal training and promotion opportunities'. • Rewards based on individual membership, length of service or seniority, loyalty

• Flexible balance between collective and individual performance, intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, short- and long-term incentives, flexible benefits and work-life balance. Example: high involvement work teams	• Rewards emphasise internal equity, incremental adjustment and fixed benefits Example: traditional business

Schein (1965) contended that the nature of PC is dynamic and constantly renegotiated; therefore, as expectations change over time, so do the needs of the organisation and their employees. With today's high level of workplace mobility, people are more likely to flow in and out of an organisation; therefore, long-term employment may be less likely (Wellin, 2007). Rousseau (2004) suggested that we cannot determine the level of PC simply by observing long-term employment status. Employees with relational contracts are more likely to see the value of increased knowledge-sharing and, in turn, demand fewer tangible rewards in exchange for modified behaviours (Conway & Briner, 2005). Consequently, explicit communication regarding the social and professional benefits of collaborative work will motivate an employee more than explicit promises of monetary rewards in exchange for increased knowledge-sharing (O'Neill & Adya, 2007).

PC is vital to this thesis for two central reasons. First, PC may be used to construct, locate and place the narratives and voices of Pasifika individuals (employees) within the four types of PC. Second, PC can be aligned with cross-cultural sensibilities that feature active negotiations between employee and employer (see Figure 2.3).
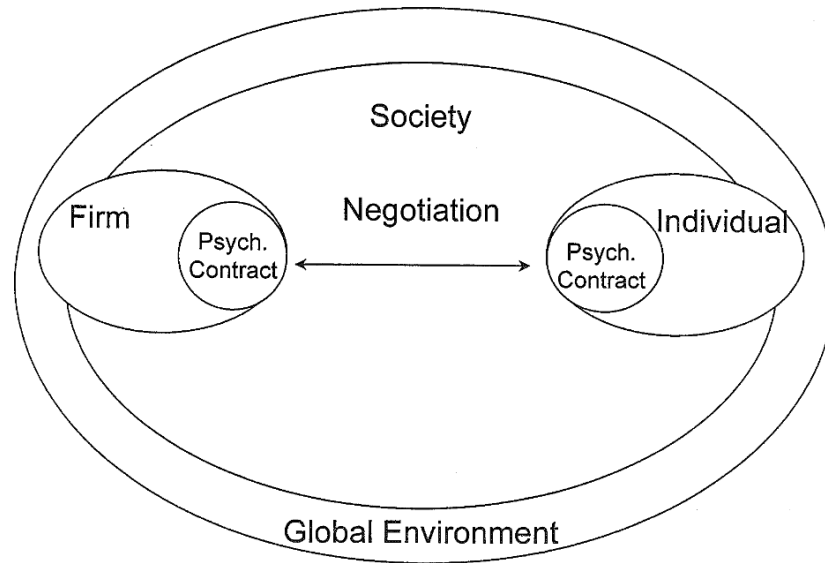
Figure 2.3 Key contexts for psychological contracting (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000, p.2).

Beliefs, perceptions and promises

PC research has identified common ground in relation to beliefs or perceptions (Conway & Briner, 2005). Indeed, individuals will have potentially different conceptions due to varied life experiences and their expectations of what a specific PC entails (Rousseau, 1990). In terms of the employment relationship, these unwritten yet shared expectations or *promises* are defined as any type of communication about future intent (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994). These are implicit in nature but manifest in a variety of ways: written documents, verbal discussion, representation by an organisational agent or organisational policy and practice (Robinson & Morrison, 1997; Rousseau & Greller, 1994). Unlike a written legal document, which might be set for a specific period, the terms of the PC are (potentially) rewritten and ongoing as the parties interact, with the mutual expectations, obligations and promises they either generate or imply (Conway & Briner, 2005).

Mutuality and reciprocity

A degree of mutuality or shared understanding is essential for the parties to achieve their interdependent goals (Rousseau, 1995). This is typically termed as shared psychological capital (Heled, Somech & Waters, 2016). Reciprocity in the exchange relationship may be viewed as the implied promise to behave in a certain way at work. It is conditional on the other party, either employee or employer, providing something as *part of the deal* (Conway & Briner, 2005). Schein's (1965) earlier work empathised with the matching of expectations; however, Rousseau (1989, 1990, 2001) downplayed that notion of simple promise-keeping or promise-making, arguing that PC is concerned with unwritten obligations and that, therefore, its veracity lies "in the eye of the beholder" (p.123). It is based on the individual's perceptions and lived experiences, which are described in PC literature as schema and perception. For example, Dabos and Rousseau (2004) examined mutuality and reciprocity in the employment relationship of 80 employee–employer paired groups in 16 university-based research centres. They found that fostering and sustaining mutuality and reciprocity in the workplace facilitates better-quality employment relationships in terms of individual performance, research productivity and career advancement. Similarly, Heled et al. (2016) found that shared psychological capital was influenced by positive relationships between learning climate, team psychological capital and an individual's job satisfaction. Conversely, when mismatches of expectation occur in the workplace, this causes breach of faith and PC violation.

Contract breaches and violations

Breaches and *violations* of PC are relatively common in the workplace (Morrison & Robinson, 1997; Robinson & Rousseau, 1994), particularly from the perspective of employees (Coyle-Shapiro & Parzefall, 2008). In a meta-analysis that examined research

into PC breaches, Zhao et al. (2007) noted 51 empirical studies between 1989 to 2006. They revealed a stronger emphasis on breaches and violations from employee perspectives, citing examples such as employers reneging on promises and incongruent expectations between parties. In other words, mismatches in PC cause fragile relationships, otherwise known as contract drift (Shields, 2007). Although the labels breaches and violations have been used interchangeably, Morrison and Robinson (1997) distinguished between the two. They described breach as cognitive awareness, meaning that one or more obligations have not been fulfilled. In their view, violation captures the emotional experience that arises from the recognition that a breach has occurred. These cognitive and emotional distinctions are complicated whenever cross-cultural misunderstandings arise.

PC can vary greatly depending on societal and cultural differences. In terms of cross-national differences (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000) or cultural (dis)agreements (Schalk & Soeters, 2008) affirm that PC is a subjective phenomenon necessitating two key requirements. These are personal freedom—the existence of some degree of individual choice—and social stability—the ability to keep commitments. Together, PC adopts different meanings in different cultures and parts of the world. For example, expectations around working hours in Japan differ vastly to those in Australia or France. Operating in highly regulated labour markets (Australia and Belgium), compared to more loosely regulated labour markets (New Zealand and USA), can generate considerable differences in the meanings of PC (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000). Similarly, it could be argued that understandings of PC formation in Western cultures (Australia and USA), compared to Pasifika cultures (Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian), can adopt new and shifting meanings due to the culturally and linguistically diverse nature of Pasifika communities in Australia.

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In terms of a literature gap, there is a paucity of empirical research focusing specifically on Pasifika experiences concerning PC. A rare example of PC research between non-Pasifika employer and Pasifika employees is found in the New Zealand tourism industry; specifically, it examined the relationships between a hotel executive housekeeper and her predominantly Samoan female staff (Harris, 2009). A key finding of the study was that the fulfilment of PC through *cultural embeddedness*, meaning fostering a positive workplace culture, was influenced, in turn, by Samoan culture and the concept of family. Harris (2009) found that the high percentage of Samoan staff proved beneficial for the workplace, due to their specific personal traits and cultural values, particularly their generous, loving and family-centred approaches:

> Samoan women are known for their sense of fun and infectious giggle, which permeates throughout the hotel. The visible Samoan personality infusing the workplace is contrary to many tourism workplaces, such as four-star hotels where during their working hours employees are often asked to maintain a code of behaviour and an attitude (p. 155).

Another study centred on the employability skills of business graduates and students in Papua New Guinea (Bhanugopan & Fish, 2009). While the study did not intentionally use PC as a theoretical framework, it recommended that potential employers in the South Pacific create PC by fostering organisational cultures that match the perceptions of potential tertiary graduates and students. In summary, few studies of PC have engaged with Pasifika experiences in the workplace with a view to better understanding the exchange relationship.

Critique of psychological contract

Questions have been raised about the value or meaning of PC in management. Guest (1998) has labelled the conceptual framework more of a "hypothetical construct"

(p. 650) referring to PC viewed as problematic due to slippery and elusive ideas relating to working definitions, causes and content of PC. Based on Rousseau's (1995) individual-based view, Guest (1998) argued that PC can be portrayed as a "one-sided perceptual focus" (p. 658) or, as Conway and Briner (2005) suggested, based on *perceived* rather than *actual* agreement. They argued that this increases the likelihood of disagreement with the original or emergent PC. In terms of contract breach and violation, scholars have taken the view that PC research has reached saturation point, particularly in terms of research from the employee perspective (Conway & Briner, 2005; Coyle-Shapiro & Parzefall, 2008). However, PC is also seen as an apt and portable framework for research across various disciplines and fields (Taylor et al., 2006; Wellin, 2007; Zhao et al., 2007).

2.2.3 Psychological contracts in Australian sport

The study and application of PC in the context of sport settings is still in its infancy (Barnhill & Turner 2014; Bravo, Shonk & Won, 2012; Grobler, 2011; Wagstaff, Fletcher & Hanton, 2012). In Australian sport, only limited literature draws upon PC and its emerging concepts; however, two cases may be observed. A seminal study explored volunteer management in community sport within the Australian Rugby Union (ARU) (Taylor et al., 2006) and another used PC to explain the media nexus of *the Super League saga*: a corporate dispute over rival rugby league competitions from 1995 to 1997 (McGaughey & Liesch, 2002).

The inclusion of PC in volunteer management necessitates the delineation of perceptions and expectations between two working parties. Taylor et al. (2006) explored volunteer management in community rugby union clubs by interviewing 98 club administrators and 48 club volunteers. The findings indicated that volunteers placed greater emphasis on relational exchange, such as good faith and intrinsic job components, as opposed to club administrators' transactional expectations of volunteers in relation to

adhering to professional, legal and regulatory standards. Volunteers were concerned primarily with doing intrinsically rewarding work in a pleasant social environment building relationships and networking. However, they identified time restrictions as a significant constraint on volunteering (Taylor et al., 2006).

In the second case, McGaughey and Liesch (2002) examined the global sport-media nexus of the Super League war, devoting part of this work to breaking down the relationships underpinning player contracts, clubs and the game's governing bodies—at the time, the NSWRL and ARL. In describing breaches and violations, McGaughey and Liesch (2002) stated that:

> Without the existence of a fiduciary relationship between clubs, the NSWRL and the ARL, clubs were not required to remain 'loyal' to the ARL and NSWRL, beyond meeting their contractual obligations for the 1995 season. Similarly, players bound by employment contracts to which the NSWRL and ARL were not a party did not themselves owe fiduciary or contractual obligations to the NSWRL (p. 394).

McGaughey and Liesch (2002) claimed that NSWRL and ARL officials underestimated the effect of PC, specifically transactional contracts, as players and coaches showed disloyalty and distrust by defecting to a rival competition for higher salaries. In the end, a mutual agreement or balanced contract was made when the Super League and ARL merged the two competitions in 1998, creating the NRL (Heads & Middleton, 2008). The Super League saga highlights the complexities of PC elements with respect to loyalty, promise, mutuality and reciprocity in management relations.

Implicit beliefs, mutuality, reciprocity and breaches have been evident in the ARL since its colourful birth in 1907. This stemmed from player compensation (for time away from the game for injury) when the code broke off from rugby union (Collins, 2006).

Thus, in the context of today's professional sporting environment, PC often operates in volatile economic, political and social landscapes. A prime example of PC constructs at work in rugby league was seen in the Super League war, a corporate dispute over rival competitions between media tycoons Rupert Murdoch (News Limited) and Kerry Packer (Optus Vision–backed ARL) from 1995 to 1997. The Super League saga is arguably the most politically charged and economically devastating saga in ARL history (Colman, 1996; Heads & Middleton, 2008). During this period, exorbitant salary incentives combined with opportunistic players and club (dis)loyalties abounded. This event has strong links to breach and violation in PC, particularly when considering the question of whose perceptions are accounted for in the exchange relationship (McGaughey & Liesch, 2002). Other examples of breach and violation in the NRL include players being released, dismissed or traded for breaching specific contractual terms, such as bringing the sport into disrepute (Thorpe, 2012), failed contract negotiations and fraudulent use of the *salary cap*—a system designed to spread playing talent and resources across the competition and between participating clubs (Andon, Free & Sivabalan, 2014).

More recently, in March 2020, the NRL (and other Australasian football leagues) experienced transitional contract in the form of financial crises, organisational restructuring, downsizing and significant salary cuts for both employed staff and contracted players (Walsh, 2020). The ARU, Australian Football League (AFL) and A-League (soccer football) were forced to suspend their respective football season or competitions due to the global pandemic (Walsh, 2020). For the NRL and its clubs, the unprecedented situation led to PC operating in short-term contingency, volatile and transitional conditions (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000).

2.3 Summary

This literature review has focused on two areas of scholarship: Pacific Studies and cultural diversity management. Together, these areas underpin the overarching research question: how are the workplace perceptions and expectations of Pasifika employees aligned (or misaligned) with those of their employers in the NRL?.

The key concepts discussed in this chapter inform the conceptual framework for this thesis study. First, a gap in scholarship on Pasifika sport is observed in terms of *cultural intersectionality*, or a lack of research informed by Indigenous knowledge of diversity management and Pacific Studies. An example of this concerns workplace perceptions and expectations among Pasifika employees—both on and off the field—which affect employment relations. The literature has revealed fundamental cultural differences in knowledge and value systems when considering and managing the Pacific way in the workplace (Tupouniua et al., 1975).

Second, there is limited literature on Australian sport that draws upon PC and its emerging concepts—breach, violation, mutuality and reciprocity. Similarly, few studies have researched Pasifika experiences in the workplace with a view to better understanding the implied mutual benefits in the exchange relationship (Rousseau, 1995). Changes in PC are often caused by vigorous and ever-changing economic and social forces (Wellin, 2007); therefore, the need for clarity about PC becomes increasingly important, particularly in the context of cultural variation and cultural diversity management. These considerations all directly influence the research design and method of this study.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

3.1 Conceptual Framework

The choices of theory and method for this thesis by publication have been guided by the overarching research question, interdisciplinary theories and culturally relevant methodology. The conceptual framework deployed is an intentional yet careful blend of Pasifika theory, the Fonofale model (Pulotu-Endermann, 1995) and Pasifika methodology—talanoa (Vaioleti, 2006)—and includes contributions from PC theory (Rousseau 1989). These methodological influences are depicted in a circular flow diagram (see Figure 3.1) to represent the constant flows and connections of Pasifika values (Hau'ofa, 1993), in addition to workplace expectations via PC theory. From a Pasifika perspective, the transient flow is also symbolic of the possession and transfer of mana by and from people, places and objects (Diaz, 2011; Keesing, 1984; Teaiwa, 2016). From a PC standpoint, the aim is to gauge the value that PC contributes to (re)negotiating expectations between employees (players), employers and the *Pasifika entourage* (family, culture and spirituality), in addition to the *NRL entourage* (coaching staff, NRL club or game administrators, player agents and National Rugby League Players' Association).
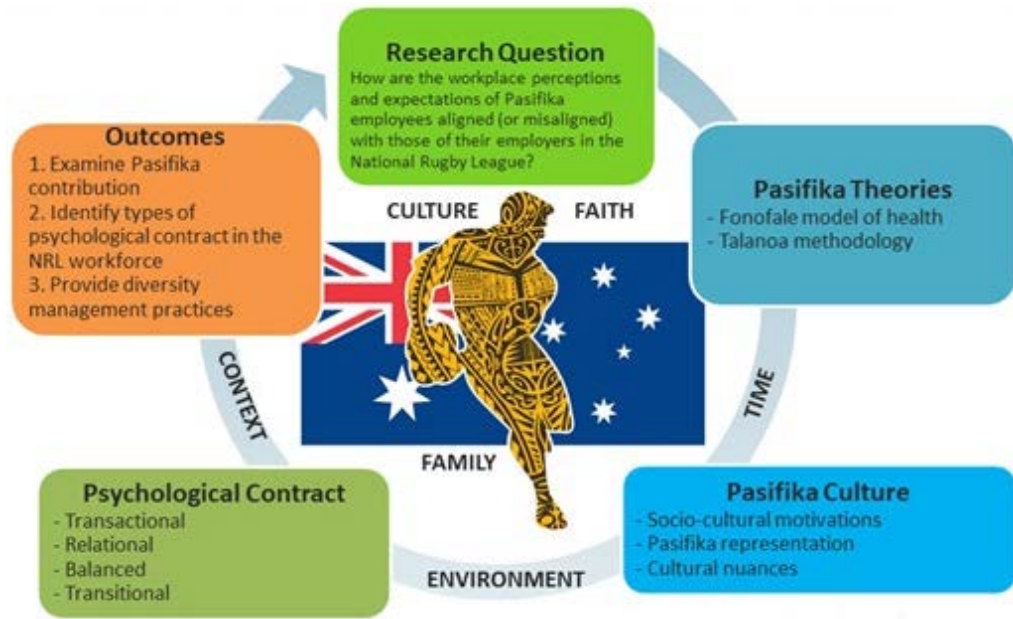
Figure 3.1. Conceptual framework for managing Pasifika diaspora in the NRL.

The centrepiece of the conceptual framework is a sporting silhouette embodying distinctive motif patterns of *tatau* (Samoan word for tattoo). This image represents the evolving nature of Pasifika in the Australian sporting landscape, surrounded by fundamental elements of the Fonofale model—family, faith and culture. Specific Pasifika motifs were chosen to symbolise protection and life (spearheads), sustenance and health (flower), freedom and power (sun) and the circle of life (ocean wave).

The elements of context, environment and time are also embedded in the circular flow between the five frames of the research. The framework should be read by commencing at the top (research question) and moving in a clockwise direction. This direction conveniently symbolises time and vā (socio-spatial relationship). The first frame on the right is Pasifika theories and methodology, which represent the first steps or modes of inquiry that should be considered when undertaking Pasifika research. The next frame is Pasifika culture and its influence upon Australian sport, in terms of sociocultural motivations, mixed representations and cultural nuances. The left-hand side of the framework focuses on diversity management in its varying contexts and environments.

The four types of PC (Rousseau, 1989) and proposed research outcomes highlight workplace perceptions and expectations in the NRL in terms of mutuality and reciprocity, breaches and violations.

3.1.1 Research paradigm

Many scholars have urged sport management researchers to understand effective research paradigms, a system of beliefs and approaches (Edwards & Skinner, 2009), so that theory and practice may occur simultaneously, interactively and continuously (Skinner, Edwards & Corbett, 2015; Veal & Darcy, 2014). A purposeful conceptual approach is also critical to bridge the gaps between Pasifika knowledge and other areas of research (Hviding, 2003), in this case, both Pacific Studies and management. Research paradigms, which reflect the way we see the world by perceiving, understanding and interpreting a theory (Covey, 1989), are designed to *interbreed* (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011), thereby providing an intellectual framework that governs the way a researcher explores and perceives the world, in addition to their own place in it (Edwards & Skinner, 2009).

3.1.2 Interpretivism

Interpretivism was the paradigm of choice for this study rather than the "discovery in waiting" or "objective research" process (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998), which is more relevant in empirical studies (e.g., within scientific fields). This study deploys an interpretivist research paradigm because it holds the view that humans make sense of their world by constructing and reconstructing it within multifaceted realities (Skinner, Edwards & Corbett, 2015; Veal & Darcy, 2014). The interpretivist view arose from a critique of positivism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), during what was dubbed the "blurred genres" era (1970–1986); a phase where qualitative researchers had a variety of paradigms, methods and strategies at their disposal (Edwards & Skinner, 2009). Key

assumptions and beliefs in interpretivism posit a 'relativist ontology', which makes sense of local and constructed realities and transactional or subjectivist epistemology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This involves co-created findings under a philosophical perspective that one cannot separate themselves from what they know (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). In terms of methodology, a 'hermeneutical and dialectical' approach is taken (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). This links to the qualitative 'talanoa' method, which allows claims to truth (as in meanings) to be created and curated through dialogue (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

A key feature of interpretive approaches in sport management research is the notion that inquiry is value-laden. Existing values influence the framing, conduct and focus of the research problem (Skinner, Edwards & Corbett, 2015). In the present study, the research problem is located in the shifting nature of and intersections between Pasifika diaspora and diversity management in Australia; therefore, the research must strive to reinterpret or re-symbolise events (Skinner, Edwards & Corbett, 2015)—in this case, workplace expectations and experiences.

In human-centred inquiry, the sense-making approach allows the researcher and the subject(s) of their investigation to be indelibly linked by the creation of qualitative data. In contrast to laboratory research, which expects generalisability and reproducibility, qualitative research often provides data that are not easily reproduced or replicated (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). Therefore, this research approach aims to explore individual or group experiences in a delineated and limited context and to avoid generalisation (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

3.2 Pacific Research Models

Pacific Studies is an umbrella term which is comprised of methods and models that are multifaceted and heterogeneous. Notwithstanding this complexity and diversity, Pacific research methodologies have made significant contributions to Pacific societies through providing mechanisms to recapture Pacific values and ideals. This allows Pacific knowledge to be (re)created, thereby moving beyond a neo-colonial reliance on Eurocentric ways of learning and knowing (Anae, 2019; Anae et al., 2001). As will now be explained, Pacific ontologies and epistemologies are underpinned by Pasifika ways of sharing information, processes, assumptions, values and belief systems. Table 3 outlines Pacific research models that are particularly salient for this study. These approaches are commonly used in the areas of health, education and social sciences but, to date, have been less common in qualitative research focused on the sport and leisure industries.

Table 3

Summary of Selective Pasifika Research Models

Country/territory	Research model	Summary
Samoa	Fonofale model (Pulotu-Enderman, 1995)	Health promotion based on the traditional meeting house
	Fa'afaletui model (Tamasese, Peteru & Waldegrave, 1997)	Model used to frame mental health service provision in emigrant Samoan communities in New Zealand
	Teu le vā (Anae, 2016)	An educational tool to plan, implement and develop policy and practice
Tonga	Kakala model (Thaman, 1993)	Education and cultural values model based on the traditional process of fragrant garland–making

	Fonua model (Tu'itahi, 2009)	A model for Pacific health promotion that encompasses Tongan culture and society; full cycle of life
	Tauhi vā (Ka'ili, 2005)	Tongan art of socio-spatial relations, using time (ta) and space (vā)
Cook Islands	Tivaevae model (Maua-Hodges, 1999)	A framework for the collaboration of a team of diverse researchers
Tokelau	Te vaka atafanga model (Kupa, 2009)	Uses six core concepts considered to be key aspects of health for Tokelau people
Fiji	Vanua research framework (Nabobo-Baba, 2008)	Embedded in Fijian worldviews and knowledge traditions model for education 'knowing and learning'
Māori	Kaupapa Māori research methodology (Smith, 1997)	Māori frameworks that are based on Māori cultural values, beliefs and worldviews
	Te whare tapa whā model (Durie, 1994)	Model of health promotion

The development of Pasifika research models originates in the impetus for decolonising research frameworks and their associated methodologies (Baba et al., 2004; Hau'ofa, 1993; Thaman, 2003). In terms of the present study, this paradigm shift requires the deployment of Pacific models and theories in an Australian context and, in this case, to professional sport workplaces. Previous empirical studies of Pasifika and sport have involved New Zealand, the Pacific Islands or US perspectives (Hawkes, 2019; Ravulo, 2009). Thus, it is critical to establish clear entry points for Pacific research in an Australian context. Although there exists a global Pasifika diaspora, there also exist geopolitical, economic and sociocultural nuances in all locations. Teaiwa (2016) has

described this as the "offline sociopolitical context" (p. 117); while global Pasifika communities celebrate Pasifika identity and prowess, "what that means to communities on the ground in their particular social and political circumstances, varies considerably" (p. 117).

Therefore, the present study seeks to engage a culturally appropriate Pasifika research model for exploring Pasifika experiences in an Australian setting. This goal involves postcolonial methodologies that include Pasifika- and Western-oriented approaches, both Pasifika and non-Pasifika research participants and the Australian context of the rugby league workplace.

A conceptual framework for examining the experiences of Pasifika athletes in an Australian professional sporting organisation is discussed later in this chapter. By way of introduction, a Pasifika research model is first examined—the Fonofale—to provide a conceptual foundation for pursuing knowledge about key aspects and attributes of life in the diaspora. This includes, as examples, questions about how to explore cultural competency and efficacy factors (Suaalii-Sauni & Samu, 2005; Tiatia, 2008) in different contexts, in addition to ways of increasing the workforce capacity and capability of Pasifika peoples (Ng Shiu & Vagana, 2016; Pulotu-Endemann & Faleafa, 2017).

3.2.1   The Fonofale model

The *Fonofale model* (traditional meeting house) is a widely accepted Pacific health model (Pulotu-Endemann, 1995). The model incorporates the values and beliefs shared by many Pacific Islanders with Pulotu-Endemann during health promotion workshops from the early 1970s to 1995—such as family, culture and spirituality (Gordon, Sauni, Tuagalu & Hodis, 2010; Pulotu-Endemann, 1995). Although based primarily on Samoan ideals, this framework for health research is considered a holistic Pan-Pacific model of health and wellness (see Figure 3.2), based on the metaphor of a

fale (house) with the foundation or floor, posts and roof encapsulated in a circle to promote the philosophy of holism and continuity (Pulotu-Endemann, 2009).
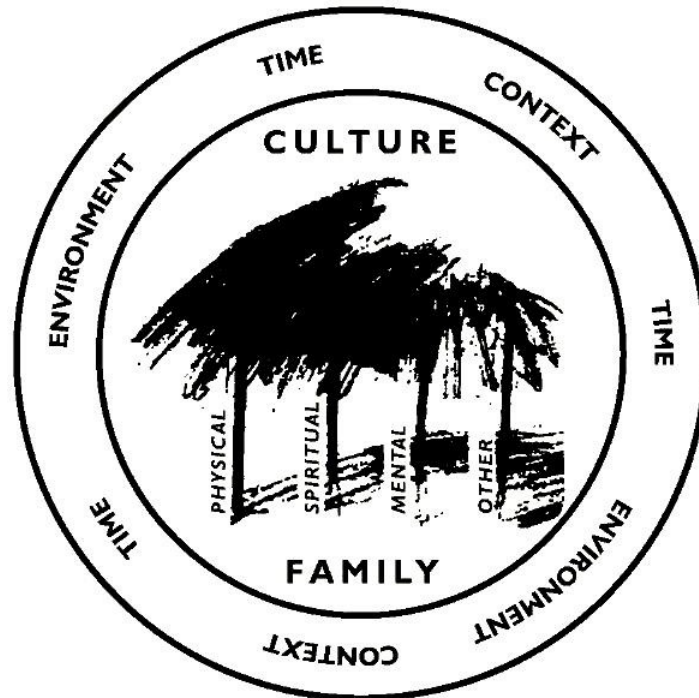
Figure 3.2 The Fonofale model of Pacific health.

Family and culture represent the foundation and roof, respectively. The image of the Fonofale represents the family, which is the bedrock of all Pacific Island cultures (Pulotu-Endemann, 2009). Kinship networks are relatively large and widely spread but maintain strong links with their Pacific Island homes (Lee, 2007); therefore, they are not static but rather exist along mobile and dynamic networks (Jolly, 2007; Teaiwa, 2014). Thus, kinship operates across socio-spatial ties (Ka'ili, 2005) and is linked to the Pan-Pacific notion of vā (meaning space between) (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009). The nurturing of these spaces represents the close connections between pasts, presents and futures in Oceania (Anae, 2007; Jolly, 2007).

Another central component of the Fonofale model is spirituality (Crawley et al., 1995), which may encompass Christian and ancient pre-Christian religious and

cosmological belief systems (Pulotu-Endemann et al., 2007). This coincides with the central role played by religion (particularly Christianity) in the lives of many Pasifika families in Australia (New South Wales Department of Community Services, 2006). The Fonofale model is broadly consistent with other Pan-Pacific constructs, particularly the Māori Te Whare Tapa Whā model that comprises four dimensions of health and wellbeing (Durie, 1994). The four pillars—physical, spiritual, mental and other—comprise the *pou* (posts) of the fale, representing a range of variables affecting one's health: physical (e.g., somatotype, nutrition), spiritual (e.g., Christian or other beliefs), mental (e.g., mental state) and other (e.g., sexuality, gender, age, socio-economic status) (Pulotu-Endemann, 2009).

This study uses the Fonofale model for two reasons. First, the study aims to produce knowledge that will be useful for the effective transformation of cultural growth and inequities in sport management settings. The Fonofale model assists to highlight differences in workplace expectations and experiences between Pasifika and non-Pasifika people using a culturally appropriate framework. Second, the Fonofale model is a dynamic approach that depicts both an interactive relationship and connectedness between the individual, family and Pasifika community. These holistic links between family, culture and spirituality (Robinson et al., 2006) are mediated by the elements of context, time and environment. This type of framing conveniently reflects the changing face of the NRL due to Pasifika involvement (context), such as the demands placed on employees and employers (time), which reflect player migration and mobility in professional sports (environment). Uperesa and Mountjoy (2014) have asserted that key themes such as migration, mobility and representations of indigenisation reflect a critical mass of work on sport in the Pacific today. These core elements are also central to the conceptual framework of this study.

3.2.2 Research positioning

An insider approach—in this case, Samoan (Polynesian)—offers a culturally relevant starting point for initiating and building trust and credibility with Pasifika participants. Crucially, the shared *Pasifikaness* creates an environment in which participants feel that their *mana* (prestige and status) will be respected by the researcher (Diaz, 2011; Palmer & Master, 2010). Moreover, insider access works towards ensuring Pasifika concepts of *moni* (real, authentic), *aroha* or *alofa* (love), tapu (sacredness) and *fa'aaloalo* (respect) between Pasifika participants.

At first glance, an insider appears to command greater authenticity and moral authority (Bishop, 2005); however, this view is not without limitations. Working within and between cultural groups requires cultural competency. Cultural competency requires flexibility in engaging people from other Pasifika cultures (Pulotu-Endemann & Faleafa, 2017; Samu & Suaalii-Sauni, 2009). Therefore, the researcher (who is of Samoan descent) may well be considered an outsider to other Pasifika cultures, such as Tongan, Māori, Cook Islander, Fijian, Papua New Guinean, Solomon Islander or Gilbertese. The same could be said for non-Pasifika or Western cultures. If this is the case, some situations may necessitate ethical considerations designed to establish a comfortable environment, free from any feelings of confusion or intimidation (see Section 3.6). Simply *being Samoan* or sharing Pasifikaness does not entail automatic qualification for easy access to participants and knowledge; rather, it represents a key point of difference for the primary researcher.

3.2.3 Talanoa research methodology

Talanoa is a culturally appropriate qualitative research method grounded in a derivative of oral, dialogic cultural practice (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2020; Farrelley & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006). Talanoa is widely accepted in Pacific Studies to be

an appropriate and authentic way of exploring knowledge involving Pasifika participants. Although Western qualitative research has evolved to also emphasise conversations rather than structured interviews, the natural (culturally relevant) settings for talanoa and the cultural nuances associated with sharing stories have no Western equivalent (Vaioleti, 2006). Significantly, the talanoa style of conversation can, with adaptations, be applied to non-Pasifika participants. As I will demonstrate, this thesis involved dialogue with several non-Pasifika respondents, most notably those in rugby league administration. In keeping with the talanoa ethos, they were invited to discuss their views and experiences from the most culturally relevant setting (to them)—which, almost inevitably, was their sport workplace.

Talanoa has begun to appear in sport research settings, with the aim of better understanding the experiences of Pasifika rugby league and rugby union players (Hapeta et al., 2019; Keung, 2018; Stewart-Withers, Sewabu & Richardson, 2017; Sugden, Adair, Schulenkorf & Frawley, 2019). Essentially, talanoa is concerned with authentic relationships (Anae, 2019; Otunuku, 2011) and respectful communication in and around Pasifika sensibilities (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). Thus, talanoa creates a *cultural synthesis* with the Pacific way of life and the contexts in which they operate. This, in turn, creates "personal encounter where people 'story' their issues, their realities and aspirations" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 21). Talanoa is more than simply informal, open-ended conversation; it is usually infused with marked emotional and cultural complexity (Farrelley & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Tecun, Ulu'ave & Ulu'ave-Hafoka, 2018).

However, talanoa is not without limitations. One major drawback of the method is that it assumes those involved are well-versed and confident in all facets of Pasifika culture. Pasifika encapsulates diverse cultural practices, languages and relations from across the Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian regions of Oceania. This means that

the researcher must be as prepared as possible for such complexity. As with research involving Māori, which is now well-developed, Pasifika scholars should be highly trained and sensitive to custom. Some scholars have averred that researchers should be of the same tribal descent as those they research (Te Awekotuku, 1991); this view significantly limits the volume of scholars and may even stifle intercultural understanding. Ultimately, talanoa is dependent upon building a personal rapport with the interviewee through genuine Pasifika values of respect, love, service and reciprocity. Such attributes are normally learned via lived experience; however, they may also be developed by knowledge exchange, when a non-Pasifika researcher immerses themselves in a Pasifika world view and habitus (Sugden et al., 2019). As with any qualitative research, if the initial relationship-building phase is conducted poorly, this will result in ineffective, underwhelming, inauthentic and untrustworthy conversations (Anae, 2019; Farrelley & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Stewart-Withers et al., 2017).

Secondly, the formal and informal arrangements of talanoa necessitate different cultural approaches. Indigenous (in this case, Pasifika) researchers must maintain culturally appropriate protocols with participants, but also be aware of nuances therein (Otunuku, 2011; Stewart-Withers et al., 2017). For example, depending on who the researcher engages with—such as across genders, with kin, the sick or elderly, chiefs or a religious leader—convention may require an invitation to sit together on the ground as a mark of respect (Morrison & Vaioleti, 2008), praying together or even providing a culturally appropriate gift as a token of appreciation. This attentiveness is vital because, as Farrelley and Nabobo-Baba (2012) have emphasised, "there is a danger that talanoa is simply replacing informal open-ended interviews while glossing over its emotional and cultural complexity" (p. 1). With these critiques in mind, culturally appropriate strategies are explained in Section 3.4.1; namely, ethical considerations and potential harm or risk.

Overall, in the context of Pasifika research methods, there is now a strong desire for cultural intersectionality or Indigenous Pasifika interpretations of their own history and philosophical viewpoints. Since the 1970s, decolonisation of research and intellectual thought has formed a significant movement in Pacific Studies (Hauʻofa, 1993; Thaman, 2003; Wendt, 1976), with a call to extend Indigenous methodologies and theories beyond Eurocentric ideals and approaches (Anae et al., 2001; Hapeta et al., 2019; Teaiwa, 2016; Teaiwa, 2006). This is relevant to this study because Pasifika models and theories are seldom used in the Australian context. Most empirical studies in professional sport have focused on New Zealand, the Pacific Islands or the USA.

In terms of a culturally appropriate qualitative research method, this chapter so far has outlined the intentional blend of Pasifika theory, the Fonofale model (Pulotu-Endermann, 1995) and Pasifika methodology: talanoa. Further, the research approach also included 21 fieldwork and participant observation sessions of Pasifika employees in non-playing roles at Pasifika rugby league events. The rationale for fieldwork and participant observations was to gain firsthand insights into the contributions and influence of Pasifika employees in the workplace and to explore perceptions and expectations between Pasifika employees and non-Pasifika employers (i.e., those with relevant leadership and supervisory responsibility) in a culturally appropriate manner.

3.2.4   Fieldwork and participant observations

This research approach included 21 fieldwork and participant observation sessions of Pasifika employees in non-playing roles at Pasifika rugby league events between May 2015 and October 2019. This approach was necessary to capture interpretivist views (Skinner, Edwards & Corbett, 2015) between Pasifika and non-Pasifika workers in the NRL workplace.

The intentionality of observation sites allowed for full participation or "active membership to learn explicit and tacit aspects" of routines and cultural behaviours (K. M. Dewalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 1). This involved fulltime Pasifika NRL employees who, for the most part, worked as a group at various annual Pasifika rugby league events. Twenty-one observation sites or events were under focus, most of which were inaugural events: a Pacific Test media launch, five Pacific Test matches, five Pacific award evenings, four Pacific rugby league award evenings, two Pacific Test coaching clinics or fan days, three NRL Community or Education and Wellbeing workshops or conferences, as well as a multicultural junior rugby league competition entitled *Harmony Cup* (see Table 4). The mix of observation sites at annual events offered valuable benefits for the researcher as a *cultural insider*. First, multiple observational sessions permitted the identification of relational trends through yearly comparisons of post-event evaluations. Second, it facilitated building strong rapport and familiarity with Pasifika employees in non-playing roles. This not only led to a better understanding of their workplace activities, but also their interactions with non-Pasifika colleagues.

Table 4

Fieldwork and Participant Observations at 21 Pacific Rugby League Events

Timeframe	Observation sites
2016	Harmony Cup (multicultural junior rugby league competition)
2017	Pacific Test media launch
2015, 2017	Coaching clinics and fan day events
2016–2019	Pacific Youth Summits
2015–2019	Pacific rugby league award evenings
2015–2019	Pacific Test match

Observations were firmly linked to the research aim of examining whether workplace perceptions, expectations and contributions of Pasifika employees in the NRL aligned (or misaligned) with their non-Pasifika employers. Further, participant observations provided firsthand insights into the contemporary experiences of Pasifika contribution in ARL. Observations centred on interpreting physical behaviours and gestures, Pasifika and non-Pasifika language, social interactions, individual and collective attitudes, ambience or cultural appropriateness, social status, socio-economic class and spirituality. Notes were transcribed into Word and evaluated with the assistance of data analysis software (NVivo 12).

Participation at annual events occurred both informally and formally. A range of specific duties relevant to the event was assigned to the researcher—for example, at each Pacific Youth Summit, planning and facilitating talanoa sessions based on navigating Pasifika culture in Australia and *family, faith and football*. At Pacific rugby league award evenings and the Pacific Test media launch, the author was invited to be the master of ceremonies and conduct media interviews with Pasifika players and coaching staff. Observations helped to inform subsequent studies in this project, particularly phases one and two of data collection.

3.2.5   Recruitment of talanoa participants

Purposive sampling, a selective group with shared characteristics and type of non-probability sample (Lavrakas, 2008), was adopted for the talanoa sessions. The researcher's previous employment as the Pacific Islander Coaching and Development Officer for the NSWRL (2007–2011) provided him with unique access to NRL players and administrators. Thirty-two participants were already known to the researcher, and a

third party was used to solicit their voluntary involvement in the research. Participants provided full assent via a consent form and information letter. Contact was generated by phone, social media, letter or face-to-face. The researcher also utilised an NRL research analyst to assist in tracking relevant participants. A minimum sample group of 40 interviewees was recruited; this number was assumed to be adequate for the purposes of data saturation.

The total sample size was 53 individuals. The previously described working relationship allowed a 75 per cent response rate—participants made themselves available at a time convenient to them. In terms of inclusion and exclusion criteria, approximately 90 per cent of respondents were male, due to the current staff gender ratio in the area of game development. Participants' ages ranged from 19 to 80 years old. They were either currently employed by the NRL, a state-affiliated body or an NRL club or were a member of the NRLPA. This selective criteria, otherwise known as match sampling, referring to cases of similar attributes (Smith, 2018), was also applied to participants' roles as either a Pasifika employee or non-Pasifika employer (i.e., those with leadership and supervisory responsibility) in the NRL. This approach assisted in aligning and organising data collection and data analysis in relation to workplace expectations in the exchange relationship.

3.2.6 Talanoa session content

Talanoa is a culturally sensitive way of talking openly and respectfully—as a conversational storytelling approach, it is sufficiently fluid to permit and encourage empathic discussion with anyone (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006). In this case, it permitted discussion with both Pasifika administrators and non-Pasifika managers in the NRL. Talanoa is not simply another way of describing open-ended informal

interviews; rather, it concerns emotional connections and cultural etiquette (Farrelley & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Tecun et al., 2018).

Intentional time and energy were devoted to establishing customary relationships. If the initial relationship-building phase in talanoa is ineffective, it will most likely produce negative, underwhelming, inauthentic and untrustworthy conversations. In most cases, this process involved exchanging Pasifika greetings or salutations, acknowledging one another's *āiga* (family) and *aganu'u* (village), provide a *mea alofa* (small gift), ceremonial greetings (sitting on the floor as a sign of respect) and, if appropriate, an invitation for a *tatalo* or *karakia* (prayer) to commence proceedings (Anae et al., 2001; Rose, Quanchi & Moore, 2009). Pasifika terms (and phrases) such as *uso* (Samoan for same-gender sibling) or *toko* (Tongan for sibling) were frequently used during talanoa sessions to reflect cultural connections and the building of rapport between researcher and participant.

Talanoa schedules were made flexible with dates, times (ranging from 45 to 120 minutes) and at venues that were convenient to participants. This resulted in 39 interviews being conducted in NSW and one in Queensland. Talanoa sessions occurred at the following locations: participant's workplace (n = 19), home (n = 9) or cafe (n = 12). Table 5 indicates the ethnicity of talanoa participants, with four identifying as mixed race.

Table 5

Ethnicity of Talanoa Participants: Pasifika and Non-Pasifika

Number of participants	Ethnicity
8	Fijian
4	Māori
1	Niuean
13	Samoan

5	Tongan
10	Non-Pasifika

In terms of the talanoa session outline, otherwise known as the qualitative data recording instrument, the sessions centred around workplace perceptions and expectations, familial, spiritual and cultural experiences and upbringing and future directions for the NRL or NRL clubs (see Appendix A). For non-Pasifika employers, talanoa sessions mostly focused on personal workplace perceptions and expectations of self and respective Pasifika employees, Pasifika understandings, workplace experiences and future directions for the NRL or NRL clubs.

3.3 Data Collection

Data collection was conducted in two phases and included the talanoa session and observational fieldwork notes (see Figure 3.3). A specific sequence allowed for each stage of data collection to inform the next step.

Phase One — • Pasifika NRL Employees (n=30)

Phase Two — • Non-Pasifika NRL Employer (n=10)

Figure 3.3 Data collection phases for talanoa methodology and observational research.

In accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007 (updated in 2018), considerations were made by the researcher (principal author) to ensure privacy, sensitivity and respect for persons. It was vital that the data be reliable and authentic. The information documents assured participants that they would be de-identified due to the confidential nature of the research, meaning participants and

NRL clubs will remain unidentified, with pseudonyms used in published works. It should be noted that there is a considerable turnover of Pasifika employees in the NRL, due to the transitory nature of professional sport. This further mitigates against indirect identification of the participants in this research project.

Provision was also made for the individual's rights of access to and correction of their own contributions and personal information. Respondents were informed that, at any stage of the process of the research dialogue (from initial contact to submission of the dissertation), they could refuse further participation in the project without prejudice. Clear explanations of publication and access were given, stating that portions of the dialogue would be produced as part of a PhD dissertation that would be publicly available via the University of Technology Sydney library.

Additionally, research participants received a copy of their talanoa dialogue or audio recording. They were also able to request a PDF of the dissertation upon completion. Supervisors have access to talanoa transcripts for the sole purpose of assisting in facilitating the dissertation.

Data storage and privacy

The transcribed talanoa sessions and recordings have been kept in a locked filing cabinet of the principal supervisor's office for the past five years. Subsequently, they will be archived in accordance with the primary supervisor's recommendation. Data must be stored and secured for a minimum of five years after publication (University of Technology Sydney Records Management Policy, 2014).

3.4 Data Analysis

Miles and Huberman's (1994) interactive model (see Figure 3.4) has shaped data analysis in this study. The model comprises four components: data collection, data display

and data reduction, followed by the drawing and verifying of conclusions. The qualitative data was analysed with the assistance of data analysis software (NVivo 12). Each talanoa session and observation fieldwork notes were recorded, transcribed and coded for themes and sub-themes. In relation to this research, each phase is elaborated in Figure 8.

(Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 12)
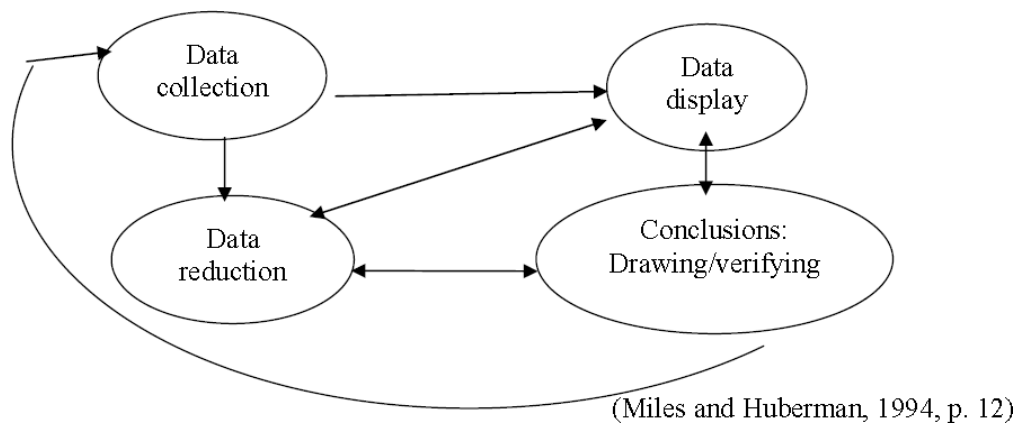
Figure 3.4 Components of data analysis: Interactive model.

Data collection: This involved consultation with Pacific Studies researchers and other academic colleagues to gain advice on research validity (operational measures) and reliability (accuracy of data and structural measures) (Edwards & Skinner, 2009; Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). In doing so, a profile of talanoa participants was curated, consisting of demographic and talanoa data (e.g., ethnicity and location of interview).

Data display: Data was illustrated in graphs and table format using NVivo 12 and Microsoft Excel, in addition to interview transcriptions in Microsoft Word.

Data reduction: Key findings and ideas were simplified into concept or visual maps using data analysis software NVivo and SmartArt (Microsoft Word) to explore any crossovers and transferability of themes among the sample groups.

Conclusions (drawing/verifying): Patterns and common themes were linked and evaluated against the key research objectives and in alignment with relevant theoretical and conceptual frameworks, such as migration, identity, motivations and diversity management practices.

3.5 Triangulation

A data *triangulation* approach (Cox & Hassard, 2005) was actioned via talanoa methodology (with written prompts), fieldwork observations and document analysis (see Figure 3.5).

Talanoa

Fieldwork Observations

Document Analysis
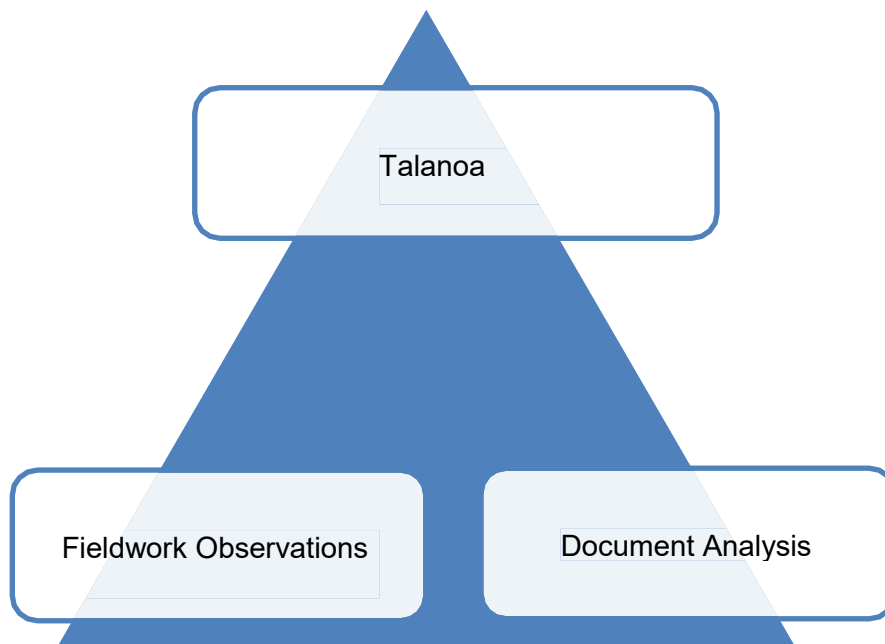
Figure 3.5 Triangulation of data analysis.

The primary purpose of data triangulation was to establish validity and confirmability from different groups, settings and times, to produce a deeper understanding of the context of research participants (Edwards & Skinner, 2009). For example, the talanoa method allowed for open, spiritual and often emotional dialogue and interactions between participant and researcher, while fieldwork provided opportunities

to both observe and participate firsthand in events that involved research volunteers. Fieldwork, with its combination of routine and spontaneity, allowed participants to disclose information or express ideas to the researcher in a markedly different environment to that offered during talanoa. Finally, document analysis included the evaluation of relevant primary documents, such as workplace policies and organisational reports, all of which speak to the ideals of the NRL and its clubs, in addition to their operation. Document analysis also involved reading, coding and theming the transcripts of talanoa sessions and fieldwork notes.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval by the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) was granted prior to the talanoa sessions. The author of this research was committed to conducting research in a responsible, integral and ethical manner. For example, annual progress reports were submitted to the HREC with no changes to the research which had ethical implications. As per requirements, the research was aligned with guidelines published in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007 (updated in 2018). Further, the study was conceived and operationalised in accordance with guidelines for research with Pacific populations (Anae et al., 2001; Rose, Quanchi & Moore, 2009).

Pacific Studies is multifaceted and cross-cultural. Consequently, this research involved awareness of, and respect for, local prudential rules and customs. Where possible, the establishment of customary relationships with Pasifika respondents occurred prior to face-to-face dialogue. This involved rituals such as cultural acknowledgement of heritage, *iwi* (tribal ties) or 'āiga' (family/kinship), provision of a mea alofa (small gift), ceremonial greetings (sitting on the floor as a sign of respect) and, if appropriate, an

invitation for a tatalo (prayer) to commence proceedings (Anae et al., 2001; Rose, Quanchi & Moore, 2009).

Consultation-seeking and local and internationally based advice is critical when working with the Pasifika diaspora (Anae et al., 2001). In line with Pasifika research guidelines, initial and ongoing consultation was conducted with a small Pasifika advisory group. This body comprised of four individuals, each representing different Pasifika groups (Polynesian and Melanesian perspectives). These people were sought because they are well-versed in cultural knowledge and value systems. Further, they have substantial work experience in and around Pasifika cultural studies, sport management, sociology and anthropology. Each of them work in academia, specifically Katerina Teaiwa (Australian National University), Jioji Ravulo (University of Wollongong), Lisa Uperesa (University of Auckland) and Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor (University of Hawai'i). The purpose of acquiring local and internationally based advice was to seek guidance about Pasifika customs and values, without which the validity and reliability of the research process might be compromised (Anae, 2019; Anae et al., 2001).

Potential risks and harm

The researcher anticipated that some respondents might be reluctant to participate or cooperate. As such, there was no pressure placed on people to participate. During conversations, participants may have felt uneasy about disclosing information that seems potentially harmful to themselves or that may have a negative effect on future employee–employer relationships. Therefore, participants were reminded that they could withdraw from the process of dialogue at any time and without prejudice. Courteous relationships are a cornerstone of talanoa because the goal is *mana* (prestige or status) and respect throughout the shared experience (Vaioleti, 2006).

There was potential for psychological harm if participants chose to recall deeply traumatic experiences, leading to feelings of vulnerability. Again, interviewees were treated with the utmost respect and given the opportunity to opt-out at any time, should they feel uncomfortable. In the event of such a situation, the researcher would follow protocols for accessing professional support for participants and, if required, medical assistance.

The researcher was also cognisant that some respondents may be unavailable or be inconvenienced by the pressure of work routines. The respondents are immersed in a professional sport environment, each of them being either current or former professional athletes. While they may be experienced in terms of the stresses of public scrutiny, they may not be familiar with the process of being questioned about their life in sport. The fact that the researcher is from a Pasifika background allows—in principle—a degree of familiarity and cultural competence with Pasifika respondents. Talanoa sessions were each conducted in a private and safe venue, agreed upon by both parties, and at a time and place convenient to all. Upon completion of the conversations, transcripts were sent to the respondents, to allow corrections, edits and alterations to be made at the discretion of the participant.

3.7 Summary

Overall, given the focus of this thesis is on Pasifika experience in the workplace, careful planning and consideration was crucial for ethical approaches, researcher–participant relationships and research design and methods. The conceptual framework deployed in this study is a delicate blend of Pasifika theory, the Fonofale model (Pulotu-Endermann, 1995) and Pasifika methodology—talanoa (Vaioleti, 2006)—and includes contributions from PC theory (Rousseau, 1989). Given this research is a thesis by

publication, the following chapter comprises a manuscript of published works (see Chapter 4) examining historical and contemporary experiences of Pasifika players/administrators and their engagement with diversity management and PC theory.

Chapter 4: Peer-Reviewed Publications

The following chapter highlights the central role and contribution of co-authors, editors and reviewers in the peer-reviewed publications process.

4.1 Pasifika Diaspora and the Changing Face of Australian Rugby League

Publication Status: Published journal article

Authors: David Lakisa, Daryl Adair and Tracy Taylor

Journal: The Contemporary Pacific

Publisher: The University of Hawaii Press

Publication Date: 2014

Citation:

Lakisa, D., Adair, D. & Taylor, T. (2014). Pasifika diaspora and the changing face of Australian Rugby League. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *26*(2), 347–367. doi.org/10.1353/cp.2014.0029

The contribution of the primary author and other authors to the research and the authorship of each paper (in order) is: 60%, 30% and 10%.

The signatures of the primary author (graduate research student) and co-authors:

Production Note:
Signature removed
prior to publication.

Production Note:
Signature removed
prior to publication.

Production Note:
Signature removed
prior to publication.

David Lakisa   Daryl Adair   Tracy Taylor

Abstract

In this paper, the sociocultural motivations of the Pasifika diaspora in Australian sport are investigated within the context of rugby league football. In 2011, some 36 per cent of NRL playing contracts were signed by players of Pasifika descent (Heptonstall, 2011). There has been an accompanying rise of Pasifika influence in the game; this is apparent on the field, with the high profile of star Pasifika players, and off the field, with the intensification of welfare and education programs intended to accommodate Pasifika athletes into the NRL. The purpose of this article is to critically analyse kinship networks, religious influences and the sociocultural expectations placed upon Pasifika footballers by various stakeholders, and how these factors either motivate (or otherwise) these athletes to play in the NRL. It also explores what these experiences reveal about the nature of Pasifika communities in an Australian context. The material presented draws on the principal author's original research on ARL and the experience of athletes of Pasifika descent, in addition to his direct experience as a former sports education administrator and as the inaugural Pacific Islander Coaching and Development Officer for the NSWRL.

Keywords: Pasifika, rugby league, Australian sport, sociocultural motivations

Pasifika diaspora and the changing face of Australian Rugby League

Introduction

The Pasifika[2] diaspora is making an indelible imprint upon the sport of rugby league in Australia. In part, this stems from the growing number of players of Polynesian (including Māori) and Melanesian heritage who now participate in the NRL. Heightened

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[2] There is much debate regarding appropriate terminology when discussing Pacific people, Tagata Pasifika, Pacifica and Māori. However, for the purposes of this study and its Australian context, the generic term 'Pasifika' will be used to refer to people of Polynesian (including Māori), Melanesian and Micronesian heritage (although, to the author's best knowledge, we are not aware of any currently contracted NRL players of Micronesian heritage).

involvement by players of Pasifika origin has created many opportunities but also presented many challenges. This multifaceted, ethnoculturally diverse group of footballers of Pasifika heritage face a range of complex issues that, when considered under the rubric of Pasifika, mark them as distinctive in Australian sport. Indeed, researchers can glean much about the diverse and complex Pasifika diaspora in Australia by exploring their involvement in the NRL. As this paper will demonstrate, rugby league players with Pasifika heritage typically feature complex patterns of athlete migration and geographic mobility, profound cultural pressures and stereotyping (both within and outside their communities), problems associated with the eligibility of Pasifika migrants for international teams and the underlying politics of allegiance (for migrants) to a country beyond one's birthplace.

This paper builds on the limited literature on Pasifika people in the Australian sporting context by drawing upon primary research on ARL and the experience therein of athletes of Pasifika descent (predominantly Samoan, Māori and Tongan). It will be argued that intrinsic motivation factors relating to family, faith and culture are key drivers that typically combine to guide and drive the aspirations of Pasifika rugby league players in Australia. Although much of the Pacific scholarship upon which this paper draws was produced by Samoan and Tongan scholars writing about Samoan and Tongan contexts, the interrelated factors underscore the shifting nature of Australian–Pasifika communities. Crucially, these are hardly homogenous; rather, they feature fundamental differences between cultures, languages and customs (McFall-McCaffery, 2010). There also exist pressing issues for all Pasifika footballers, such as welfare and education needs, code-hopping (moving between different football codes), the weight-for-age debate in junior competition and remittances abroad—these, although a cultural obligation, can

leave athletes feeling conflicted as either valued or devalued commodities (Besnier, 2012;

Horton, 2012; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2012; Lakisa, 2011; Schaaf, 2006; Uperesa, 2010).

The state of the game

Rugby league is one of four major competing football codes in Australia (the

others are rugby union, Australian Rules football and soccer). It is the third most attended

spectator sport behind Australian Rules football and horse racing (Australian Bureau of

Statistics [ABS], 2010). The NRL is the premier competition, with 16 professional

Australasian clubs based in NSW (10 teams), Queensland (three teams), the Australian

Capital Territory, Victoria and New Zealand. The game's roots stem from the great split

from rugby union in northern England on 29 August 1895, which was driven by problems

experienced by working-class players with the amateur code. Labourers wanted to be

financially compensated for time away from work if they were injured while playing

rugby—the London-based Rugby Football Union refused to sanction this (Collins, 1998,

2006). The game continued to evolve as a separate code in England; by 1907, it was

adopted in Australia, with players demanding financial allowances for participation

(Collis & Whiticker, 2007).

The thirteen-a-side code of rugby league has undergone numerous sociocultural,

demographic, rule, governance and structural changes over the years. In terms of this

paper, one salient recent trend, particularly over the past decade, has been the dramatic

rise in participation of Pasifika players. In 2011, 36 per cent of NRL playing contracts

were signed by players of Pasifika descent (Heptonstall, 2011). This sea change, in terms

of Pasifika participation in football, has also been apparent in junior rugby league and

reflected in a rising proportion of selections in elite teams. For example, the records of

the NSWRL junior representative competitions (under-16 and under-18), which

established a heritage database from 2003, indicate that an average of 28 per cent of the

total volume of players selected between 2007 and 2010 was of Pasifika descent. Moreover, since 2000, 25 per cent of players selected into the prestigious Australian Schoolboys3 side have been of Pasifika descent—a stark contrast to the four per cent of the previous 13-year period (1987–1999) (Lakisa, 2011) (see Figure 4.1). These data suggest that Pasifika players and, by extension, Pasifika communities have emerged as a particularly substantial cohort within ARL.
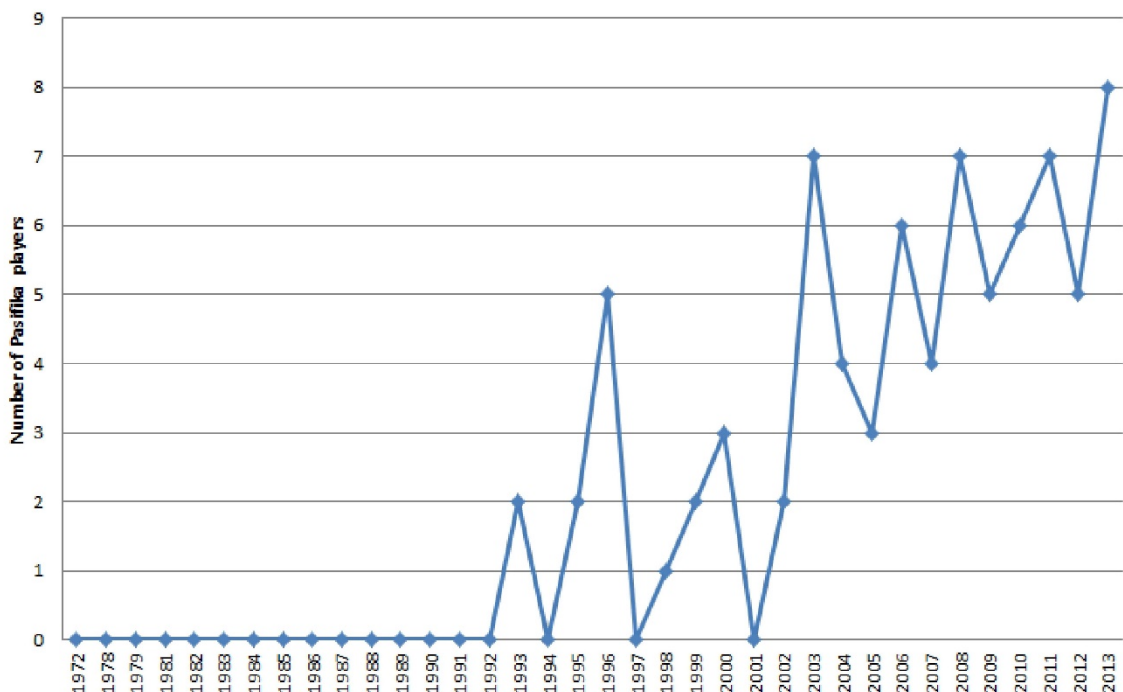
Figure 4.1 Distribution of Pasifika heritage players in the Australian Secondary School Rugby League (1972-2013).

When Australia's population figures are considered, the abovementioned statistics are even more striking. Over many years, Australia has been reshaped by immigration, with 26 per cent of the current estimated resident population of 22 million people born overseas (ABS, 2011a). Our interest is with those who self-identified at the census as

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[3] The Australian Schoolboys rugby league team is the national rugby league football team for secondary school male students in Australia, commencing in 1972. This elite pathway has helped to produce over 50 senior Australian representatives at test, World Cup or international level.

Pacific Islander or Māori: the combined total for these two groupings stood at 210,600, comprising just 1.04 per cent of Australia's total population (ABS, 2006). Therefore, it is immediately evident that there is a significant statistical over-representation of Pasifika participation in rugby league.

Pasifika sporting prowess

Whether in Australia, New Zealand or the Pacific Islands, the two rugby codes—league and union—have been bastions of masculinity. For those of Pasifika identity, these collision sports have had particular salience; customary notions of manliness among males have prized the physical aggression expected by league and union. These games were developed in Victorian England; however, as forms of social practice, they were ideally adapted to the aspirations and attributes of Pasifika males from different cultural backgrounds (Grainger, 2008; Hokowhitu, 2004). Over time, rugby league and union not only accommodated Pasifika players but also enabled them to showcase their power and skill. This has caused significant benefits, but also limitations and constraints.

As discussed by several other contributors in this special issue, Pasifika rugby players (whether league or union) are now globally recognised as 'exquisite' athlete products and, as professional performers, prime commodities for transfer or purchase (Besnier, 2012; Horton, 2012). Although this suggests that they are highly valued, Pasifika athletes may also be subject to exploitation and stereotyping, both within and beyond sport (Hokowhitu, 2004; Zakus & Horton, 2009). For example, as both Valiotis (2008) and Calabrò (2014) have both argued, popular media almost exclusively focuses on the overt physical attributes of Pasifika players, as opposed to their intellectual attributes, which are often difficult to either identify or demonstrate in a sport setting where physical literacy is dramatised. The physical prowess of Pasifika athletes might be considered a blessing; however, assumptions that they are 'born' to play rugby or are

'natural' rugby players have a twofold effect. First, they devalue the tremendous work ethic and preparation of Pasifika athletes; second, they send a message to young Pasifika males that acumen in collision sports ought to be prized above other cultural alternatives. This is not dissimilar to the African American 'hoop dreams' phenomenon, where young males put all their energy into shooting baskets and aspiring to an elusive college scholarship and a professional basketball career (Hoberman, 1997).

Intriguingly, there has been a reaction in Australia against the physical size and prowess of Pasifika youth in the rugby codes. One response has been the introduction of 'weight-for-age' competitions in response to concerns raised by non-Pasifika parents of the safety of their smaller-sized children playing against their Pasifika counterparts (Williams, 2008). This is a complex issue—on the one hand, non-Pasifika parents might be criticised for overreacting to the athleticism of Pasifika youth who are the same age as their children. Conversely, researchers have argued that Pasifika adolescents typically have larger physiques and hold vastly different attitudes and ideals towards body image than their Caucasian counterparts (McCabe et al., 2011), due to both different dietary customs and genetic predispositions to a mesomorphic somatotype (Brewis, McGarvey, Jones & Swinburn, 1998; Craig, Halavatau, Comino & Caterson, 2001; Swinburn, Ley, Carmichael & Plank, 1999). Even in the early stages of development, Pasifika youth are thought to be 'different' and, paradoxically, both celebrated and derided as exemplars of optimum physical development in rugby league.

Pasifika sporting mobility

The 'brawn drain' (Bale, 1991), otherwise known as the outward labour migration of athletic talent, has been explored from a number of perspectives in the context of the Pacific Islands. The Tongan state, for example, views rugby migration as a positive exchange, partly due to the economic benefit accrued by the emigration of sporting

talent—it adds value to the local economy by professional players providing significant remittances to family back home (Besnier, 2012). However, for athletes, the search for greener pastures and aspirations for producing collective benefit in line with kinship responsibilities 'fuels a politics of hope that rubs shoulders with the reality of disappointment and exploitation' (Besnier, 2012, p. 502).

Intersections of geopolitical processes do not function linearly; the encroachment of foreign people, values and cultural products in new settings necessitates the negotiation of new and ever-changing boundaries (Hallinan & Jackson, 2009; Maguire & Falcous, 2011). Kanemasu and Molnar's (2012) research into the complex interplay between rugby migration and identity (re)making for Fijian rugby players has highlighted two key themes in terms of the mobility of Pasifika athletes:

> First, far from being powerless and passive victims, these athletes actively negotiate and seek to exert control over migration processes by cultivating and mobilising an effective migratory network … Second, and more importantly, rugby as a symbolic marker of collective identity provides emigrant players with a vehicle for cultivating a sense of collective belonging and pride in their island home. (p. 12)

The active negotiation of Pasifika identities (first or second generation), the sense of collective belonging and the involvement of Pasifika in sporting organisations are areas that have been only sparsely researched in Australian sport. Although much has been done from a New Zealand (Grainger, 2008; Holland, 2012; Mila-Schaaf, 2010) or Pacific Islands (Besnier, 2012; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2012; Uperesa, 2010) perspective, there is much potential for exploring these underlying complexities within an Australian sporting context.

Therefore, it is ironic that the Australian public has taken considerable interest in Pasifika athletes who have tried to maximise their income on the field. The cases of two prominent Pasifika athletes, Israel Folau and Sonny Bill Williams, exemplify this point. Folau, an Australian-born Tongan, is the first Australian athlete to play three professional football codes (rugby league, Australian Rules football and rugby union). He is a dual international for two of those codes and is the youngest player (at 18 years and 184 days) in rugby league history to gain selection into the Australian Kangaroos (rugby league national team). In a recent documentary, *Pacific Sport 360*, which showcases Pacific Islander sporting identities in Australasia, Israel Folau revealed that he switched rugby codes for financial and family reasons (Cox, 2013). Sonny Bill Williams, who is New Zealand–born and of Samoan ancestry, left rugby league under controversial circumstances to pursue what has become a decorated career in rugby union. He was a member of the 2011 Rugby Union World Cup winning side, the New Zealand All Blacks and won a Super 15 Rugby championship—the largest professional rugby competition in the southern hemisphere—in 2012 with the Waikato Chiefs. He even commenced a professional boxing career before returning to rugby league in 2013 and winning an NRL premiership with the Sydney Roosters. Both Folau and Williams have been highly sought after and marketable Pasifika athletes, whose prowess are being traded across the 'sporting ebay' (Jackson, 2012) and who have been viewed variously as money-hungry or disloyal to their respective clubs or employers (Robinson, 2013). Code-hopping presents enormous financial windfall opportunities for players to take off-season stints in the lucrative Japanese and European rugby union because rugby league salaries hardly compare with North American or European professional football codes, such as the NFL and the English Premier League (Kent, 2012). However, the cultural and familial motivations of their strategies to maximise income from sport may be misinterpreted by

those who do not understand the significance of family, faith and culture for Pasifika athletes (Lakisa, 2011; Schaaf, 2006). Eight of the past 12 players who have defected across to rival football codes have been of Pasifika heritage. Additionally, since 2003, the only three players to become dual-code rugby internationals have been of Pasifika descent: Timana Tāhu (Māori), Lote Tuquiri (Fijian) and Israel Folau (Tongan). This process, and the need for it, is often misunderstood in Australia. Hence, there is a need for cross-cultural awareness about the complexities of Pasifika involvement in ARL, which necessitates an appreciation of life beyond the playing field.

Method and data

In his role with the NSWRL Academy, the principal author of this paper conducted a mixed-methods study between April 2008 to August 2010 on Pasifika-related issues. It was designed to capture participation motivations and associated sociocultural factors during the rugby league journey of self-identified Pasifika players in the NRL. The study involved a convenience sample survey of 47 players of Pasifika descent contracted to five Australian-based NRL clubs (see Figure 4.2), who participated via a combination of semi-structured interviews and a self-administered survey comprising 36 questions on five interrelated topics: family, religion, sociocultural values, education and coaching and development. The questionnaire was developed by Matthew Rua and the principal author of this article, who (at that time) were employed respectively as the Victorian Rugby League multicultural development officer and NSWRL Pacific Islander coaching and development officer. These working relationships allowed a hundred per cent response rate, in which club management of all five teams ensured the participation of contacted athletes of Pasifika descent, each of whom made themselves available for this foundational study.

Ethnicity	Number
Samoan	20
Māori	11
Tongan	9
Fijian	3
Niuean	2
Cook Islander	1
Solomon Islander	1
TOTAL	47

Figure 4.2 Cultural identification of survey participants.

This paper is particularly relevant in the Polynesian context because 43 participants identified as Samoan, Māori, Tongan, Niuean or Cook Islander. The remaining four participants identified as being of Melanesian descent (Fijian and Solomon Islander). In terms of birthplace, 28 participants were New Zealand–born, 15 were Australian-born, and four were born in the Pacific Islands. Two convenience sample groups were used: those with first-grade NRL experience (31) and those playing in the Under 20's National Youth Competition (16). The average age of the combined sample groups was 21.5 years old, and the age distribution was 18–32 years old. All data from the quantitative survey questions were entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to perform tabling and charting of information. The data were analysed in the results section using percentages for items and mean scores for illustrating results from questions requiring ranked responses. Several questions in the survey provided an opportunity for participants to add their own opinions and comments; this provided valuable qualitative data to supplement the quantitative survey responses.

Findings

The survey results indicated that there are three influential key pillars for Pasifika rugby league in Australia,: family, faith and culture.

Family

The results indicated that a collectivistic view was shared by all 47 participants, each of whom attributed their success as a professional athlete to the support of their family and wider kinship networks that constituted that collective. Poignant comments were voiced by participants, such as:

Family first.

It's all about the whānau (family).

These results are consistent with the family as the fundamental unit of Pasifika cultures and highlight the concept of collectivism, which values the needs, wishes and desires of groups over those of individuals (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009; Thaman, 2008; Va'a, 2001). Kinship obligation and reciprocity of giving and receiving underpin Pasifika social systems, forming the cultural and economic foundation of Pasifika communities (Francis, 1995; Uperesa, 2010) and representing an extensive network of relationships that bind many people into a communal network of socio-spatial ties (Kai'li, 2005).

The complexities of reciprocity are highlighted in shifting attitudes towards the remittances of Pasifika diaspora in Australia (Lee & Francis, 2009). In terms of the survey conducted with NRL players, participants were asked to respond to a scenario in which their Australian-based parents asked for AU$5,000 for an extended family member's church overseas: 16 of the surveyed athletes indicated they would remit finances without question, 13 responded with 'no', 10 participants stated they would seriously consider it (based on the strength of their relationship with that particular member of their extended family) and the remaining eight stated they would partially remit. These findings are

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similar to Helen Lee's (2007) research on attitudes towards remittances and transnational ties, in which 151 second-generation Tongans in various locations across Australia demonstrated a wide range of attitudes and practices towards remittances,[4] providing evidence that many second-generation Tongans in Australia are unlikely to remit at high levels, if at all, even if they maintain other forms of transnational ties (Lee, 2007).

Large families have long formed the backbone of Pasifika involvement in rugby league (Coffey & Wood, 2008). The findings of the present study concur with this claim; 77 per cent of participants grew up in families with four or more children. This presents a stark contrast with the latest census in Australia, which indicated that just five per cent of families have four or more children; moreover, 38 per cent of families in Australia were couples with no children (ABS, 2011b). In the present study, the survey highlighted a trend of family ties relating to player involvement; siblings and cousins of current contracted players were being scouted and recruited at the junior representative level (under-16 to 20 years). This chain participation of players with relatively large families illuminates the desires and expectations of Pasifika athletes to advance themselves and their kinship networks in socio-economic pathways (Lakisa, 2011; Schaaf, 2006). As with chain migration from Pacific Island nations to Australia, these opportunities are presumed to provide better economic prospects for the next generation, with expectations that they will be more successful than their 'forefathers' but also provide for them financially (Janzen, 2013).

The culture of remittances offers benefits to an extended family but also compromises the economic position of a single provider. The expectation for Pasifika

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[4] They broadly fell into three groups: those that did not remit at all and have little or no connection with anyone in Tonga (31 per cent), those with some connection to Tonga and who occasionally made contributions of money or goods (59 per cent) and a small group that more actively maintained transnational ties (nine per cent).

professional rugby league players to provide for their immediate family is crucial, given that many Pasifika communities in Australia reside in areas of socio-economic disadvantage (ABS, 2006). The intergenerational transmission of privilege (or disadvantage) underpins the deepening desire for reciprocity towards kin and the significant sacrifices endured in the search for greener pastures (Schaaf, 2006). This deep sentiment was shared by most participants; for example, one stated that:

The least I could do was buy mum and dad a house. They've sacrificed heaps to

bring us to Oz [Australia].

The survey also found that 55 per cent of the NRL sample group were experiencing pressure to become the financial breadwinner for their kinship collective. The placing of financial expectations upon Pasifika athletes is no simple matter, particularly when contracts are up for renewal or when players are cut from teams. The wider ramifications of salary and longevity for Pasifika players have only recently been discussed within rugby league circles. Such cultural and situational complexities must be understood much better across rugby league administration, particularly by coaching staff and the media. As highlighted by Clément (2014) and Kwauk (2014), whether a person's identity is shaped and heavily influenced by the 'anga fakatonga' (the Tongan way) or the 'fa'asamoa' *(*the Samoan way), a deeper understanding of a player's immediate and extended family situation may produce a stronger relationship of trust and value, both on and off the field. Therefore, understanding athletes' beliefs systems and upbringing is of paramount importance.

Faith

Religion (particularly Christianity) plays a central role in the lives of many Pasifika families in Australia (NSWDOCS, 2006). Since the arrival of Christian missionaries in the Pasifika region during the 1800s, Christianity has exerted a stronghold

on the Pasifika population (Ravuvu, 2002). These religious beliefs have now translated into the football arena in the form of religious practices readily observed at rugby league matches, such as prayer circles (pre- or post-game), ritualised hand motions or gestures (the sign of the cross and religious acknowledgements), visible religious tattoos or scriptural quotes and references to a higher being during media interviews. The present study revealed that 86 per cent of respondents used prayer as part of their pre-game ritual, while 68 per cent attributed part or all of their success in sport to their religious beliefs.

Religious practices such as prayer can help athletes to cope with uncertainty and give meaning to their activities and place them in a wider perspective (Coakley, Hallinan, Mewett & Jackson, 2009). Whether sport and religion can be made compatible for athletes in ARL is a pertinent question: in the present study, 64 per cent of survey participants explained that non-religious coaches and executive staff could learn to be more understanding of how religion is a major part of life for people of Pasifika heritage—both on and off the field. Of the percentage who felt comfortable with coaching staff understanding their religious background, participants shared:

He (coach) took time out to talk to me about my beliefs and how it differs from other faiths. It showed he actually cared and was genuine in his approach.

Coach isn't religious but he let us attend church during away games. He even let the whole team attend a service for a team-bonding sesh [session] once. That was sweet.

These inclusive practices were only reaffirmed recently by Craig Bellamy, current head coach of the highly successful NRL team Melbourne Storm, who stated that:

In our game, there's a huge Polynesian influence and a lot of them are very religious-oriented. As a game, we've got to learn more about the Polynesian culture and the way they're brought up; what they believe in; and what they value.

It's a learning curve our game has to go through. Even with our Caucasian [sic]

players, the pressures in the NRL can weigh down anybody. And they say it

sometimes just takes a five-minute chat. (Bellamy, 2013, p. 39).

Further, in the last decade, Pasifika players such as Talilagi Setu, Jordan Rapana,

Fraser Anderson and William Hopoate have left rugby league for a time to engage in full-

time missionary service for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, otherwise

known as the 'Mormons'. Hopoate, the second-youngest player to represent NSW in the

annual State of Origin and premiership winning player in 2011 for the Manly Warringah

Sea Eagles, put 'faith ahead of fame' (Lane, 2012a) when, at the age of 19, he put a

lucrative contract on hold to complete the two-year lay ministry service. His much-

anticipated return to the sport conveniently signalled to rugby league stakeholders and the

sporting public how deeply some Pasifika athletes value their religious beliefs and

practices. Hopoate outlined how his volunteer service has shaped his playing future:

I definitely feel a lot more self-reliant. Tools that I've been blessed to come to

know I feel will help me in the long run ... I feel mentally stronger. But in saying

that, there's still a lot of things that I need to learn. (Barton, 2013)

The growing presence of Pasifika players and interactions with their respective

Christian denominations will hopefully bridge the gap indicated by the survey findings

through increased awareness and social acceptance of religious practices in rugby league.

Pasifika rugby league players, with their distinctive, albeit diverse, cultural values and

strong religious beliefs, are ultimately in a position to determine the breadth and depth of

the relationship between their religious practices to their professional sporting trade. The

survey results indicated that, within appropriate cultural settings, the social institutions of

religion and sport can coexist to create a working fusion in a Pasifika and Australian

sporting context.

Culture

The survey findings of this study indicated that Pasifika rugby league players strongly value their distinctive cultural upbringing, whether Tongan, Māori and so on. There were common Pasifika cultural customs and traditions practised within kinship relationships, such as eating traditional food, speaking the native tongue [either fluently or in part], strict adherence to parental directives and respect for traditional ways of celebrating birthdays, weddings, funerals, worship services and family prayer. Additionally, within an Australian context, a common element in Māori, Pasifika and Aboriginal cultures is the central role of music, art and dance as a reflection of traditional spiritual beliefs and the significance of their relationship to the surrounding environment (Ford, 1995). These ethnocultural beliefs were apparent from the survey: 68 per cent spoke a language other than English at home during childhood and adolescence, 90 per cent participated in traditional styles of cooking using an earth oven (hangi or umu), and 75 per cent participated in traditional cultural performances.

Understanding key values and principles of the 'Pasifika way' (Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu & Finau, 2001; Crocombe, 1975) provides a vital starting point when working with Pasifika diaspora; however, there is often a great disparity between principle and practice. The proliferation of Pasifika talent has provided fresh challenges for rugby league. For example, in March and April 2013, the NRL experienced the sudden and tragic deaths of two young Pasifika players through suicide. In response to these tragic losses, and with an announced increase in funding for player welfare programs and staffing, Paul Heptonstall (the current NRL Welfare and Education Manager) conceded that there are cultural nuances and pressures that are difficult for non-Pasifika sport administrators and coaches to understand (Badel, 2013). This cultural gap aligns directly with the survey findings. The NRL sample group strongly indicated that, besides the

physical demands of being an elite sportsman, it is the expectations of family and friends that are the most difficult aspect of being a professional Pasifika footballer. These deeply unfortunate events illustrate the significant pressures to perform that affect Pasifika men; it is also a reminder that the aspirations of young Pasifika players and their families may be starkly different from the ideas and norms of Western administrators, media and coaches. It demonstrates that, while sport demands Pasifika bodies and families and kin rely on athletic performance, the personal welfare and souls of players may seem abandoned (Field, 2013).

As the inaugural Pacific Islander coaching and development officer for the NSWRL, the principal author witnessed firsthand the intricacies of cultural pressures and expectations within rugby league circles. Quite often, he was the first point of contact for several Pasifika parents, players, coaching staff and media personnel with concerns regarding selection and recruitment, contract negotiation issues, foreign language translation requirements, naming and pronunciation conventions, Pasifika culture training workshops, conflict resolution disputes caused by cross-cultural misunderstandings, family welfare visits and mediation for rugby league judicial proceedings. These complex insights were reinforced by the present study; several 18- to 20-year-old players on minimal contracts personally disclosed the enormous pressure they felt to provide financially for their families. One player confided as follows:

Everyone thinks I'm rich just cos they see me on TV, but it's nowhere near like that.

Another participant responded:

I don't care if I live on nothing, as long as mum and dad get some money.

Two players even faced physical discipline from their family if they did not perform well during weekly fixtures. On three occasions, assistance with money transfer

facilities was sought by young players who were living away from home. These telling experiences, which were highlighted by the present research, underscore the significance of cultural nuances and associated pressures experienced by Pasifika athletes in Australia and, therefore, the need to broaden understanding of these complexities within the management and media stakeholders of rugby league. The survey findings also make it apparent that the diversity of experiences and approaches to sport adopted by the players makes unitary categorisations of Pasifika sporting diaspora and experience not only misleading, but also (in a sense) denying the diverse nature of their Australian–Pasifika sporting identities and, by extension, their Pasifika representations.

Heritage, birthplace, residency rules and citizenship statuses are rapidly changing the landscape of international rugby league, with players now pledging and switching their allegiance with cultural pride motivations. New Zealand–born representative player James Tamou (Māori heritage) opted to pledge his rugby league allegiance to the NSW Blues and Australian Kangaroos teams. A critical decision between his country of birth or country of residence drew media headlines that read, for example, 'He'll always be a Māori. But New Zealand should have moved faster' (Jackson, 2012) and, following an Australian victory against New Zealand, 'Aussie Jim Tamou has last laugh on Kiwis' (Mascord, 2012). Tamou avidly defended his motives for his representative decisions: 'it wasn't money. Those match payments, I couldn't care less. The excitement of playing [State of] Origin is enough for me. The passion and intensity is something else' (Lane, 2012b). The reverse also occurs, with international eligibility rules allowing a single change of national allegiance per rugby league World Cup cycle. Roy Asotasi, Jeff Lima, Brent Kite and Fuifui Moimoi are high-profile Pasifika players who have switched (this year) their allegiance to represent Samoa and Tonga after playing several Tests with New Zealand and Australia. Junior Sa'u, who switched his allegiance from New Zealand to

Samoa, shared his deep desire and link with his 'matua' (parents) and 'malaga' (journey) by stating, 'I'm not only doing [it] for myself, I'm doing it for my Mum and Dad. That's the country they were born and raised in. It's a privilege and an honour for me to do that for them' (Barclay, 2013).

Conclusion

The NRL, which was once the domain of Australians of European descent, is now a cultural hub of Pasifika talent (Badel, 2013). The rugby league field is one of many sociocultural sites for the contemporary achievements of Pasifika in Australia: the 'efflorescence of things Pacific' (Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005, p. 210), which is particularly revealed through the Australian sporting landscape. As sport plays a significant role in the history, culture, economy and politics of Australia (Coakley et al., 2009), rugby league stakeholders ought to ensure that the Pasifika values of respect, reciprocity, communalism, collective responsibility, gerontocracy, humility, love, service and spirituality (Anae et al., 2001) are understood within a shifting paradigm of family, faith and culture (Lakisa, 2011).

Kinship bonds and cultural expectations are at the core of motivating factors for Pasifika athletes in ARL. The findings from this study form an evolving platform from which to understand better the cultural nuances and dimensions of Pasifika involvement in rugby league, such as the positioning of player identities and expectations heavily influenced by the āiga (family) and associated expectations for upward mobility for kinship networks.

The contemporary successes of the Pasifika diaspora in the NRL and a better understanding of athletes' belief systems as coping mechanisms reveal the significance of sporting and religious ties of Pasifika athletes, in addition to underpinning kinship bonds. Community development and welfare programs also must take a broader approach

to incorporating and considering non-football values into the way that Pasifika players are recruited, handled and portrayed in the media. The high under-representation of Pasifika staff in the development arena, policymakers and club management hierarchy are critical areas requiring redress. Post-career employment significantly affects kinship responsibilities, club allegiances, geographical mobility and labour migration issues. Although rules and governance structures cycle and change in the rugby league world, the underpinning sociocultural motivations of Pasifika athletes are likely to remain consistent for current generations.

The Pasifika revolution is moving forward, also bringing complex issues among heterogeneous Pasifika communities in Australia. This complexity is not mirrored in official policy, representation and academic grounding. Therefore, further research is required to better frame the shifts in Pasifika community development and cultural diversity management in Australian sport and society.

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4.2 Empowering Voices from the Past: The Playing Experiences of Retired Pasifika Rugby League Athletes in Australia

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Tracy Taylor

Empowering voices from the past: The playing experiences of retired Pasifika Rugby League athletes in Australia

4.3 Pasifika Rugby Migration and Athlete Welfare: Stairway to Heaven

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Authors: David Lakisa, Jack Sugden and Brent McDonald

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To whom it may concern.

Open statement to Interested Parties

Re: Book chapter entitled 'Stairway to Heaven: Pasifika Rugby Migration and Athlete Welfare'.

This letter is to confirm that the book chapter entitled 'Stairway to Heaven: Pasifika Rugby Migration and Athlete Welfare', co-authored by David Lakisa of the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia, has been peer-reviewed by myself and one other anonymous academic reviewer, and has now been accepted for publication in the following forthcoming edited book, which is scheduled for publication by Routledge in 2020:

Lang, M. (ed.) (2020). *The Routledge Handbook of Athlete Welfare*. London: Routledge.

With warmest wishes,

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TEF Gold Teaching Excellence Framework

Pasifika rugby migration and athlete welfare: Stairway to heaven

4.4 Managing Psychological Contracts: Employer–Employee Expectations and Non-Athlete Pasifika Professionals in the National Rugby League (NRL)

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David Lakisa   Tracy Taylor   Daryl Adair

Abstract

In Australia, a substantial proportion of men's NRL players are of Pasifika (Pacific Islander and Māori) origin; however, this cultural group constitutes a more modest proportion of the NRL's non-athlete workforce. Using psychological contract (PC), we explored the workplace expectations of non-athlete Pasifika employees and their employers in the NRL, either within the league or clubs. In terms of methodology, a talanoa approach to interpersonal dialogue provided the framework for culturally relevant conversations, stories and ideas exchange with 30 individuals, including 20 Pasifika NRL employees and 10 non-Pasifika employers. Additionally, 21 sessions of fieldwork, including participant observations at Pasifika rugby league events, were also used to collect data. Results indicate that Pasifika knowledge and contribution are crucial in the NRL workplace. There is an evident positive shift towards a 'balanced' PC, based on increased visibility and intercultural sharing of experiences and knowledge systems by Pasifika employees. However, non-Pasifika employers are still grappling to understand Pasifika sociocultural sensibilities and to translate these, as appropriate, into management approaches. Diversity management is a tentative work in progress; little knowledge exists about how management practices might optimise the skills and expectations of Pasifika employees with a view to better understanding and managing PC in professional sport.

Keywords: Psychological contract, Pasifika employees, Non-athlete roles, Expectations, Rugby league

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion

"E tele a ululau. Large like a bundle of sugarcane leaves" (Samoan proverb).

5.0   Introduction

This *alaga'upu* (Samoan proverb) refers to the composition and usefulness of large but light sugarcane leaves for the purpose of thatching roofs (Schultz, 1949). Similarly, the purpose of this chapter is to consolidate the findings, discussion and insights from the published manuscripts and highlight the contribution to knowledge. The purpose of this chapter is to bring together the findings of each study by addressing the three objectives and answering the overarching research question, "how are the workplace perceptions and expectations of Pasifika employees aligned (or misaligned) with those of their employers in the NRL?". Chapter 6 will then articulate how the collective studies of the thesis contribute to both scholarship and practice across Pacific studies and diversity management.

5.1   Overview of Research Findings

Conceptually, sport-related research and practices that are informed by Indigenous knowledge and values can assist in better understanding Pasifika experiences in professional sport (see Section 4.1–4). The connected studies presented in Chapter 4 contribute much-needed scholastic value and interpretation through an Indigenous Pasifika sporting lens—in particular, through the culturally appropriate use of talanoa as the underpinning research approach. Talanoa allowed for research participants to engage in nurturing and respectful vā (socio-spatial relationships). Invariably, mana (spiritual prestige) and tapu (sacredness) were maintained and enhanced during talanoa sessions as spiritual and, often, emotional experiences (Durie, 1998). This was critical because

participants were sharing their experiences of diversity management challenges and opportunities in and around their workplace (the NRL).

Each study differed in emphasis and detail; however, together, they emphasised key elements of the Fonofale model (see Figure 5) in a holistic and fluid (Pulotu-Endemann, 2009) yet structured manner. For example, overall findings relating to *context* revealed that Pasifika contribution in non-athlete roles is vital for diversity management. Further, existing Pasifika employees demonstrate hope and confidence when *navigating two worlds*—Pacific values and Western ideals (see Section 4.4). The concept of *time* was represented in the conceptual framework by capturing historical and contemporary experiences of Pasifika athletes. It was found that Pasifika athletes highly value familial and cultural obligations, resilience as a minority group and spirituality (see Sections 4.1–3). Last, the element of *environment* in the Fonofale model is depicted by the high representation of Pasifika employees in the NRL workforce and understanding Pasifika sensibilities and optimising their skills (see Section 4.4). Collectively, key findings and contributions to the literature from each study are illustrated in Table 8, which highlights study type and title, research objectives, literature gap, sampling group, findings and contributions.

Table 8

Overview of Research Studies: Study, Research Objectives, Literature Gap, Sampling

Group, Findings and Contributions

Study, publication type and title	Research objectives[82]			Literature gap/sampling group	Overview of findings and contributions to literature
	R1	R2	R3		
Study 1 Journal article Pasifika diaspora and the changing face of Australian Rugby League	✓			Sociocultural motivations of players 47 Pasifika RL players	• Extended knowledge in Pasifika contribution underpinning and understanding sociocultural motivations in Australian Rugby League • Investigated the sociocultural motivations of the Pasifika diaspora in Australian sport in the context of rugby league football • Findings revealed that three (3) key sociocultural motivations of Pasifika footballers in the NRL are family, faith and culture
Study 2 Journal article Empowering voices from the past: The playing experiences of retired Pasifika Rugby	✓			Historical perspectives of retired players 10 Pasifika retired players	• Extended knowledge of Pasifika contribution and epistemological approaches through talanoa • Four key overarching themes emerged from the collective data: family obligations, including upward mobility and migration experiences; attitudes towards Pasifika identity race and identity; the influence of mateship; and politics surrounding (un)equal salaries.

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[82] Research objectives: (R1) to capture historical and contemporary experiences of Pasifika

contribution in ARL; (R2) to identify types of PC that exist between Pasifika employees and their

NRL employers; and (R3) to provide 'whole of game' strategies to improve diversity management

practices in the NRL.

Study, publication type and title	Research objectives[82]			Literature gap/sampling group	Overview of findings and contributions to literature
	R1	R2	R3		
League athletes in Australia					• While not formally using the psychological contract (PC) framework in the article, the exploration of historical narratives creates new knowledge of how cultural experiences shapes formation of PC in Pasifika, albeit retired, athletes. The historical links to contemporary Pasifika footballer trends and experiences provided a necessary contrast by highlighting complexities of retired (and current) Pasifika athletes.
Study 3 Book chapter Pasifika rugby migration and athlete welfare: Stairway to heaven			✓	Athlete welfare Empirically informed by Study 1 and 21 **fieldwork and participant observations**	• Reveals recommendations or 'banisters' on the stairway as responses to improve diversity management in sport • Findings indicate how non-Pasifika employers are grappling with Pasifika values such as spirituality and that Pasifika footballers' spirituality is often at odds with the predominantly secular contexts in which they find themselves • Extended knowledge about the Pasifika contribution, particularly that many Pasifika rugby footballers value spirituality and look 'heavenward' for assistance as part of player welfare
Study 4 Journal article		✓	✓	Contribution and visibility of	• New knowledge in PC scholarship, produced by examining Pasifika perceptions and expectations in the NRL workplace

Study, publication type and title	Research objectives[82]			Literature gap/sampling group	Overview of findings and contributions to literature
	R1	R2	R3		
Managing psychological contracts: Employer–employee expectations and non-athlete Pasifika professionals in the National Rugby League (NRL)				Pasifika employees in non-player roles 20 Pasifika non-player employees, 10 non-Pasifika employers and 21 fieldwork sessions	• Implicitly, Pasifika and non-Pasifika in the exchange relationship showed a definite shift towards a 'balanced' PC, meaning that visibility is increasing, largely due to the slight increase of hired Pasifika employees in non-playing roles in the last decade • Extended Pasifika contribution to diversity management in non-athlete roles. Pasifika contribution, consultation and interpretation are vital in non-playing roles in the NRL; however, non-Pasifika employers concede they still grapple with understanding Pasifika sensibilities.

The following sections consolidate the findings from all studies to answer the overarching research question of the thesis. Presented first is a summary and discussion of the findings in relation to the overall research question: how are the workplace perceptions and expectations of Pasifika employees aligned (or misaligned) with those of their employers in the NRL?. Second, how the findings relate to the three objectives of the thesis is presented.

5.1.1 Overall research question: Workplace perceptions and expectations

This research clearly demonstrates that there are differences between the workplace expectations of Pasifika employees in the NRL and their non-Pasifika employers (see Section 4.4, Table 7). Results also showed that, while non-Pasifika employers are still struggling to understand the sociocultural norms of their Pasifika

employees, there has been a positive shift towards greater alignment of expectations (Section 4.3–4). This is in line with previous research that has suggested visibility and intercultural sharing of experiences and knowledge over time can reduce incongruence of expectations (Dee et al., 2016; Hapeta et al., 2019a; Ravulo, 2020; Salesa, 2017) or imbalances in PC (see Section 4.4). It also suggests that inherent benefits are gained when non-Pasifika employers better understand Pasifika sociocultural sensibilities and translate them into management approaches (see Section 4.4).

Consistent with the literature (Lakisa, 2011; Ng Shiu & Vagana, 2016; Panapa & Phillips, 2014; Ravulo, 2017; Stobbs & Sandner, 2013; Valiotis, 2008), this research indicates that Pasifika employees in the NRL workforce place greater emphasis on *relational* aspects of the exchange relationship (see Sections 4.1–4). This includes such aspects as family, collectivism, the importance of Pasifika values and customs, cultural identity, post-secondary education and spirituality (see Sections 4.1–4). These employees, despite having limited opportunities in non-athletic roles (see Section 4.4), believe the Pasifika perspectives of collectivism and spirituality to add productive value and ethical creativity to their lives; they want to showcase and share such attributes in the workplace (see Sections 4.3–4; Salesa, 2017). Two aspects of organisational culture were perceived to negatively affect shared understanding between Pasifika employees and non-Pasifika employers. These were a lack of understanding or valuing of Pasifika culture and sensibilities and inadequate diversity training, which fails to address negative stereotypes of Pasifika in the workplace (see Sections 4.2–4). These issues will be discussed further in Section 5.1.4.

This study substantiated the presence of shared workplace expectations of Pasifika employees and non-Pasifika employers in two related areas. First, the Pasifika contribution in the NRL labour force has changed the way the NRL (the governing body)

and NRL clubs understand, recruit, support and manage both individuals and groups within the Pasifika entourage (see Sections 1–4; Mackay, 2018; Marsters, 2017; Ravulo, 2014, 2020). Second, participants in both talanoa and fieldwork sessions noted the need for improved professional pathways and development opportunities for Pasifika in non-playing roles (see Section 4.4). Across each of the connected studies, Pasifika knowledge and contribution demonstrated potential and confidence; however, they are undervalued and, thus, feel unfulfilled in the NRL workplace (see Sections 4.1–4). The intersection of diversity management and Pacific studies is still in an exploratory phase, with little knowledge regarding how management practices might optimise the skills and expectations of Pasifika employees with a view to better understanding and managing PC in professional sport and other types of organisations (see Section 4.4; Salesa, 2017).

This doctoral study contributes new knowledge to sport management scholarship in two key domains. First, it advances empirical research through due consideration of Pasifika experiences and voices in sport (see Sections 4.1–4; Palmer & Master, 2010; Stewart-Withers et al., 2017). These narratives affirm the significance of Pasifika culture and the varied representations of indigenisation and embodiment in sport (Hapeta et al., 2018; Uperesa & Mountjoy, 2014). Second, this thesis broadens our understanding of the cultural dimensions of PC theory and practice in professional sport settings in Australia (Bravo et al., 2012; Taylor et al., 2015). Critically, it provides insights into how Pasifika cultural values and expectations play a role in fostering positive PC (see Section 4.4). Shared efforts towards increased balanced PC can provide improved workplace benefits (Guest & Conway, 2002; Rosseau, 2001) for Pasifika employees, whether in Western or non-Western cultures (see Section 4.4; Restubog et al., 2007). In terms of Pacific theory, the growing presence and progress of the Pasifika contribution in the NRL fosters a greater focus on and understanding of the critical influence of Pan-Pacific values—*mana*

(prestige), vā (relationships) and *tapu* (sacredness)—in historical and contemporary sport-related research and practice (see Sections 4.2–4). This adds depth to our understanding of cultural diversity management in sport workplace settings.

5.1.2 Research Objective 1: Capture historical and contemporary experiences of Pasifika contribution through the lens of talanoa

The Pasifika turn

The first research objective sought to capture both historical and contemporary experiences of Pasifika players and administrators in professional rugby league through the culturally appropriate lens of talanoa. The aim was to gain a clearer understanding of how the *Pasifika turn*, that is, its burgeoning influence on Australian professional rugby league has shifted over time (see Section 4.2). It also aimed to showcase limitations, most notably, the contrast between the high volume of Pasifika athletes on the playing field versus the more modest numbers of Pasifika professionals in non-playing roles across the NRL and its clubs (see Section 4.4; Lakisa, 2011; Ravulo, 2014).

In terms of Pasifika experiences, the NRL labour force is unlike any other professional football league in the world with respect to its ethnocultural composition. Pasifika employees in the NRL have made distinctive on-field contributions (see Sections 4.1–3; Horton, 2012; Panapa & Phillips, 2014; Salesa, 2017), much like migrant or ethnic minority athletes in a range of other sports, such as West African footballers, Cuban baseballers and Kenyan runners (Horton, 2012). Pasifika footballers comprise nearly 50 per cent of NRL playing contracts, yet they still feel like *cultural outsiders* (see Sections 4.2–3). Pasifika employees in the NRL felt they have much more to offer as an *emerging* NRL workforce, particularly given the small number of appointments or lack of opportunities for Pasifika in non-athletes roles, such as coaching and administration (see Section 4.4; Ravulo, 2020). Non-Pasifika NRL managers recognised the presence of a

large cohort of Pasifika players, which they valued very highly; however, their awareness of and respect for the skills of off-field professionals with Pasifika ancestry was significantly underdeveloped. The high-performance (e.g., sport science) and administrative roles in professional rugby league have yet to move beyond a Western-oriented assimilation approach (see Section 4.4; Lee & Francis, 2009). This entails a tendency to either overlook or ignore cultural diversity in the off-field workplace and, in the context of Pasifika employees, fail to appreciate that Pacific ways of working may add value to an organisation (see Section 4.4; Lee & Craney, 2019; Ravulo, 2020). The unique Pasifika presence in the NRL provided a compelling catalyst to investigate the workplace experiences of people of Pacific ancestry (see Section 4.4), particularly given that the Pasifika turn in ARL (and rugby union) is expected to grow (Lakisa, 2011). The Pasifika turn will undoubtedly flourish, as it has done for many years, in terms of on-field employment and achievements. Whether that trend causes an increase in off-field professional roles in the NRL remains to be seen (see Sections 4.2, 4.4).

Pasifika mobility

This research confirms that the mobility experiences of Pasifika employees in the Australian workplace are heavily influenced and motivated by the Pan-Pacific values of mana, vā and tapu (see Sections 4.1–4; Besnier & Jolly, 2016; Teaiwa, 2016). The mobility experiences and career aspirations of professional Pasifika athletes who deeply value family, faith and culture (see Section 4.1, Schaaf, 2006; Uperesa, 2010) have long played a vital yet often unacknowledged role in the sociocultural life of the Pasifika diaspora, whether in Australia or elsewhere (see Sections 4.1–2, Uperesa & Mountjoy, 2014). Today, Pasifika rugby league players receive some of the highest salaries in the NRL (see Section 4.3; Besnier, 2015) and are much sought after as both footballers and marketable athletes (see Section 4.1; Besnier, 2012; Horton, 2012); however, this was not

always the case. As a minority playing group in the 1970s to the 1990s, many of the retired Pasifika players in the study revealed poignant stories about exploitation and being underpaid compared to their non-Pasifika teammates (see Section 4.2). The second and third studies (Sections 4.2–3) indicated the clear shift and relationship between unequal salaries to the now widespread recruitment of Pasifika rugby footballers—both in professional (and semi-professional) competitions—commanding top salaries. The second study also revealed that retired Pasifika players strongly support and are satisfied that today's Pacific Islander playing cohort earn much higher salaries compared to when they played (see Section 4.2). This constitutes a sign of empathy and solidarity.

The different studies unearthed evidence of the challenges associated with the sporting mobility of the Pasifika entourage, notably regarding the cultural obligation to provide financial support to kinship networks (see Sections 4.1–4). The second and fourth studies highlighted the pioneering efforts of retired Pasifika athletes (see Section 4.2; Coffey & Wood, 2008), in addition to off-field colleagues, who divulged complexities surrounding sporting mobility for themselves and others (see Sections 4.2, 4.4; Puletua, 2014). Despite the enormous pressure to "provide-off and perform-on" the rugby league playing field (see Sections 4.1–2; Marsters, 2017; Rodriguez & McDonald, 2013; Teaiwa, 2016), Pasifika employees generally evinced a willingness to maintain a sense of obligation towards providing financial support for immediate and, often, extended family members (Horton, 2014). This factor is showcased in the first, second and fourth studies (see also McDonald & Rodriguez, 2014).

Significantly, expectations of support from kinship networks as reported in the first and fourth studies, were not only financial but also sociocultural and emotional. While acquiring *mana* or prestige for collective benefit is considered both commonplace and praiseworthy in Pasifika cultures, the study's findings reveal that this often places

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enormous social, emotional and economic pressure on Pasifika athletes. In some cases, this extended to their relationship with kinship networks (see Sections 4.1–4; Marsters, 2017); individual status was elevated and acknowledged in wider Pasifika kinship, religious and community settings (see Sections 4.2, 4.4; Erueti & Palmer, 2014). This placing of the collective needs of the family (e.g., financial support) above their own and reaping the shared benefits of spiritual, sociocultural and economic prosperity provides some explanation as to why *mana*, nurturing vā (socio-spatial relationships) and respecting *tapu* (sacredness) are crucial to any discussion of Pasifika mobility in the workplace (see Sections 4.2, 4.4; Besnier & Jolly, 2016; Diaz, 2011; Teaiwa, 2016; Uperesa, 2010). In summary, in the case of sport mobilities, mana, vā and tapu have a profound influence on Pasifika and Māori motivations, expectations and performance (Erueti & Palmer, 2014; Hapeta et al., 2019a; Hapeta et al., 2019b; Hokowhitu, 2005; Palmer & Master, 2010; Teaiwa, 2016). These distinct and interrelated sociocultural concepts (Anae, 2007, 2019) act as key markers for contemporary "successful wayfinders" (Spiller et al., 2015)—in this case, the Pasifika entourage in the NRL.

Pasifika identity

Examining the historical and contemporary experiences of Pasifika footballers revealed that cultural identity is vital. (In)direct racial vilification and cultural misunderstandings formed prominent challenges for participants. For example, a variety of perspectives on racial vilification were expressed during the talanoa sessions; participants recounted how they were subject to intense incidents of racial abuse, particularly those who played in the 1970s to the 1990s. Today, such vilification is less pronounced; however, implicit forms of racism or racist discussion of Pasifika physical appearances, in addition to the clumsy or deliberate mispronunciation of names, continue in ARL media (see Sections 4.2, 4.4). The key factor that emerged from the study is the

remarkable strength, solidarity, resilience and tolerance of Pasifika workers dealing with overt or casual racism. Simultaneously, they are also required to negotiate the workplace expectations—including the attendant successes and disappointments—that are inherent to high-performance sport (see Sections 4.2–3).

One key finding is that, although past and present Pasifika employees often felt constrained by sociocultural factors in dealing with labour migration and mixed experiences of social inclusion, they proudly maintained their cultural identity or Pasifikaness. This was achieved while also enjoying the antipodean concept of *mateship* (Dyrenfurth, 2015), which involves participating amiably with people from other backgrounds in a team sport (see Section 4.2). The value and place of mateship—in this case, developing lifelong friendships with team mates and coaches within an inclusive workplace—is both vital and achievable, not only in Pasifika culture (see Section 4.2) but also in Australian workplace culture (Ashkanasy & O'Connor, 1997). With these workplace examples in mind, narratives of Pasifika are more similar than they are different when comparing past and present experiences (see Sections 4.2–3). This means that, particularly from a Pasifika standpoint, diverse workplaces are capable of change or work towards reconciliation despite historical or contemporary assimilationist settings. Considering the current rate of growth in recruiting and workplace hiring of a Pasifika labour force in Australia, it is crucial for organisations such as the NRL and NRL clubs to better understand the value of and opportunities for mateship in the workplace (see Section 4.4; Dyrenfurth, 2015), despite those social and cultural constraints experienced by the Pasifika diaspora (Ravulo, 2015; Schieder, 2014).

What were the workplace perceptions and expectations of non-Pasifika employers? First, non-Pasifika employers (i.e., those with managerial responsibilities) admitted that "the tide is changing" (see Section 4.4), due to increased visibility of

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Pasifika employees in both playing and non-playing roles (Ravulo, 2020). However, the most striking finding is that gaps remain in terms of expectations between workers and managers regarding cultural sensibilities and cultural embeddedness or shared practices, both of which foster a positive workplace culture (see Section 4.4; Harris, 2009). One way in which this gap may be explained is by identifying and examining types of PC that exist in the NRL workforce.

5.1.3 Research Objective 2: Identify psychological contract types in the exchange relationship

The second research objective was to identify the types of PC that exist between Pasifika employees and their NRL employers. The exchange relationship can be described as shifting and (often) fragile in nature, due to mismatches in workplace expectations. This may be exacerbated in contexts where there is a lack of cultural competence regarding Pasifika cultures and sensibilities—this underscores the need for diversity training to overcome ignorant or negative stereotypes of Pasifika in the NRL workforce (see Section 4.4). This means relational and transactional PC offer insight/information for the NRL and its clubs regarding how to better engage with and optimally manage Pasifika employed in their workplaces. Based on differences in schema or perceptions, what follows is a discussion of the need for non-Pasifika employers to be more progressive and understanding of cultural sensibilities and how cultural values and identity play a vital role in fostering positive or balanced PC (see Section 4.4).

Cultural sensibilities in psychological contracts

This study confirms that cultural aspects of PC warrant further attention. The findings reveal that non-Pasifika employers are still struggling to understand Pasifika sensibilities within the NRL (see Section 4.4). Breach and violation of PC in the NRL workplace indicate complex and, at times, conflicting views and values. This is

particularly so regarding the social, cultural, economic and spiritual demands of the Pasifika entourage (see Section 4.3–4). Thus, the real change required is greater knowledge and sensitivity to permit improved cultural accommodation. Most crucially, this means understanding and embracing Pasifika values: recognising that *mana*, vā and *tapu* have a profound influence on Pasifika and Māori motivations, expectations and performances (Erueti & Palmer, 2014; Hapeta et al., 2019a; Hapeta et al., 2019b; Hokowhitu, 2005; Palmer & Master, 2010; Teaiwa, 2016). In terms of schema and promise, Pasifika employees viewed their NRL employment as a heaven-sent 'blessing' or form of obligatory service or 'tautua' (Samoan term for 'service'), to give back to their family and community (see Section 4.4; Pilisi, 2020). This collectivist view is key for understanding the intricacies of breach and violation or the fulfilment of promise, since cultural expectations and achievements always involve both self and others, with *mana* referring to spiritual power, prestige or status, particularly in the sporting arena (see Section 4.2; Besnier & Jolly, 2016; Diaz, 2011; Teaiwa, 2016).

The present study provides new insights into how diversity training alone is insufficient to bridge the gap between relational and transactional PC in the exchange relationship. Breach and violation in PC revealed that conflicting views and values exist between Pasifika culture and the NRL workplace because, for the most part, the NRL— although a professional sport organisation—still lacks the emotional intelligence and cultural knowledge required to adequately respect Pasifika employees (see Sections 4.3– 4). As indicated earlier, mismatches in PC between Pasifika and non-Pasifika in the workplace centred on family, collectivism, cultural identity, spirituality, service, post-secondary education compared to the demands by professional sport employers surrounding notions of individualism, secularism, and pride (see Section 4.4). To further this, Pasifika employees and non-Pasifika employers agreed on the need for improved

cultural accommodation and ongoing professional development across all levels of the NRL. However, the findings presented in the four papers indicate little has occurred in terms way of positive change from a Pasifika perspective (see Sections 4.1–4.2, 4.4; Ravulo, 2014; Stobbs & Sandner, 2013). Thus far, efforts in diversity training have not matched the hopes of Pasifika workers. In saying this, the misaligned workplace expectations or different world views discussed are potentially reconcilable in a Western workplace. Therefore, the next section examines constructive ways that organisations may bridge the diversity management gap, particularly by incorporating appropriate Pasifika and Indigenous frameworks via improved contribution and consultation (see Sections 4.2, 4.4).

Advancing psychological contract through Pacific Studies

This thesis has explored PC research in a novel context—through the lens of Pasifika and non-Pasifika workers in a professional sporting organisation. Crucially, this approach lends insight into how cultural values and identity play a vital role in fostering positive or balanced PC. Empirical findings have demonstrated that the formulation of PC in the exchange relationship is based on individual and shared schema; thus, it must be understood in relation to multilayered circumstances and perceptions (see Section 4.4; Casado & Caspersz, 2016; Harris, 2009). For example, the fulfilment of PC by Pasifika employees in the NRL workplace was mostly through cultural embeddedness (see Section 4.4; Harris, 2009)—fostering a positive workplace culture influenced by their emphasis on relational exchange. The significance of Pasifika values and customs, education and spirituality formed critical components of PC expectations. Participants indicated that the Pasifika perspectives of collectivism and spirituality add productive value and ethically minded creativity to their lives; they wished to showcase and share such attributes in their workplace roles. Other examples were evidenced in the 21 sessions of fieldwork and

participant observations, particularly at Pacific test matches, fan day events and youth summits. The cultural ambience and mood of collective song, praise, dance and food were described as "festive", "lively", "proud" and "spiritual" (see Sections 4.3–4.4). Pasifika values and symbols of mana, vā, tapu, alofa (love) and fa'aaloalo (respect) were noted as moni (real, authentic) in observational sessions during post-game celebrations, team cultural performances, team prayer circles, the sharing of personal experiences and acknowledgements of families and homeland villages or tribes and shared participation in traditional song, dance and prayer (see Sections 4.3–4.4).

Conversely, the findings affirmed that non-Pasifika employers are typically still struggling to understand Pasifika sociocultural sensibilities and, thus, to translate these, as appropriate, into management approaches. In relation to Rousseau's (2000) PC typologies, the results of this study indicate that Pasifika employees' PCs are active in the workplace (see Section 4.4), particularly since Pasifika success and achievement in the sporting arena are more visible than ever before (see Section 4.4; Salesa, 2017). The exchange relationship is valued and deemed important by both Pasifika and non-Pasifika workers; however, both groups agree that much more is needed in the area of labour practices management, not only the accommodation of Pasifika culture. There is a specific need for improved policy, governance and structure for Pasifika-led initiatives, including greater opportunities for managerial decision-making, from the ground floor through to the executive level. Pasifika employees felt that consultation and interpretation are often lacking. Should managers be open to Pasifika *ways of thinking*, including Indigenous knowledge systems, Pasifika employees may be better placed to add value to NRL workplace settings.

In summary, the body of work generated for this thesis contributes new knowledge about the vital nature of PC in cultural contexts. This has been achieved by investigating

and demonstrating both explicit and implicit complexities in Pasifika and non-Pasifika workplace relationships and various underlying expectations. Rousseau and Schalk (2000) have highlighted that "psychological contract is, in effect, a model of the future—what it's parties believe can or should or will happen" (p. 12). Therefore, one of the aims of this study was to help inform current labour practices and approaches in terms of meeting ongoing personal, professional and organisational goals, particularly for sporting bodies and relevant stakeholders who experience *the Pasifika turn* in the workplace.

5.1.4   Research Objective 3: Provide diversity management strategies

The clearest finding to emerge from the analysis is the shared need for opportunities to better understand the workplace perceptions and expectations of two groups: Pasifika employees and their employers in the NRL (see Sections 4.1–4.4). This finding broadly supports the work of other studies (Bhanugopan & Fish, 2009; Harris, 2009) that have linked Pacific studies and workplace relations, each of which indicates that there are differences in organisational behaviour between Pasifika and non-Pasifika, such as with the former's traditional cultural norms, collectivist practices and beliefs, in addition to notions of spirituality, reciprocity and views on economic prosperity (Ah Chong & Thomas, 1997; Crocombe, 1975; Grimes, MacCulloch & McKay, 2015; Le Tagaloa, 1992; Wright & Drewery, 2006). The engagement or otherwise of non-Western minority groups in Western professional sport employment settings is little understood. What follows is a discussion of how the Pasifika contribution—in addition to the potential benefits of diversity and inclusion practices in the NRL workplace—may produce shared knowledge systems, greater levels of trust, increased employee satisfaction and improved performance (see Sections 4.3–4.4). Thus, the current research contributes towards that lacuna by advancing scholarship about Pasifika (or Pacific) *ways of knowing and doing*

in an Australian workplace that, for Pasifika employees, have potent meaning (see Section 4.4).

Pasifika contribution

In this study, Pasifika contribution—referring to the increased volume and, therefore, visibility of Pasifika influence and representation in the NRL—was found to have caused an indelible imprint on the Australian workplace (see Section 4.4). The growing influence of narratives and experiences of Pasifika employees informs how management practices might optimise the skills and needs of a diverse workforce (see Sections 4.2, 4.4). Conceptually, this thesis used a cross-disciplinary and intercultural approach: specifically, approaches and knowledge from Pasifika methodology, PC and diversity management. Together, these approaches provide the NRL and other sport organisations with a basis from which to action Indigenous frameworks and modes of inquiry designed to meet personal, professional and organisational goals, as relevant to the ethnocultural mix of their organisation. Thus, ethnically diverse voices (i.e., historical, contemporary, Pasifika and non-Pasifika) that are aligned with shared knowledge systems within the NRL workforce are beneficial. When Pasifika values and customs are incorporated into sport-related theories and practices, they may even become a source of advantage or competitive edge (see Sections 4.3–4.4; Hapeta et al., 2019a). All of the participants in this study—both Pasifika and non-Pasifika—expressed hope for ongoing opportunities for increased Pasifika contribution, consultation and representation (see Sections 4.2–4.4).

This study found that Pasifika employees are a youthful and emerging workforce in the NRL, who feel they have successfully navigated through two worlds—Pasifika cultures and Western ideals (see Section 4.4; Dee et al., 2016). They reflected fondly and positively on their journeys towards becoming NRL employees, in addition to how their

roles in the NRL helped overcome broader negative stereotypes of Pasifika in the workplace. For example, Pasifika peoples are often typecast as suited to unskilled labourers; however, professional sport—whether on or off the field of play—provides a different window of possibility (see Section 4.4; Ravulo 2015).

Simply, the Pasifika workforce believe they have much more to offer in the NRL. They felt hopeful and confident due to their lived experiences in maintaining work expectations and commitments while upholding Pasifika values and customs outside work, particularly financial and cultural obligations—such as religious commitments and traditional approaches to resource-pooling for funerals, birthdays and weddings for extended kinship networks. The research presented here highlights the constant negotiation of Pasifika in the workplace, striving to get the best of both worlds—referring to their ability to successfully navigate between Pasifika values and Western ideals and expectations. These narratives surrounding Pasifika contribution in the NRL workforce affirm the influence of key concepts such as mobility, discipline, development and varied representations of Indigenisation and embodiment for Pasifika diaspora (Hawkes, 2019; Taito, 2017; Uperesa & Mountjoy, 2014). Above all, this research has provided vital starting and navigation points regarding how management practices might be able to optimise the skills and needs of Pasifika employees in diverse workplace settings.

Diversity and inclusion practices

One key finding was the insistence by Pasifika employees that greater Pasifika representation on policymaking and executive boards is required (see Section 4.4). In terms of diversity management, one way that organisational leaders may enact and promote diversity and inclusion is via affirmative or proactive hiring practices (Cunningham, 2015; Taylor et al., 2015). In the case of the NRL, since 2008, much work has been done to develop and strengthen relationships between Aboriginal and Torres

Strait Islander peoples and non-indigenous people through actioning Reconciliation Action Plans (RAP), a strategic framework concerned with inspiring social, economic and behavioural changes in the workplace by embedding reconciliation into core business practices (Australian Rugby League Commission Elevate Reconciliation Action Plan, 2018). Moreover, the Australian Rugby League Indigenous Council (ARLIC) oversees the implementation of the RAP. The council, also established in 2008, acts as a sounding board for the NRL's governing body, the Australian Rugby League Commission (ARLC), and helps to ensure the development and revision of policies, practices and programs in the NRL and that the views and ideas of Indigenous people are incorporated across rugby league.

By contrast, in terms of policy and affirmative action regarding managing and strengthening relationships with Pasifika diaspora in rugby league, the relatively unknown *NRL Pacific Strategy*—a framework designed to provide strategic directions across different levels of NRL governance, game development and participation—is very much a work in progress (see Section 4.4). In terms of building towards increased levels of mutuality and reciprocity, NRL executives announced the development of a Pacific Strategy in 2014. However, all participants across the presented studies admitted that they knew insufficient specifics about the Strategy, as it is still under development and due for release in 2020 (see Section 4.4). The non-progression and lack of implementation might be construed as an unfulfilled promise or form of PC breach and violation (see Section 4.4). Essentially, the developments in relation to the NRL Pacific Strategy underscore the idea that the NRL, as an employer, has the opportunity to become one of the most progressive employers through effective policymaking and affirmative action in managing and strengthening relationships with Pasifika diaspora in rugby league (see Section 4.4; Ravulo 2020).

In terms of preparing for a career in the NRL, the fourth study revealed that the League and Pasifika employees were cognisant of background influences and requirements. This included completing post-secondary qualifications and creating pathways through internship, mentoring programs and accessing Pasifika role models—all of which, it was agreed, are key to improving opportunities and attracting the best and brightest Pasifika candidates (see Section 4.4; Ravulo 2020). Pasifika employees often described their employment in the NRL in hallowed terms, typically saying they were "blessed", "very grateful" and "very fortunate". They felt it was important to "be humble" and "respectful" in the workplace because their employment is "an emotional journey" rather than just a day-to-day job (see Section 4.4). Despite being more visible compared to a decade ago, participants across all studies felt their voice/s and Pasifika contribution in the workplace are generally undervalued and unfulfilled. In part, this occurs due to a clear disconnect and deficiency in non-athlete areas of diversity management, relating to consultation, career pathways and leadership development in NRL research and practice (see Sections 4.1–42, 4.4; Ng Shiu & Vagana, 2016; Ravulo, 2017).

Previous sport-related research on Pasifika footballers (Horton, 2012; McDonald & Rodriguez, 2014; Mumm & O'Connor, 2014; Stobbs & Sandner, 2013; Valiotis, 2008) has not been able to demonstrate the full extent of the Pasifika contribution convincingly. In large part, this is because they have not explored the viewpoints of non-athlete Pasifika professionals (see Section 4.4). The studies undertaken for this thesis are vital to the current state of the NRL and its clubs because it is an emerging and evolving area of diversity management in Australian workplaces and highlights how Pasifika people may contribute optimally in that environment. Crucially, the findings indicate that non-Pasifika employers must be more receptive to Pasifika knowledge systems, ideas and assistance for mutually beneficial outcomes (see Sections 4.1–4).

Another significant finding indicated that when non-Pasifika employers embrace Pasifika symbols, experiences and customs, work groups and teams in organisations benefitted by greater levels of trust, increased employee satisfaction and improved performance (see Sections 4.3–4.4). Collectivist or family-oriented approaches in the workplace, such as prayer, cultural music, performance, resource-pooling and communal gatherings contributed to shared knowledge systems and cultural appropriation, particularly when consultation and cultural interpretation was sought for new and existing Pasifika-related projects (see Sections 4.3–4.4). These findings are consistent with those of Pasifika researchers who have highlighted the significance of *cultural continuity* in diaspora contexts (Airini et al., 2010; Faleolo, 2020), which creates an environment of respect and trust for mana and tapu to develop naturally.

The current study found that embracing and respecting Pasifika values or customs was also underpinned by the influence of spirituality or faith-based practices (see Sections 4.1, 4.3–4.4). The spirituality of many Pasifika rugby athletes is often ignored as a central component of player welfare; however, it may be used successfully to counter the various pressures of entering or maintaining a place in the workplace or professional rugby labour market (see Section 4.3). As demonstrated by the Israel Folau case study in Chapter 4, popular and marketable Pasifika athletes may find that their spirituality, or strict adherence to certain traditional beliefs, is often at odds with the predominantly secular contexts in which they find themselves (see Section 4.3). However, during fieldwork and observational sessions, non-athlete Pasifika professionals were often intentional in their planning by including expressions of spirituality and cultural customs during Pasifika-based events. This included, but was not limited to, participating in prayers, singing hymns, talanoa sessions on faith and football, donning traditional dress, participating in Pasifika performance and making genuine pronunciation attempts in relation to Pasifika

language (see Sections 4.3–4.4). Consequently, Pasifika and many non-Pasifika participants were comfortable and open with expressing ideas about spirituality and engaging with Pasifika customs and protocols. One NRL executive embedded Biblical verses into his formal address at a Pasifika youth rugby league event, which was well received. When asked why he chose to do so, he replied, "over the years, I've come to learn Christianity is a major part of Pacific culture, so I was also comfortable in doing that". Another non-Pasifika manager shared that "it's just the way they [Pasifika] interact with staff and students, maybe it is a spiritual thing". Another commented on the ambience of collective song, praise, dance and food: "I love the singing [of hymns], the passion and vibrancy of it all" (see Section 4.4). These examples have revealed that many Pasifika athletes and non-athlete professionals look *heavenward* for assistance and direction. However, there remains a need for increased conversation about and support of spiritual wellbeing experiences in professional rugby settings (see Section 4.3).

The findings also suggest that merely adopting a complete pro-Pacific or tokenistic approach in any management or coaching field is a complex issue and does not guarantee automatic success. For example, there have been minimal opportunities for Aboriginal and African American footballers who seek or transition into coaching roles in the AFL and NFL (Apoifis et al., 2017; Fanning Madden & Ruther, 2010). In our case, the NRL, perhaps more than any other professional sport organisation, has the opportunity to become one of the most progressive employers regarding providing pathways into coaching for the nearly 50 per cent of players of Pasifika ancestry in the League.

Collectively, these themes and lived experiences support the argument that effectively navigating and managing the complexities of Pasifika (and non-Pasifika) workers is vital for improving diversity management practices, not only in the NRL and its clubs but also for organisations and groups with a Pasifika or minority group workforce

(see Sections 4.1–4.4). The findings, discussion and new knowledge explored in this chapter offer insights into improving diversity management practices in sport organisations such as the NRL. This can be achieved by intentionally adopting Indigenous knowledge systems, engaging proactive hiring practices in addition to increased conversation, support and consultation of Pasifika sensibilities across management levels in professional workplace settings (see Sections 4.1–4.4).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

"Ua solo le lavalima. The work is progressing fast" (Samoan proverb).

6.0 Introduction

The *alaga'upu* (Samoan proverb) implies favourable progress made in plaiting or weaving cordage of dried coconut fibre. Essentially, the proverb refers to notable advancements in an individual's or group's past (and future) undertakings (Schultz, 1949). Similarly, this chapter is designed to address the overarching research question: "how are the workplace perceptions and expectations of Pasifika employees aligned (or misaligned) with those of their employers in the NRL?" (see Section 1.1). This will be achieved by proving the contribution to theory and practice in addition to implications for effective practices, not only in the NRL and NRL clubs, but more broadly across organisations and workplaces beyond sport.

6.1 Contribution to Theory and Practice

This research found that the workplace roles and experiences of Pasifika employers and their non-Pasifika employers are likely to be enhanced by better understanding shared workplace perceptions and expectations—in short, a balanced PC. This human resource approach intersects with a Pacific Studies framework. Drawing upon the conceptual frame of the Fonofale model, the critical contributions to theory and practice are represented by three domains or pillars relating to managing Pasifika diaspora in the workplace (see Figure 6.1). The contribution is arranged to reflect the foundation (Pacific Studies), poles (PC) and roof of the structure (diversity management). What follows is an explanation of how each area of research has contributed to theory and practice.
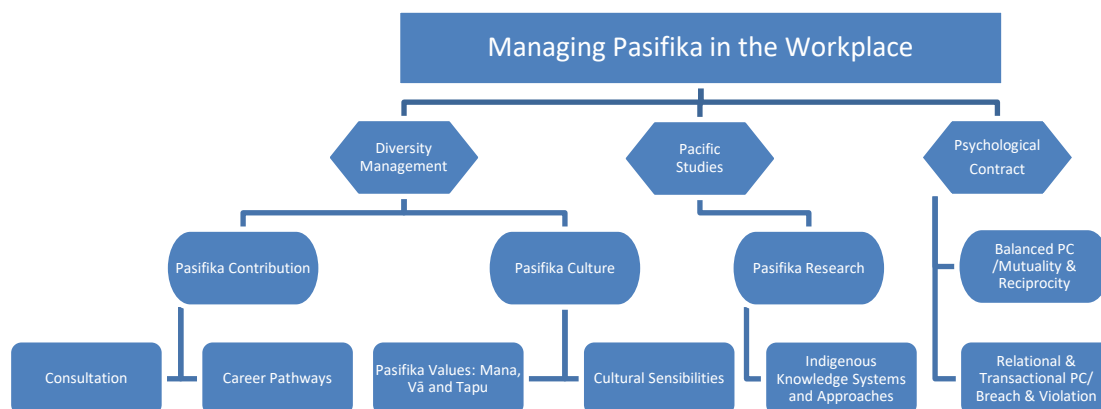
Figure 6.1 Conceptual contribution to theory and practice: Managing Pasifika in the workplace.

6.1.1 Pacific Studies

Pasifika research approaches

Pasifika ontological and epistemological orientations in sport research are further advanced by Pasifika ways of sharing information, processes, assumptions, values and Indigenous knowledge (see Sections 4.1–4.4; Hapeta et al., 2019; Stewart-Withers et al., 2017). Conceptually, the key point of difference in this thesis is the exploration and merging of historical and contemporary experiences in the context of the NRL to better understand vā—the space or relationship between people or things (Ka'ili, 2005)—and the secular and spiritual dimensions of relationships (Airini et al., 2010). The reliance on Pasifika research approaches is critical because, historically, postcolonial research that is framed by Eurocentric models of enquiry has dominated the Pasifika research space. However, several influential models of Pacific academic research have emerged in the past 20 years, resulting in one benefit of which is the empowerment of Indigenous peoples to assume scholarly authority regarding their own history and philosophical viewpoints (Hau'ofa, 1993; Thaman, 2003; Teaiwa, 2014). Until now, no attempt has been made to

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bring together the past and present experiences of Pasifika footballers in ARL competitions. The empirical findings not only validate Pasifika contributions (past and present), but also offer a comparative body of work for considerations relating to the growing number of Pasifika employees in the Australian workplace—in this case, Pasifika (non-)athlete roles in professional sport (see Sections 4.1–4.4).

Longitudinally, in terms of research method, the studies set out to develop a model for sport-related research and practice through the lens of talanoa. Since talanoa is concerned with authentic relationships (Anae, 2019; Otunuku, 2011) and features respectful communication in and around Pasifika sensibilities (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014), talanoa was used for both Pasifika and non-Pasifika sampling groups. This culturally sensitive approach allowed for multilayered studies to capture broader views of athlete, non-athlete, Pasifika and non-Pasifika experiences. The use of talanoa makes a culturally appropriate contribution to the epistemological and ontological domains of research, strengthening the value of the connected studies and presenting an alternative approach to researching sport management. Moreover, this research highlights that cultural intersectionality—research informed by Indigenous knowledge—is not geographically bounded.

6.1.2   Diversity Management

In Western workplaces (e.g., in Australia), there is typically little or no understanding of Pasifika knowledge and sensibilities (Lakisa et al., 2020; Ravulo, 2020). Consequently, the inclusion of Pasifika contributions and sensibilities requires a pivot in terms of Pasifika voices and influences. The latter need to be heard and acknowledged at the executive level including an increased focus on developing Pasifika pathways in non-athlete roles. This research reveals that the Pasifika entourage is hopeful, ready and confident in their abilities to undertake more non-athlete professional roles in areas such

as coaching, high-performance and administration. Positive diversity management in sport organisations involves the development and ongoing evaluation of an ethnoculturally inclusive workforce that is both productive and satisfied (Hoye et al., 2015; Taylor et al., 2015). This entails being inclusive of surface- and deep-level differences such as age, gender, social status, religion and ethnicity, to name but a few (Cunningham, 2015; Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; Harrison, Price & Bell, 1998). Thus, being inclusive of a diverse NRL workforce may create a competitive advantage using existing and potential Pasifika capabilities through affirmative and proactive hiring practices and improved pathways (see Section 4.4) such as mentoring or internship opportunities (Ravulo, 2020), thereby attracting the best and brightest Pasifika candidates (Hapeta et al., 2019; Holland, 2012).

For Pasifika in professional sport settings, the Pan-Pacific concept of mana is essential and cannot be ignored. Research has shown that Pasifika employees attach *mana* to meaningful experiences of navigating and coping with the successes and pressures of working in Australia. The findings in the fourth study of this thesis reveal that *mana* is an 'invisible' or undiscussed concept in Western or non-Pasifika approaches to diversity management, particularly in terms of sociocultural motivations, Pasifika interpretations and consultation. The challenge now, as Teaiwa (2016) highlighted, is for individuals and groups to attempt to better grasp the significance of and to predict and plan for the effects and application of *mana* in contemporary and diasporic contexts. For instance, *mana* often places enormous social, emotional and economic pressure on Pasifika groups or individuals (e.g., young male Pasifika footballers). This further highlights the complex and regularly negotiated sociocultural, geopolitical and economic goals of Pasifika communities—in this case, the 'Pasifika entourage' (see Sections 4.1–4.4). While most contemporary studies describe 'Pasifika prowess' or athletic

performance as fascinating and exciting, this thesis affirms that the Pan-Pacific concept of *mana* is crucial in any discussion of Pasifika sport-related research or practice. In other words, the significance of spirituality or faith-based values, tautua (service) and familial motivations to name a few (see Section 4.4) are not only vital in diversity management but also distinctive hallmarks when engaging with a Pasifika workforce.

6.1.3 Psychological Contract

PC was distinguished in the literature review as a critical and useful lens to assist in better understanding contemporary workplace expectations and perceptions (Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000; Guest, 1998; Rousseau, 2001; Zhao et al., 2007), particularly in cross-national or non-Western settings (Restubog et al., 2007; Rousseau & Schalk, 2000). This was suggested based on identifying breach, violation, mutuality and reciprocity in the workplace. However, PC research to date has not accounted for Pasifika experiences in professional sport (see Section 4.4). Methodologically, this thesis has extended knowledge of PC through its application into a culturally specific non-Western context. This involved seeking a better understanding of how Pasifika employees in non-athletic professional roles formulate PC in the workplace based on individual (or shared) schema and promise fulfilment (see Section 4.4).

Cultural aspects of PC in Australian workforces deserve increased attention. This study affirmed various antecedents relating to cultural variations (Thomas et al., 2003) or cultural (dis)agreements (Schalk & Soeters, 2008). That is, relational and collectivist views that are founded on family, faith and culture (see Sections 4.1–4.4) positively affect the formation of balanced PC in non-Western settings (Restubog et al., 2007; Rousseau & Schalk, 2000). To this end, the present study has offered a framework for the exploration of cultural values in formulating PC for Pasifika workers. This is significant because non-Pasifika employers conceded that they still struggle with understanding

Pasifika sensibilities in the workplace (Lakisa et al., 2020), which is consistent with studies on PC in non-Pasifika workplace settings (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000). What sets this study apart is the identification of schema and the fulfilment of the promise in PC relating to navigating successfully and competently through two worlds, blending Pasifika cultures and Western ideals in workplace settings.

One key contribution to theory and practice is the recognition of the effect of navigating two worlds (see Section 4.4) or negotiating space (Mila-Schaaf, 2010; Smith et al., 2008) by Pasifika employees. This study has demonstrated how PC is formed for Pasifika employees in relation to schema and promise (Rousseau, 2001, 2010). Pasifika employees interpreted promise fulfilment using spiritual and cultural schema, describing their NRL employment in terms of a "blessing" or form of obligatory "service" or *tautua* (Samoan term for 'service'), to give back to their family and community (see Section 4.4; Gordon et al., 2013; Pilisi, 2020), as opposed to a merely transactional agreement. To this end, PC for Pasifika workers must be understood in the context of multilayered circumstances that create cultural embeddedness (Harris, 2009; Lakisa et al., 2020), underpinned by strong cultural values such as service and embraced by informal, relational and collective approaches. Further, the findings of this study demonstrate that navigating two worlds necessitated the deployment of a cross-disciplinary approach via the Pasifika research method (talanoa) and in congruence with PC as a theoretical construct.

This research adds value to the absence of studies on marginalised groups in PC scholarship (Rousseau & Schalk, 2000; Thomas et al., 2003). The findings affirmed the pivotal significance of interpersonal relationships and highlighted the emergence of a better understanding of cultural, emotional and spiritual aspects of PC in the workplace (see Sections 4.1–4.4). A positive correlation of shared or balanced contract strengthened

interpersonal relationships or the development of mateship, increased trust and respect for cultural identity and broadened the vision of Pasifika influence in rugby league (see Sections 4.1–4.4). Conversely, this study also uncovered ongoing misunderstandings and insensibilities regarding cultural values and customs (see Sections 4.1–4.4), which cause inadvertent rather than deliberate breaches and violations in employee and employer attitudes and behaviours (Restubog et al., 2007; Rousseau & Schalk, 2000; Schalk & Soeters, 2008; Thomas et al., 2003; Wagstaff et al., 2012). Further, despite the growing representation of Pasifika in rugby league in the last decade, the findings revealed a genuine lack of progression in the human resource direction and organisational behaviour in response to the Pasifika turn or rising influence of Pasifika in the NRL.

Unlike McGaughey and Liesch (2002), who focused on the breaking down of relationships between NRL players, their clubs and the game's governing bodies, this study sought to examine how findings can improve organisational behaviour and human resource management practices in the NRL. Specific strategies for improvement include enhanced diversity and inclusion policies and procedures, adopted organisational leadership change and expanded strategic planning frameworks, such as the incipient NRL Pacific Strategy (see Section 4.4). The latter is a much-needed initiative that aims to provide strategic directions across different levels of NRL governance, game development and participation. A common view among research participants was the positive correlation between the increased volume—visibility of Pasifika employees (and Pasifika-based program and events) in the NRL—and the shared perceptions of Pasifika workers, who were found to be "warm, friendly and fun-loving people" (see Section 4.4). This provides some explanation as to why the contributory potential or mutuality and reciprocity of Pasifika employees is now clearer, compared to a decade ago (see Sections 4.1, 4.4; National Rugby League Annual Report, 2019; Ravulo, 2020).

6.2   Implications for Practice

The contributions to theory and practice made by this thesis extend beyond the NRL workplace context due to their potential for application to other organisations. Findings surrounding breach, violation, mutuality and reciprocity may inform workplace strategies that aim to improve diversity management practices for individuals and groups alike. In recent years, previous studies (Lakisa, 2011; Ravulo, 2017) have highlighted challenges and, to a lesser extent, opportunities in the management areas of rugby league and union. To that end, the implications for practice arising from this study are based on nurturing and maintaining balanced PC for the Pasifika workforce.

It is worth noting that matching promise and managing breach in PC is "easier said than done" (Grant, 1999, p. 346). This is especially so due to cultural variations and, indeed, the ethnically diverse nature of the Pasifika diaspora in the workplace. Moreover, the shifting social and cultural workplace expectations (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019; Pate, 2006) and often volatile economic and political changes in professional sport (Bravo et al., 2012; Taylor et al., 2015) provide a challenging environment in which to foster appropriate types of PC (McCormick, 2013). Implications for practice are based on workplace experience questions in this study, such as: Do Pasifika sports administrators feel they have sufficient voice in their workplace? In what ways do they believe they best contribute? Are non-Pasifika employers receptive to their ideas and assistance? Are Pasifika employees provided with leadership development and career advancement opportunities? With these questions in mind and drawing upon the collective findings presented in Chapter 4, the following implications for practice arising from the study are not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to act as purposeful and successful wayfinders (Spiller et al., 2015) or strategic markers to align workplace expectations.

Recommendations are organised into four human resource management and organisational behaviour–related areas and discussed in order of importance:

1. organisational governance

2. research, training and development

3. communication, feedback and recognition mechanisms

4. player welfare.

6.2.1   Organisational governance

Based on the research findings, I recommend the creation of a dedicated advisory or consultancy group with a substantial proportion of the workforce having Pasifika backgrounds. This advisory council or group should act as a sounding board for the governing body and provide culturally appropriate advice and direction for the organisation. Much like the effectual establishment of ARLIC in 2008, an organised independent body—possibly named the *Australian Rugby League Pasifika Council* (ARLPC)—could be formed under the auspices of the ARLC (the governing body of the NRL).

In terms of strategic direction, independent groups such as a Pasifika advisory council should conduct systematic reviews and revisions of existing workplace policies and procedures, or develop, implement, evaluate and/or endorse new policies, procedures or initiatives that support a diverse workforce. The employee–employer relationship is vital because insights into balanced PC generated by this study revealed that participants perceive that the NRL and its clubs ought to consider reforms that permit up-to-date training and leadership opportunities for minority groups in the sport workplace (see Section 4.4). Indeed, the long-overdue NRL Pacific Strategy, in addition to much-needed revision and evaluation of other operational strategic plans such as the NRL Inclusion Framework and RAPs, require adaptation to the shifting Pasifika contribution in the NRL

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workforce (see Sections 4.1–4.4). Moreover, since Pasifika perspectives of collectivism and spirituality add productive value and ethical creativity to their lives, Pasifika employees want to showcase and share such attributes in the workplace (see Studies 4.3–4.4). Therefore, it is recommended that the NRL and its clubs undertake initiatives to create more opportunities for Pasifika professionals in non-athlete roles, including talent development in relation to leadership roles (see Section 4.4). This could be achieved by creating new post-secondary qualified pathways into high-performance, technical or administrative roles; extra internship, mentoring and leadership initiatives for Pasifika individuals (see study 4); and establishing strategic partnerships with community, business and government stakeholders (Ravulo, 2020).

6.2.2 Research, training and development

Greater emphasis is required on the allocation of financial and wellbeing resources towards research, training and development regarding *Pasifika contribution* (see Sections 4.3–4.4). For example, mismatches in expectations of PC in the NRL workforce were evident in two key areas of cultural diversity management: limited understanding and competence of Pasifika sensibilities, and the need for ongoing diversity training to overcome negative stereotypes of Pasifika in the workplace. In response to these mismatches, findings suggest that increased funding, research using Indigenous frameworks and a renewed focus on Pasifika programs and initiatives (Lakisa, 2011; see Section 4.4), in addition to shared partnerships with relevant Pacific communities, education, health authorities and corporate partners (Ravulo, 2020), can help inform and progress the unfulfilled *negotiated space* (Smith et al., 2008) between Pasifika values and Western ideals in the NRL.

Provision of greater *cultural embeddedness* of historical and contemporary experiences is required in diversity training and development programs. This

recommendation is linked to the promise fulfilment of employer trust and confidence (see Section 4.4). Research has revealed that shared knowledge systems within workforces are beneficial and may form a source of advantage or competitive edge; in this case, when Pasifika values and customs are incorporated into sport-related theories and practices (see Sections 4.3–4.4; Hapeta et al., 2019). Diversity training and leadership development programs that create a greater representation of diverse Pasifika voices in policymaking in sports media, executive and professional non-athletic roles will work towards improving organisational leadership and overcoming negative stereotypes of Pasifika—often viewed as only fit for natural athletic rather than administrative roles (see Section 4.4).

6.2.3 Consultation, feedback and recognition mechanisms

Greater efforts are required in terms of internal workforce planning to ensure increased opportunities for Pasifika consultation or talanoa (see Sections 4.2, 4.4). As a research method, talanoa is now regarded as critical for better understanding Pasifika sport experiences (Hapeta et al., 2019b; Keung, 2018; Stewart-Withers et al., 2017; Sugden et al., 2019). Therefore, this oral tradition or preferred means of communication amongst Pasifika is recommended for workplace settings such as consultation sessions, data collection, business reporting, performance reviews, collaboration or team meetings and other gatherings (with both Pasifika and non-Pasifika participants) (see Section 4.4). Talanoa in business settings captures traditions and protocols of Pasifika diaspora (Prescott, 2008) and provides safe (in)formal dialogue for shared cultural knowledge and experiences of Pasifika employees (see Section 4.4). Importantly, the appropriateness and use of oral histories in the NRL workplace brings balance and respect to the vā or social spaces (Ka'ili, 2005; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2020) by forging authentic relationships

(Otunuku, 2011) and respectful communication in and around Pasifika sensibilities (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Tecun et al., 2018).

It is recommended that talanoa be used as a critical management tool for obtaining feedback and ongoing evaluation between Pasifika and non-Pasifika cohorts. Talanoa is useful as a reflective practice or Indigenous mode of enquiry, as demonstrated by its capacity to capture historical and contemporary behaviours and lived experiences (see Sections 4.2, 4.4). Compared to Eurocentric modes of enquiry, using talanoa as a feedback mechanism with Pasifika employees is beneficial because it empowers Indigenous peoples to assume scholarly authority regarding their knowledge systems, experiences and identities (Thaman, 2003; Nabobo-Baba, 2008).

Another key recommendation is for organisations to foster a culture of recognition for Pasifika contribution (among others), through new means such as traditional performance, communal gift-giving or spiritual rites and ceremonies. As a marginalised and disempowered demographic in Australia (Cuthill & Scull, 2011; Francis, 1995; Lee & Craney, 2019; Ponton, 2015; Ravulo, 2009, 2015; Va'a, 2003), the Pasifika diaspora has adopted rugby fields as a site to express Indigenous meaning and significance (Besnier, 2014). The findings of this study indicate that the inclusion and recognition of Pasifika voices are more than mere obligation. Rather, this concerns understanding Pasifika values and the customs of family, faith and culture (see Section 4.1). It also relates to providing supportive welfare-based environments (see Section 4.3), promoting mutuality and reciprocity via shared knowledge and fostering positive workplace expectations (see Section 4.4). Research has also affirmed that Pasifika perspectives of collectivism and spirituality add productive value and ethical creativity to their lives; where appropriate, Pasifika people want to showcase and share such attributes in the

workplace through cultural practices such as prayer, traditional performance, integrating foreign language and communal gatherings (see Sections 4.3–4.4; Salesa, 2017).

6.2.4   Player welfare

Turning now to *NRL player-centric* recommendations, continued efforts are needed in recruiting, policing and evaluating support mechanisms in diversity management. Problematic issues (e.g., player welfare issues and cultural pressures), if not managed properly, can snowball into negative experiences such as exploitation, marginalisation and, in tragic cases, suicide (Marsters, 2017, Teaiwa, 2016). In line with broadening pathways for Pasifika representation in non-playing roles (see Section 4.4) and increasing Pasifika presence at executive and management levels (Holland, 2012), creating mandatory appointments of *Pasifika Education and Wellbeing Officers* at all NRL clubs as well as NRL headquarters, would assist the NRL and Pasifika entourages to deal with and manage player welfare issues. The research findings have demonstrated that Pasifika employees have proven experience in managing Pasifika challenges such as familial and cultural pressures, mobility and migration issues, while at the same time navigating two worlds and understanding and respecting key Pan-Pacific concepts of mana, vā and tapu (see Sections 4.1–4.4). The working assumption of this research was that NRL workplace roles and experiences of Pasifika and non-Pasifika workers are likely to be enhanced by a better understanding of their respective perceptions and expectations of self and other (Lakisa et al., 2019, 2020; Mackay, 2018; Ravulo, 2017; Salesa, 2017; Taito, 2017).

6.3 Limitations

This study has potential limitations in relation to the talanoa methodology and the sampling size and profile of research participants.

Methodology

Talanoa is not without limitations. One major drawback of the use of talanoa is that it assumes the primary researcher is well-versed and confident in all facets of Pasifika culture. Personal characteristics of the researcher, such as gender, age, ethnic affiliation and language proficiency, may cause predictable effects on observations and results which is otherwise known as ethnographer bias (K. M. Dewalt & DeWalt, 2011; Rohner, DeWalt & Ness, 1973). The primary researcher is viewed as a cultural insider because he is of Samoan descent, resident of Australia and has workplace experience as a rugby league administrator; however, he may well also be considered an outsider to other Pasifika cultures, such as Tongan, Māori, Cook Islander, Fijian, Papua New Guinean, Solomon Islander or Gilbertese. In this case, simply being Samoan or sharing Pasifikaness does not automatically qualify for easy access to participants and knowledge in talanoa sessions. Moreover, the primary researcher is also cognisant of the fact that the blanket term Pasifika used within an Australian context can conflate diverse cultural practice and identity, which runs the risk of oversimplifying the varied and complex migratory pathways, experiences and histories of research participants and their broader communities. Pasifika communities in Australia, compared to those in New Zealand, Pacific Islands and the USA, are an emerging demographic group. Pasifika cultures have shared commonalities, but they are also ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse; this affects what is disclosed (and not disclosed) during talanoa sessions.

A quantitative or mixed method may have strengthened the validity and reach of data collection and analysis. Time constraints relating to resources and the choice of the talanoa method prevented these methods from being employed. A quantitative approach may have permitted greater flexibility in the treatment of data by offering comparative and statistical analysis opportunities. Further, despite the use of data triangulation, the

small sample size may also have limited participants' engagement and the overall quality of the findings.

Sample size and profile

In terms of Pasifika employees, it was presumed that 20 participants were sufficient for data saturation; however, this was also a natural limitation as there are only a small number of Pasifika employees in non-playing roles in the NRL. However, the relatively small sampling size and profile of non-Pasifika NRL employers (n = 10) may have affected the quality and interpretation of data by underestimating the role and influence of those with leadership and supervisory responsibility. While the small sampling group provided results quickly, a larger sample of non-Pasifika employers (and even fellow non-Pasifika employees) may have provided insights that are more wide ranging relating to Pasifika in the workplace. Time restraints and changes in organisational and governance structures at the NRL and NRL clubs also affected access to potential participants.

6.4   Recommendations for Future Research

Robust research attention should extend to other areas of Pasifika influence outside sport. This study has the potential to advance diversity management for ethnocultural groups in sport. The key concepts of cultural embeddedness and workplace culture can certainly be adopted to better understand workplace expectations and perceptions in other contexts and organisations. Indeed, a natural progression of the current study would be to analyse Pasifika contribution or the Pasifika turn in the workplace in other fields such as the government, economy, and health and education sectors. More narrowly, future research into other collision sports such as boxing, mixed

martial arts or traditional Pasifika games—may provide further information regarding Pasifika workplace experiences and other lived experiences.

In terms of advancing theory, the studies presented here aimed to develop a model or typology for sport-related research and practice through the lens of talanoa. A similar approach could be employed to explore the NRLW competition, where the Pasifika representation is 59 per cent (J. Hamidi [NRL Research Senior Analyst], personal communication, November 13, 2019), which is even higher than the 46 per cent representation of their male Pasifika counterparts. In terms of under-representation of ethnocultural groups in the workforce, the talanoa method could be repeated and adopted in future research into Pasifika trends in Australian labour markets. In terms of sport, greater efforts are needed to research post–sporting career transitions and pathways, particularly in Pasifika-dominated rugby league. Similarly, comparative studies investigating similarities and differences between Pasifika and Indigenous Australian (Lakisa et al., 2019; Light, Evans & Lavalee, 2019) or other non-Pasifika playing groups, such as European or Middle Eastern, would add to the sparse body of research on multicultural experiences and knowledge systems in the NRL workplace. A wider player/athlete–centric characterisation of PC between Pasifika and non-Pasifika behaviours and expectations would also enhance the findings of this study.

6.5 Conclusion

The Pasifika labour force in the NRL is a multifaceted, ethnoculturally diverse group, marked as distinctive in Australian sport (Lakisa et al., 2014). Given the unique attributes of this cultural group and the attendant implications for sport management, this research investigated how the formation of PC is significant yet complex, due to individual and collective schema or perceptions in the exchange relationship. Like other

migrant sporting groups, the Pasifika revolution is fraught with complexities due to the nuanced workplace perceptions and expectation between Pasifika culture and professional sport (Hawkes, 2019; King, 2009). While much has been written about Pasifika involvement in ARL (and rugby union) in terms of labour migration, bodies and masculinities, cultural identity and sociocultural motivations, research remains deficient in the area of diversity management.

There is widespread evidence of the value of effective diversity management; however, many sport organisations fail to engage in effective approaches (Taylor et al., 2006). The NRL is attempting to be proactive in achieving diversity goals through new initiatives and programs. However, despite the efforts of the NRL and its clubs, key issues remain unresolved—particularly in the areas of consulting, recruiting, monitoring and evaluating support mechanisms for Pasifika (and other minority groups, particularly Indigenous Australians). Managing Pasifika in rugby league includes workplace challenges such as cultural deficits or incompetence (Tiatia, 2008), low representation in administration and technical roles (Dee et al., 2016; Holland, 2012), player welfare issues and cultural pressures (Marsters, 2017, Teaiwa, 2016). These issues, if not appropriately managed, can snowball into negative experiences such as exploitation, marginalisation and, in tragic cases, suicide.

This doctoral study has contributed to sport management knowledge in two primary domains. First, it has advanced empirical studies of Pasifika experiences in Australian sport by investigating managerial nuances within the NRL workforce using the culturally appropriate talanoa method. Second, this study provided vital research on PC involving Pasifika (and non-Pasifika) expectations around diversity management practices in professional sport. To date, little knowledge exists regarding how management practices might optimise the skills and needs of Pasifika employees in non-

playing roles. The findings suggest that approaches and sensibilities in terms of understanding Pasifika players require rethinking.

Overall, this research adds value by bridging the evidenced gap between *knowing* (cultural knowledge) and *doing* (cultural competence) in the areas of engaging and supporting the Pasifika entourage and their associated NRL entourage. Indeed, the ongoing growth and participation of Pasifika in the NRL is no longer an immigrant story. Invariably, the rise of *Pasifika prowess* is now firmly ingrained in the cultural fabric of the NRL, its clubs and the Australian sporting landscape.

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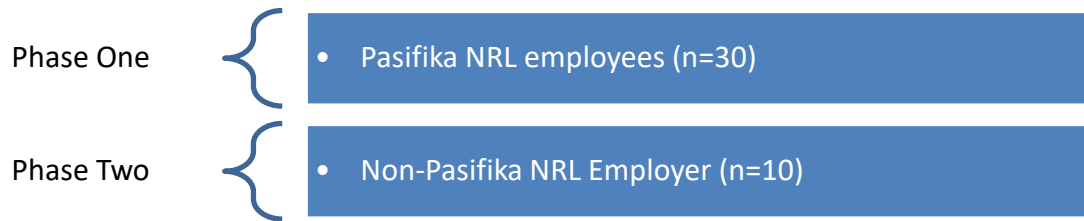
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Appendices

Appendix A: Talanoa Research Data Recording Instrument

Phase One	• Pasifika NRL employees (n=30)
Phase Two	• Non-Pasifika NRL Employer (n=10)

Cultural acknowledgements

Thank you (fa'afetai lava) for their provision of time. If appropriate and if requested by the interviewee, a formal acknowledgement via a gift, parental/tribal lineage is to be shared and/or a prayer (tatalo or karakia) to be offered.

Pacific salutations and phrases

Pasifika nation (language)	Salutation	Translation
Cook Islands	Kia Orana	Greetings
Te reo Māori Kuki 'Āirani	Ine	Please
(Rarotonga Dialect)	Meitaki Maata	Thank you
	Kia Manuia	Farewell (Lit. to go well or be well)
Fiji	Ni sa bula	Greetings
Vosa Vakaviti	Yalo vinaka	Please
	Vinaka	Thank you
	Au lako mada yani	Excuse me (To get past someone)
	Ni sa moce	Goodbye
Tonga	Malo e lelei	Greetings
Lea faka-Tongá	Fakamolemole	Please

Pasifika nation (language)	Salutation	Translation
	Malo 'Aupito	Thank you
	Tulou	Excuse me
	'Alu a	Farewell (Said to the person leaving)
	Nofo a	Farewell (Said to the person staying)
Samoa	Talofa lava	Greetings
Gagana Samoa	Fa'amolemole	Please
	Fa'afetai lava	Thank you
	Tulou	Excuse me (To get past someone)
	Tofā soifua	Farewell
Tokelau	Fakafeiloaki	Greetings
Gagana Tokelau	Tālofa Ni/ Mālo Ni	Hello
	Fakamolemole	Please
	Fakafetai lahi lele	Thank You
	Ke manuia te aho	Have a nice day
	Tofa Ni	Farewell
Niue	Fakaalofa lahi atu	Greetings
Vagahau Niue	Fakamolemole	Please
	Fakaaue/Oue tulou	Thank you
	Fano a koe	Farewell (Said to the person leaving)

Pasifika nation (language)	Salutation	Translation
	Nofo a koe	Farewell (Said to the person
	Koe kia	staying)
		Good bye
Tuvalu	Fakatalofa atu	Greetings
Gana Tuvalu	Fakamolemole	Please
	Fakafetai lasi	Thank you
	Tofa Ia	Farewell
Vanuatu	Halo	Greetings/Hello
Bislama	Nem blong mi…	My name is…
	Plis	Please
	Tangkyu	Thank you
	Lukim Yu	See you later
Papua New Guinea	Gude/Hai	Greetings/Hello
Tok Pisin	Plis	Please
	Tangkiu	Thank you
	Gutbai/Lukim yu	Goodbye
	bihain	

Source: https://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/students/pasifika-student-services/staff-resources/saluations.cfm

Phase 1: Pasifika employees

Workplace perceptions and expectations

- How would you explain your current role in the NRL/NRL club?

- How did you get recruited by your NRL department/club/headquarters?

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- What's the most difficult part of the job?

- For you, what's the most exciting part of the job?

- What expectations do you have of the NRL, your NRL club and fans?

- In your opinion what do you feel the game can do better to service the needs of its employees?

- Do you feel targeted programs are too exclusive for Pasifika? How about other cultures in the game eg Asian, African, Middle Eastern, European? Are there any tensions between Pasifika and Indigenous programs?

- In the past decade, do you feel the game has come a long way in meeting the needs

Cultural identity

- Are you Australian-born? If not what year did you migrate to Australia? What were the "push or pull factors" in moving to Australia?

- How connected do you feel with your culture? How is your confidence in foreign language usage and interacting with Pasifika in general?

- Were misconceived stereotypes apparent when you first arrived at the club?

- Do you recall any mispronunciation attempts or nicknames?

- Do you have any pre or post-game rituals? (prompts: prayer, scriptures, symbolism of tattoos, kava sessions)

Family, faith and football

- In your opinion what do you feel the game is doing well?

- How do you feel about the concept of family?

- If you migrated to Australia, what support networks did you receive? Did you have a mentor who assisted with your transition or acculturative experience in

Australia? If you migrated to Australia, was homesickness or loneliness ever an issue? If so, how did you deal with it?

- Did you ever witness others experience off-field issues like depression or mental health issues? How did they handle personal issues off the field?

- Are you religious? If so, how much has religion played in your footballing journey?

- Have you ever experienced direct or indirect forms of racial vilification during your playing days?

- Are there any misconceptions about being an NRL player or having 'celebrity status'?

- Do you feel your NRL club and/or NRL departments do enough to support you and your family? Where do you feel is the line between helping yourself and relying on others?

Exchange relationship

- What were the circumstances surrounding your first employee or professional playing contract?

- If applicable, what did you do with your first major contract?

- How did you find your player manager?

- Do you consider yourself 'hands on' with your finances? Why or Why not?

- Is there any financial pressure because of your opportunity to play at that level?

- Did you feel the need to provide remittances and uphold the principle of reciprocity while you were playing? How did this attitude come about?

- Furthermore, did you ever feel like there was a need for you or your family to 'keep up with the Joneses'?

- How did you feel about employment contract negotiations? Do you have any regrets?

- How trusting were you of your player agent/player? What expectations do you have of your player agent? Have you heard comparing/loyalty experiences from other players?

- Have you ever felt the need to lie or mislead medical staff just to be fit to play?

Future directions

- Why do you think there is an under-representation of Pasifika in off-field roles?

- (If former player), did you experience an unspoken 'you just got the job because you're a former player'? How did you feel towards that judgement?

- Do you feel targeted programs are too exclusive for Pasifika? How about other cultures in the game eg Asian, African, Middle Eastern and European? Are there any tensions between Pasifika and Indigenous programs?

- May I ask your thoughts on pursuing further education before, during or after your employment?

- May you name one of your greatest memories about playing rugby league in Australia?

- Is being a professional athlete hard or easy in today's modern era of rugby league?

- If you were to fast forward 20 years from now, what do you see for Pasifika playing group?

- What advice would you give the future playing group or ambitious Pasifika workers?

Phase 2: Non-Pasifika employer

Workplace perceptions and expectations

- In a few words, how would you describe your role in the organisation?

- How did you get recruited by your NRL department/club/headquarters?

- What's the most difficult part of the job?

- For you, what's the most exciting part of the job?

- How long have you been employed in the NRL and/or NRL club?

- When did you first notice the influx of Pasifika into the Australian game? What were your initial reactions? Why do you think there has been considerable growth in Pasifika representation?

- What is the greatest challenge you experience in working with Pasifika?

- What is the greatest benefit/blessing you experience in working with Pasifika?

- Are there any stereotypes or stigma attached to Pasifika athletes? If so, do you feel these stereotypes or perceptions have changed over time?

- Are there any misconceptions about being an NRL player or having 'celebrity status'?

- Why do you think there is an under-representation of Pasifika in off-field roles?

- Do you feel targeted programs are too exclusive for Pasifika? How about other cultures in the game eg Asian, African, Middle Eastern and European? Are there any tensions between Pasifika and Indigenous programs?

- What are the expectations when you recruit or sign a player? Do these expectations differ in reality to the perceptions played out by Pasifika?

- In terms of the Pasifika families/players you deal with, what are their perceptions of a player manager? Do these views differ compared to the perceptions of non-Pasifika families/players? If so, in what ways?

- Do you feel your NRL club/department do enough to support players and their families? Where is the line between helping yourself and relying on others?

- Would you be willing to share any examples of certain players not making the cut (prompt: Pasifika and/or non-Pasifika comparisons)?

- In your opinion what do you feel the game is doing well?

- In your opinion what do you feel the game can do better to service the needs of its employees?

Appendix B: HREC ethics approval

From: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au <Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au>
Sent: Thursday, 21 July 2016 11:18 AM
To: Daryl Adair <Daryl.Adair@uts.edu.au>; David Lakisa <▮▮▮▮▮▮▮@student.uts.edu.au>;
Research Ethics <research.ethics@uts.edu.au>
Subject: HREC Approval Granted - ETH16-0512

Dear Applicant

Thank you for your response to the Committee's comments for your project titled, "Managing Pasifika Diaspora in Australian Rugby League". Your response satisfactorily addresses the concerns and questions raised by the Committee who agreed that the application now meets the requirements of the NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). I am pleased to inform you that ethics approval is now granted.

Your approval number is UTS HREC REF NO. ETH16-0512.

Approval will be for a period of five (5) years from the date of this correspondence subject to the provision of annual reports.

Your approval number must be included in all participant material and advertisements. Any advertisements on the UTS Staff Connect without an approval number will be removed.

Please note that the ethical conduct of research is an on-going process. The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans requires us to obtain a report about the progress of the research, and in particular about any changes to the research which may have ethical implications. This report form must be completed at least annually from the date of approval, and at the end of the project (if it takes more than a year). The Ethics Secretariat will contact you when it is time to complete your first report.

I also refer you to the AVCC guidelines relating to the storage of data, which require that data be kept for a minimum of 5 years after publication of research. However, in NSW, longer retention requirements are required for research on human subjects with potential long-term effects, research with long-term environmental effects, or research considered of national or international significance, importance, or controversy. If the data from this research project falls into one of these categories, contact University Records for advice on long-term retention.

You should consider this your official letter of approval. If you require a hardcopy please contact Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au.

If you have any queries about your ethics approval, or require any amendments to your research in the future, please do not hesitate to contact Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au.

Yours sincerely,

Professor Marion Haas
Chairperson
UTS Human Research Ethics Committee
C/- Research & Innovation Office
University of Technology, Sydney
E: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au