Exploring the brown glass ceiling and its effects on women of Pacific Island descent in Aotearoa New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

Discrimination is a commonly shared experience for ethnic minority women in Aotearoa New Zealand and around the globe. This experience makes up one part of the effects of the metaphorical glass ceiling barrier that exposes a divisional line between prosperity and hardship. The barrier is referred to as "glass," because it is invisible and impenetrable for those underneath it (Cotter et al., 2001). This qualitative research analysed narrative data from dialogues in primary research by Brown (2019); Mesui (2019); Ofe-Grant (2018); Tupou (2011). Data were collected in one on one, face-to-face interviews with respondents of Pacific Island descent who shared their work life experiences of the glass ceiling and offered their recommendations on what could eliminate barriers, obstacles, and discriminatory mind-sets.

The analysis followed the guidance of intersectionality and social identity theories, that provided frameworks that stimulated thought about why these issues exist and how they form a glass ceiling. Intersectionality theory understands social relations by recognising forms of oppression such as racism, sexism, and ageism, and although the theory also addresses existing complexities within social systems, it is not a one-size-fits-all approach to tackling all forms of discrimination. The stigmatised traits of discrimination for Pacific women (e.g., Pacific, brown, female, and migrant) are where gender, race, and ethnicity intersect, but these traits are not the same for everyone and may exist at the same time or at different times in a person's life. Social identity theory provided another approach to how a person's perception is socially structured, either individually or for a group of people that share an association such as a culture, gender, or age group. Social identity theory asks how individuals identify themselves, what social group they belong to, and what comparisons exist outside their social group that create an us-versus-them division.

Guided support systems such as mentoring, produce good results in terms of commitment and satisfaction that is equally beneficial to both men and women. As outlined by Dashper (2020), careers in the service industry face difficulties in the areas of motivation, retention, and commitment from employees. Mentoring can also address issues arising from a glass ceiling mindset as well as empowering women and enabling them to advance into positions of leadership (Dashper, 2019a).

This study investigated the well documented glass ceiling theory and the effects of the glass ceiling on women of Pacific Island descent, to identify support structures that could assist Pacific women to break through the brown glass ceiling.

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my

knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another

person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which

to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma

of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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29/04/2022

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This research investigated the effects of the glass ceiling barriers faced by women of Pacific Island descent in Aotearoa New Zealand and identified ways that support structures could be used to reduce the effects of these barriers. This chapter presents a background to this research, starting with the research context, followed by the research questions (RQ), research aims (RA), and the structure of this dissertation.

1.2 Research Context

The service sector is a vital industry for New Zealand's economy; in 2017 it employed approximately 600,000 people, representing 25% of all employed people in Aotearoa New Zealand, making it a significant employer for the country. This sector has contributed \$NZ40 billion per year to New Zealand's gross domestic product (GDP); that amounts to 18% of New Zealand's total GDP (ServiceIQ, 2017). Although the service sector is considered large in relation to the number of staff it employs and the number of businesses operating in the sector, it is still tainted by low employee wages, tight margins, high staff turnover, and high levels of competitiveness. Furthermore, the sector's contribution to the economy is deemed low in comparison to that of other industries (Baum et al., 2020).

Covid-19 presented new realities for the industry and its position within the economy (Hemmington & Neill, 2021). The pandemic did not create new issues, but amplified existing challenges for the industry (Baum et al., 2020). The effects of the Covid-19 alert levels for New Zealand in 2020 were evident by the third quarter (September 2021), when the service industries were the largest contributors to the fall in New Zealand's GDP. The reduced business in the service industry was driven by the nationwide level 4 lockdowns in March 2020 and August 2021 and the ensuing alert levels that followed. The consequent fall of the service industry was as a result of restricted face-to-face contact and high alert level constraints (Statistics New Zealand, 2021).

The service sector in New Zealand is young and diverse in terms of the ethnicity and age of employees (ServiceIQ, 2018), and has a predominantly female labour force, with eight out of ten workers being female, thereby providing the greatest source of

employment opportunities for women (Statistics New Zealand, 2019). Women represent 51% of the service sector and their representation varies by sector (ServiceIQ, 2017).

In this context, women of Pacific Island descent are strongly represented in manual and lower skilled service roles (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012). Historically, Aotearoa New Zealand has a strong relationship with the Pacific, and this, combined with the large volume of immigrants from other regions, strengthens the knowledge that equality and diversity issues exist here (Boamah & Salahshour, 2022).

Aotearoa New Zealand is reputedly one of the fastest growing multinational countries in the world, and acceptance and open-mindedness is considered key to supporting this growth (Cullen, 2019, as cited in Boamah & Salahshour, 2022). According to Statistics New Zealand (2019) workplace discrimination, harassment, or bullying, is experienced by one in ten workers; 14% of women and 9% of men are reported to have experienced such treatment. Discrimination in New Zealand organisations is not unusual, which contradicts the touted message that promotes inclusivity, that New Zealanders respect other cultures, beliefs, or behaviours that are different to their own (Boamah & Salahshour, 2022).

Covid-19 has contributed to the worsening of gender issues, particularly for women working in the service sector both nationwide and globally (Chen & Mooney, 2020). Many jobs in hospitality are predominantly female dominated; women were affected the most by the pandemic and the unpredictable changing conditions. As Brownell (1994) noted as far back as the 1990s, women and men with comparable educational backgrounds will have very different work experiences throughout their working lives.

Masselot and Hayes (2020) referred to the unequal position of women in this crisis, especially women of Māori and Pacific descent, who were unjustifiably experiencing the effects of the pandemic because they were vulnerable to job losses due to the type of employment sector, they were in. In female dominated sectors such as tourism and hospitality that were severely impacted by Covid-19, they were more likely to experience job losses, redundancies, and company restructures, all of which had a major effect on the financial position of many women in Aotearoa New Zealand (Masselot & Hayes, 2020).

Work in the service sector, specifically in hospitality, is repeatedly described as temporary, physically hard, poorly paid, and often work long unsociable hours (Chen & Mooney, 2020; Mooney et al., 2014); as a result, the industry suffers from high staff turnover and staff shortages. One cause, as described by Poulston (2017) is a workforce that is mostly young, around 18-24 years old, attracted into the industry by the ease of finding work in a bar or restaurant. Hospitality work is enticing because jobs are easy to find and apply for and the work may suit young people such as students wanting to earn some money. Women working in the sector are usually employed in lower skilled roles such as in the food and beverage departments or in accommodation jobs such as housekeeping staff. Men however, are typically employed in managerial or business development positions (Zhang, 2019).

Other issues of the service industry include the gender pay gap, which research identifies as a global issue (Zhang, 2019). The service sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is not exempt from this issue; the gender pay gap for men and women was 9.4% in 2020, and according to New Zealand Human Rights Commission (2020b), would take 40 years to close to zero. The greatest gender and ethnic pay gap in New Zealand is that between European (Pākehā) and Pacific women, at 29%; in comparison, the pay gap between European (Pākehā) and Pacific men, is 22% (p. 26).

1.3 Research Questions

The purpose of this research was to add visibility to the female managers of Pacific Island descent who continue to struggle in the uphill climb into senior management positions in the service sector in Aotearoa New Zealand. The research also aimed to contribute to the literature on the glass ceiling and strengthen the "brown glass ceiling" metaphor and understandings of its discriminatory effects on women of Pacific descent.

Research Aims:

RA1: To identify and explore factors that have an effect on Pacific women and their ascent into senior leadership positions in Aotearoa New Zealand.

RA2: To identify the suitable methods of support that Pacific women need to help them move into more senior management roles.

Research Questions:

RQ1: Whether a brown glass ceiling affecting Pacific women exists in the service industry of Aotearoa New Zealand?

RQ2: How does the brown glass ceiling affect Pacific women in the service industry of Aotearoa New Zealand?

RQ3: What is needed to support Pacific women to break the glass ceiling in their ascent into senior leadership positions?

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation contains five chapters, each beginning with an introduction followed by an analysis and discussion of the chapter's subject and ending with a summary.

Chapter 1: This introductory chapter presents the background to and context of this research, the research questions (RQ), and research aims (RA).

Chapter 2: This chapter provides a literature review examining literature on the service industry, Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand, and diversity management. Following this, a review on the "glass ceiling" metaphor and its various versions is presented, along with types of mentoring that can break the glass ceiling barriers. Also included in this section is a review of the theoretical frameworks that can be used to analyse the glass ceiling.

Chapter 3: This methodology chapter identifies philosophies and theoretical perspectives that were best suited to this research. A narrative analysis method was used to understand and decipher data in the form of stories and is fully explained. Data in this research were taken from interviews conducted by previous Pacific researchers.

Chapter 4: The findings and discussion section summarise the prominent themes highlighted in the narrative analysis. These themes aimed to answer the research questions in terms of challenges and support mechanisms.

Chapter 5: This final chapter presents the recommendations and limitations identified from this research journey.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with an overview of the service sector and its importance to the economy in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is followed by a brief historic overview of Pacific people and the events that have changed the way Pacific people are viewed in society. Next, the well-documented glass ceiling phenomenon is reviewed, and how it has evolved over time, into encompassing other discriminatory barriers. Finally, mentoring will be assessed as a possible support structure that can assist in forming strong networks and providing a viable career path for promising female managers of Pacific Island descent.

2.2 The Position of the Service Sector in Aotearoa New Zealand

The service sector is made up of businesses and individuals that represent an array of goods and services for consumers, mostly in the form of front facing services (Kinsella, 2022). Jobs within the service industry are in sectors such as travel, tourism, aviation, accommodation, and restaurants (ServiceIQ, 2017). Kinsella (2022) described the characteristics of the service sector as: intangibility, meaning it is not a physical product that can be purchased such as a vehicle or clothing, but it is a service that is experienced and permeable to the senses; immediacy, meaning services are expended at the time they are rendered; impermanence, meaning services are intangible and therefore cannot be stored; and inconstancy, meaning service tasks can be performed differently by different people, for example, ten baristas may all be able to make a flat white coffee, but its taste and consistency may vary.

The hospitality industry is seen as bustling and lucrative sector for Aotearoa New Zealand. In the year ending March 2020, the tourism spend contributed \$NZ41.9 billion to New Zealand's economy (MBIE, 2020) and the hospitality industry employed 170,000 people (Hospitality New Zealand, 2021), most of whom were migrant workers from around the world. The industry is still referred to as one that is young, culturally diverse, and female dominated, according to Mooney et al. (2014), who explained that although the hospitality industry in Aotearoa New Zealand is a major employer, work in the industry is repeatedly labelled as short-term, physically hard, mentally draining, and stressful (Carvalho et al., 2019; Mooney et al., 2014; Poulston, 2015; Williamson, 2017)

attributed these industry issues to the long working hours, low wages, seasonality, bad working conditions, lack of human resource practices, or a combination of any of these factors. New Zealanders still seem sceptical about considering the hospitality industry as a possible career choice, as although it is taught in secondary schools, it is referred to as a "dummy subject" (Williamson, 2017).

The New Zealand Government has an extensive history of distrust towards service-based industries such as the hospitality, tourism, or hotel sectors, that is useful as a background to this study. In the 1950s, the tourism sector was named the "Cinderella of industries" because government officials would refer to the service industry as incompatible or in conflict with New Zealand's values. The industry remains fickle unfortunately and is at the mercy of the next global crisis, in which the tourism, hospitality, and hotel sectors are the first to suffer drops in business; however, when business and tourists return to Aotearoa New Zealand, the hospitality, tourism, and hotel sectors are expected to be quick to recover. Unfortunately, hospitality work is still not seen as desirable work for young adults and is regarded as second rate work with low wages (Williamson, 2017).

As a consequence of the loss of penalty rates, along with de-unionisation, and a reliance on casual, and minimum wage work, the hospitality industry began to employ mostly migrant labourers to alleviate staff shortages (Williamson, 2017, p.204). Although female dominated, women employed in hospitality are generally in less senior positions, and as Mwashita et al. (2020) explained, when the opportunity of a promotion into a decision making position presents itself, females are often passed over. Gender imbalances are clearly evident in the two different careers of men and women. As Mooney (2018) observed, there are gendered roles in hospitality work, as women are those most likely to undertake jobs that are deemed low status, such as housekeeping, which is generally considered to be women's work.

2.3 The Position of Pacific People in Aotearoa New Zealand

Pacific peoples comprise a diverse segment of eight main Pacific ethnicities: in order from the smallest to the largest ethnic group, these are Kiribati, Tuvaluans, Tokelauans, Fijians, Niuean's, Cook Islanders, Tongans, and Samoans. Known collectively as "Pacific peoples" (Pasefika Proud, 2016), they are also the youngest and fastest growing population in Aotearoa New Zealand, and account for 40% of the population in Tamaki

Makaurau (The Southern Initiative, 2018). Nine smaller Pacific ethnic groups include the Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Nauru, Palau and Vanuatu (Pasifika Futures, 2017).

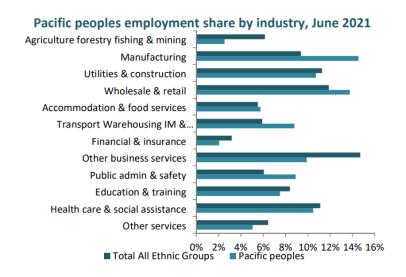


Figure 1: Pacific Peoples Employment Share by Industry, June 2021

Note: Pacific peoples employment share by industry, dated June 2021. Pacific peoples labour market trends, by Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment (MBIE), 2021, https://www.mbie.govt.nz/dmsdocument/16895-pacific-peoples-in-the-labour-market-june-2021-quarter

Historically, Pacific peoples have contributed to the New Zealand economy, particularly in the manufacturing and primary production sectors. Migration from the Pacific (recorded as one percent in 1945) increased in the 1960s when Aotearoa New Zealand sought help to relieve the labour shortage (Loto et al., 2006), and the Pacific nations provided a volume of low-skilled workers to fill the gap. When the worldwide recession of 1973 occurred, Aotearoa New Zealand experienced a major slump in the economy and a consequent surplus of labour. Severe breaches of human rights surfaced when Pacific people became the target of dawn raids from 1974 to 1976. Raids were performed by unofficial task forces that raided the homes of Pacific families, searching for people lacking official documentation to stay in New Zealand legally, so they could be deported. One study revealed that Pacific peoples made up one third of over- stayers at that time and were in 86% of all court cases for overstayers. In comparison, overstayers from countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America (USA), who made up another third of over stayers, accounted for just five

percent of court cases for overstayers (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2020b).

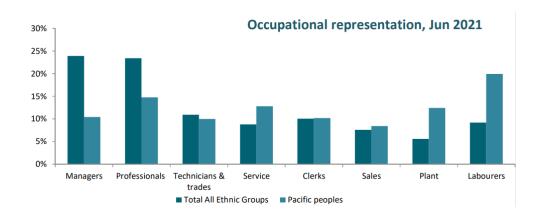
Since the dawn raids that began in 1974, prejudice and discrimination has still been felt by Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand today and remains as an awareness for the wider Pacific community who call Aotearoa New Zealand their home. Research around the world reiterates that non-White, indigenous, and other ethnic minorities face being stereotyped and discriminated against, particularly in comparison to the experiences of the dominant ethnic group (Allen & Bruce, 2017). More recently, people of Pacific and Asian descent (particularly of Chinese descent) have faced bullying, racism, and harassment, during the global Covid-19 pandemic (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2021).

Unfortunately, Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand are under-represented and often portrayed in a negative light that is escalated by the media (Loto et al., 2006), which reports on them in settings such as prisons, courts, or hospitals. For example, in health care, Pacific peoples are referenced for their failing health, and described as lazy or unhealthy or having other social issues such as being as unmotivated (p. 6). The New Zealand Human Rights Commission (2020b) acknowledges that outside the setting of the ethnic community environment, Pacific peoples' knowledge, customs, and cultural heritage is often ignored and sometimes ridiculed (p. 14). The focus on Pacific people in this research is on those of Pacific ancestry who live in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.3.1 Under-Representation of Pacific People in Aotearoa New Zealand

The under-representation of Pacific people (also referred to as "occupational segregation") in senior leadership positions cannot be easily measured, but for Pacific people, the effect of this under-representation in an organisation can be felt (Maiava-Zajkowski, 2021). As the fourth largest and fastest growing ethnic group, Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand have been recorded as disadvantaged economically, and socially, and are unable to speak on the issues that affect them, so become victim to material and symbolic disparities (Hodgetts et al., 2005, as cited in Loto et al., 2006). Brown (2019) acknowledged in her research that there is an under-representation of Pacific peoples in leadership and senior management positions in New Zealand organisations, despite the growing Pacific population now living here.

Figure 2: Pacific Peoples' Employment by Occupation, June 2021



Note: Pacific peoples employment share by industry, dated June 2021. Pacific peoples labour market trends, by Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment (MBIE), 2021, https://www.mbie.govt.nz/dmsdocument/16895-pacific-peoples-in-the-labour-market-june-2021-quarter

Due to this lack of diversity and cultural understanding, Pacific people continue to be left in the lower positions of organisations. Reasons for this may be due to the negativity that often surrounds Pacific people, reflecting an apprehension to promote Pacific women into senior positions. Hattori (2016) (as cited in Brown, 2019) further suggests that there is great diversity of cultures within society, but that this is not visible in leadership. In the 2017 report by Pasifika Futures Ltd, Pacific people were described as under-represented in higher skilled, higher paid occupations such as professionals, senior managers, and technical and trade workers. Numbers in other occupational groups showed that Pacific people were over-represented in lower-skilled, lower-paid jobs in unsecure industries, where they worked as labourers, services workers, and in sales (Pasifika Futures, 2017). The service sectors, including hospitality and tourism, employed 28,321 Pacific people in 2017 (ServiceIQ, 2017). However, Pacific people perceive the service industry as having low status, and do not consider the industry as offering career longevity. Due to this attitude, the service industry is seen as an unattractive career option, and that those who do enter the industry will be there for a very short time until a better job becomes available (ServiceIQ, 2018). In addition to research on Pacific peoples in occupational sectors, Naepi et al. (2020) presented findings showing their under-representation in higher education levels in Aotearoa New Zealand, where Pacific (and Māori) knowledge has been devalued due to Westernised university practices that are prone to replicating colonial and monocultural practices (p. 144).

2.3.2 Pacific Pay Gap in Aotearoa New Zealand

The *Pacific pay gap* defines the disparity in pay between employees of Pacific descent and the highest paid gender and ethnic group of Aotearoa New Zealand – New Zealand men of European descent (Pākehā). In comparison to the wages of New Zealand European men, the hourly wages for Pacific people in 2020 were as low as 27% in some cases. This pay gap for Pacific people is significant, as it is unrelenting, and sadly, has not changed in over ten 10 years (Pacific Pay Gap Enquiry, 2020). Regardless of how it is measured, the largest ethnic pay gaps are those evident for Pacific women, and can vary by occupation - even for Pacific women working as highly paid professionals (Ministry for Women, n.d).

Diversity Works NZ (2021) added that Pacific workers are the lowest paid in New Zealand, and repeatedly overlooked for upskilling opportunities that lead to promotions. Through a public enquiry, the Human Rights Commission identified the contributing factors for Pacific people and their working conditions, particularly the pay gap, conditions of work, promotion, and career advancement (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2020a).

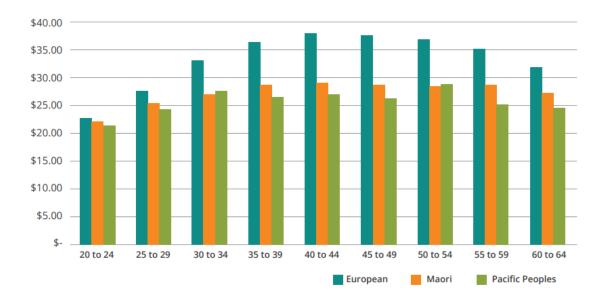


Figure 3: Average Hourly Earnings by Ethnicity and Age Group

Note: Average hourly earnings by ethnicity and age group. From *Talanoa: Human Rights issues for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa*, (p.25), dated December 2020, by New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2020,

https://www.hrc.co.nz/news/human-rights-commission-launches-inquiry-discriminatory-pacific-pay-gap/

This pay gap identified other groups who are also underpaid, including European women (Pākehā) at 12.8%, Asian women at 19%, Māori women at 24.6% and Pacific women, who earned the least, at 27.4% of the average pay of New Zealand men of European descent (Pākehā); this is the largest pay gap in Aotearoa New Zealand (Tertiary Education Union, 2021). For 60 years, legislation and policies have existed at government level to protect women's rights, but this has not prevented the gender pay gap (Zhang, 2019). Regrettably, the pay gap not only affects Pacific people; the gender pay gap is also acknowledged as having caused the under-valuing of female dominated industries, and the likelihood of women working part-time or taking a break in their career in situations such as the need for parental leave (MBIE, 2021).

2.3.3 Under-Representation of Women and Minorities Globally

To understand the psychological processes of socially constructed groups, social identity theory rationalises that an individual's perception is associated with being a part of a group. Lembke and Wilson (1998) referred to the theory as one that is inclusive, and that the social construct stems from the motivation to think, feel, and work in unity as a unified group. This group affiliation creates an "us versus them" mentality that assists in decision making and how individuals categorise or group people according to their sex, age, ethnicity, etc (Harwood, 2020). Tupou (2011) further noted that people from a similar ethnic background (i.e Pacific) tend to group together because they find similarities in each other and are likely to conduct themselves as an affiliate of that group. Alignment is important for group members, not just in a behavioural sense, but also in an intellectual and emotional sense, which enhances social identification. Individuals are seen in singular form until they have embraced a social identity, when the singular "I" becomes a plural, "we," or a team (Lembke & Wilson, 1998).

Mooney (2018) suggested that organisational gender equality has not yet been reached in industries such as the service industry, which is female dominated, particularly in the lower echelons of the industry, and women are still disadvantaged because they are positioned in particular sectors of the labour market such as hospitality, which is viewed as labour intensive. According to ServiceIQ (2017) the service sector is made up of 51% females and 49% males. The number of females varies by service sectors, the highest numbers being in the travel workforce (67%), catering (63%), and accommodation (61%). Men and women are positioned differently in terms of their ability to be successful in the workplace generally, as well as in management and leadership roles

(Dashper, 2019b). Gender equality has positively improved in the last 40 years, and there are now considerably more women in the workplace earning better salaries and able to reach senior levels in their organisations. However, significant gender inequalities between men and women careers continue to exist (Lewis, 2006, as cited in Dashper, 2019), such as the scarcity of women and gender pay gap on boards.

In a study by MacLennan et al. (2018) on the New Zealand Census of Women on Boards 2018, it was reported that "less than one in four members of the boards of New Zealand's top 100 companies by market capitalisation is female" (p.1). This report also noted that 20 companies in the top 100 companies still have no females on their boards. New Zealand remains notably behind Europe, where 30% - 40% of board members are women, and there are national schemes to assist in accelerating women's access to board seats (MacLennan et al., 2018). McDonald and Westphal (2013) also highlighted the under-representation of women and minorities who are new to the corporate elite as members of a board, also known as "first time directors." Even at that level of an organisation, new female and ethnic minority directors receive less advice and mentoring from current board members and less recommendations to secure positions on other boards of directors, than do other first-time directors. Despite the in-group favouritism from current board members, it was noted by the authors that the women and ethnic minority directors were highly educated with stronger qualifications than the White male first time directors, had more experience at management level, and were competent in providing sound advice and information to their chief executive officers (CEOs). MacLennan et al. (2018) further added that the boards and management of the top organisations are overwhelmingly male, and overwhelmingly Pākehā, so despite the purported commitment to diversity and inclusion, the reality differs around the boardroom table.

2.4 Managing Diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand

To join a profession, is to join a community of people beyond the office and meeting spaces, such relationships can build a positive environment that cultivates professionalism and growth (Gersick et al., 2000). One method of cultivating a community of professionals is in the form of being able to manage a diverse range of people. "Managing diversity" was developed as a voluntary organisational concept aimed at the employment and retainment of staff from a wide range of social identity groups (Prasad et al., 2005). Jones (2004) called "managing diversity" a popular

buzzword for human resource practitioners but challenged the concept of the phrase when referring to matters of difference within organisations. For Watson et al. (2009), "diversity" connotes words such as "race or ethnic origin," "sexual orientation," "gender," "age," and "political and religious beliefs." The management of diversity appears in the form of organisational policies and programmes that include staff from different backgrounds, to help them adapt to the formal and informal practices of an organisation's structure (Mor Barack, 2005: 208, as cited in Watson et al., 2009). The concept of diversity centres on matters of diversity and inclusion (Prasad et al., 2005). The management of diversity in a workplace does not work as a one-size-fits-all approach to managing corporations of people. For example, managing diversity under a USA derived model cannot be implemented in a New Zealand subsidiary, where understandings and management of diversity differs from that of the USA. There are reasons for concern if a one-size-fits-all approach is adopted in New Zealand, due to the indigenous, ethnic, and immigrant communities present in this country, they form an important need for the workplace, given the demographic profile on non-Pākehā ethnic communities and working age population (Watson et al., 2009). Globally, there are numerous diversity models, all tailored to different organisations and their employees. As Jones et al. (2000) reiterated, diversity programmes need to be compatible with the different community groups (indigenous, ethnic, and immigrant) they aim to support. There is a danger in not getting the management of diversity right in the first instance, and present for all groups concerned, whether they are women, ethnic minorities, or immigrants (Jones et al., 2000). Prasad et al. (2005) recognised that the problem can also exist in addressing differences with equal attention or focus, and failing to recognise that some differences such as sexual orientation or race, are likely to experience more critical disadvantages in the workplace than do others.

2.5 The Glass Ceiling Metaphor

Metaphors help focus attention and create a visualisation of the barrier being described. The "glass ceiling" metaphor describes an impenetrable but invisible ceiling that prevents women and minorities from vertical promotions up the corporate ladder into senior level positions. Mwashita et al. (2020) explained that this is not a new phenomenon, being first coined in 1986, and although it is already a 35-year-old phenomenon, the effects of this barrier still exist today in more covert and concealed forms than before.

2.5.1 The Glass Ceiling Metaphor on Gender Issues

Academics worldwide have detailed a range of barriers to women's career progression. Interestingly, these barriers are not isolated to one specific industry, but have been documented across various industries worldwide (Mwashita et al., 2020). Choi and Park (2014) described the glass ceiling as an obstacle that is so elusive that it is invisible, and yet it is so robust that it can prevent women and minorities from career advancement (p. 121). Cotter et al. (2001) described glass ceiling barriers as a multifaceted issue that reflects a workplace inequality that is exposed in an organisation, but also reflects discrimination and inequalities in the wider labour market. Disadvantages to gender and minorities occur in the top tier of an organisation as well, and unfortunately, these disadvantages become worse further up the organisation. Women and minorities have less authority than do others, and males in comparable positions are most likely to be paid more (Choi & Park, 2014). Cotter et al. (2001) also added that the glass ceiling is an even greater barrier for minorities, irrespective of their qualifications or experience, against reaching the upper levels of an organisation. Such a barrier reflects a discriminatory division between two positions: one that boasts of privilege and prosperity, and the other, of exclusion and hardship.

Well educated and qualified women remain under-represented in the top tiers of senior management in all countries (Koyuncu et al., 2014). For example, in Aotearoa New Zealand, women are under-represented in top-ranking academic positions (Naepi et al., 2020). Women are seen to be moving up the academic promotional ladder, but at a much slower rate than their male counterparts (Morton, 2020). According to Brownell (1994), when there is a lack of representation of women at the top of an organisation, women in lower to middle management experience a lack of role models and mentors they can look to for support and career guidance. Women may also feel uneasy about approaching men for advice, even though the option is available to them if needed. They may also feel unenthusiastic and doubtful about their career and professional future in an organisation where there is a lack of support and female role models, so they are likely to look for alternative positions with better support elsewhere.

The "old boys" network provides another barrier (Brownell, 1994), and the mere existence of an old boys' type network in a workplace, creates yet another hindrance for women in the organisation. Organisations where senior management teams are predominantly male are problematic for women, as they cause resistance for female

managers who may feel unmotivated, or confined to applying for positions in specific departments, or unable to advance within the organisation knowing the entrenched male culture may be the decision makers (Carvalho et al., 2019). Macpherson (2020) referred to the *old boys' network* as a well-maintained network that promotes male authority and power through its exclusivity, its access to essential decision making, insider information, and informal job opportunities that may not go through the usual channels (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010; Elacqua, et al., 2009, as cited in Macpherson, 2020). Fearfull and Kamenou (2006) added that those in the old boys' club have been in decision making roles within their organisations for far too long, and not just in Westernised countries, but in all societies globally. Research by Mooney and Ryan (2009) revealed that informal networks are centred around socialising events such as Friday night drinks. While these were opportunities to socialise after hours, if they ran too late, women felt vulnerable, but felt it was important to be in attendance, because this was the time when information was shared about promotional opportunities. Other incentives of the club came in the form of sporting events tickets that had been given to the concierges but were rarely given to the female staff members because it was assumed they were not interested in attending sporting events.

2.5.2 Intersectionality Theory

An intersectional analysis supports understandings of how gender and ethnicity intersect or cross paths to reveal discrimination and oppression. This analysis assists in the understanding of the experiences of the Pacific women who participated in the secondary qualitative studies referenced in this research. Warner (2008) explains that intersectionality pulls social identities such as race, gender, and social class together to interrelate, revealing distinct experiences and meanings. As a result, the intersectionality lens reveals organisational privilege and oppression in the workplace.

Intersectionality theory was considered useful for this research because it uncovers further understandings and comprehensions that within an organisation, categories of differences are not experienced or received in the exact same way. Gender and ethnic inequalities are known to appear after a worker begins in an entry level position within a career, in what is widely believed to be a level playing field, but this soon changes career-wise, and two separate paths emerge. One of those paths will be full of privilege and advantage, whereas the other will have shortcomings in the form of discrimination based on gender and ethnicity (Ryan & Mooney, 2019). An intersectionality lens allows

for a more pronounced understanding of the classifications of difference that can influence work and employment. Such an understanding provides an enhanced opportunity to recognise why different genders, races, or social classes can be disadvantaged. This lens is important enroute to making changes in institutions that purport to help and encourage, and not to harm or discriminate against people based on their differences.

For Pacific female respondents, an intersectional perspective assists in erasing divisional lines of difference within minorities. Although cultural stereotypes can be used to provide information about the characteristics of a social group's behaviours or expectations, they often evolve into concrete stereotype boundaries, biased information, and prejudiced attitudes (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). This research analysed data from the perspectives of the Pacific female respondents in studies by Tupou (2011), Ofe-Grant (2018), Mesui (2019), and Brown (2019). An intersectional analysis was used to analyse organisational discrimination, based on their gender, race, and social class.

2.5.3 Effects of the Glass Ceiling on Ethnic Minorities

The effects of the glass ceiling are damaging for women worldwide and have proved to be even more damaging for ethnic minority women within a dominant race. Ethnic minority women find they are constantly fighting to prove themselves and fighting challenges. Welch et al. (2021) acknowledged that the challenges faced by ethnic minorities differ depending on the context and global region, so a Hispanic woman will not have the exact same career challenging experiences as a woman of Asian descent. The glass ceiling barriers outlined in the next section are taken from the experiences and observations of respondents in research by Ofe-Grant (2018). They were all of Pacific descent, in mid to senior level positions (e.g., team directors, and CEOs), had higher education qualifications, and several years of experience. Their first-hand experiences identified the following glass ceiling barriers: gender stereotyping, poor representation, entrenched discrimination, unfair hiring and promotional procedures, lack of developmental opportunities and old boys' networks.

The top characteristics that describe the glass ceiling barriers were discrimination, bias, and racism. Omi and Winant (2014) (as cited in Randel et al., 2021) also observed that discriminatory practices have historical origins deeply rooted in centuries of systemic racism.

In terms of racism, race markers can include colour, culture, ethnicity, language, and religion (Grosfoguel, 2016). Racism is defined as a global hierarchy that produces two sides – one of superiority, and the other of inferiority. "Superiority" refers to people that are above the metaphorical line and are regarded as having access to rights (e.g., human rights, civil rights, labour rights and women rights) and resources, and justifiable views for their prejudices, philosophies, characteristics, and spiritual beliefs. "Inferiority" refers to people below the line who are regarded as sub-human or non-human (Fanon, 1967, as cited in Grosfoguel, 2016); what is accessible for those above the line (rights, resources and justifiable views) is denied to those below the line. Anderson and Taylor (2013) (p. 278, as cited in Nairn, 2020) offered the definition of racism as the "perception and treatment of a racial or ethnic group (or person) as intellectually, socially, or culturally inferior to one's group." These prejudices are seen in three types of racism: 1) overt racism of deliberate and malicious comments towards people of colour; 2) systemic and institutionalised racism that raises the power and advantages of White privilege by causing suffrage and unfavourable circumstances for groups within society; and 3) micro-aggressions that derive from explicit comments and subtle putdowns sometimes disguised as a joke, sarcasm, or general comment. Concerns by Nairn (2020) suggest that many White New Zealanders continue to believe that racism does not exist in society and generations have grown up comfortable in the comforts of the White superiority philosophies that have been historically reinforced (Pack et al, 2015, as cited in Nairn, 2020).

As referred to by the NZ Human Rights Commission, the second barrier takes the form of discrimination that occurs when a person is unfairly treated or treated less favourably than someone else in the same or similar situation (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, n.d). Discrimination can take place in the form of exclusion, rejection, or even harassment that is prohibited by law under the Human Rights Act, 1993. Victims of discrimination as outlined by Yeung and Crothers (2016), can face numerous types of discrimination, as they can have stigmatised traits; for example, a woman who is elderly, of Pacific descent, has three stigmatised traits. Most commonly found to be unconscious or implicit, discrimination was described by Clendon (2020) as occurring automatically, as the mind makes quick judgements about other people. This is often extended to include judgements about a person's situation based on their background, experiences, and even their environment. These judgements create perceptions that people are not consciously aware of; as a result, they may become likely to show

preferences for people or groups that are similar to themselves, and make judgments about those who are dissimilar, without being aware of it. People are more likely to prefer those who look, think, and come from similar backgrounds to themselves. In the workplace, unconscious biases can stop objective decision making, cause great opportunities to be missed, or cause people to ignore potential in others, and create an unsupportive work environment.

Stereotyping is a generalised mental picture of something that may be common amongst a group of people (Merriam-Webster, n.d-b). Wilson (2014) explained that such generalisations are usually based on incorrect or inaccurate information and that stereotyping is a learned behaviour that can be taught via sources such as family, friends, or peers, reading the newspaper, watching the news, or even listening to music. The danger with stereotyping is that a person can ignore the behaviour of an individual person, and instead, generalise from their stereotype to an entire group of people. A stereotyped mind-set is dangerous because it encourages barriers by creating mistruths, misrepresentations, and misjudgements (p. 87). Gender stereotyping is based on sex, and racial stereotyping, on race or ethnicity. Dashper (2019a) suggests that gender stereotypes are deeply imbedded, for example, the ideal worker is thought of as a male. It is easier for males to personify masculine characteristics and practices with success in an organisation than it is for females. However, females can present with masculine traits in a workplace, but some may feel this would create a division between themselves and a feminine identity. A feminine identity is one of caring, compassion and empathy, which is seen first, rather than an identity of being goal oriented, tough, and firm (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001, Irvine & Vermilya, 2010, as cited in Dashper, 2019a).

Additional oppressions that sit alongside the previously mentioned barriers, come in the form of organisational obstacles, such as entrenched discrimination within a workplace and the absence of opportunities available to everyone within an organisation, regardless of their race, sex, ethnicity, religion, age, or abilities.

Entrenched discrimination in organisations reveals covert, concealed, or unconscious discrimination according to Tuttle and Kim (2019). This type of discrimination persists, irrespective of whether a job candidate has relevant industry experience or a relevant university qualification. The lack of women's representation in senior roles is not as a result of lower education levels, as at times women have the equivalent or higher level

education to that of men in the organisation (Fawcett & Pringle, 2000). Carvalho et al. (2019) referred to the continuation of gender discrimination in organisations as seemingly invisible processes, because they are embedded in formal organisational practices and are therefore reproduced and ongoing. In some cases, women have reported that they have been given the notion that certain jobs, roles, or positions should be carried out by women (Mooney & Ryan, 2009).

Those beneath the glass ceiling experience a lack of promotion and developmental opportunities. After many years of referring to women in general, the glass ceiling metaphor has evolved to include ethnic minority women in their attempts to ascend the corporate ladder (Wilson, 2014). Mesui (2019) noted that mentoring and training was little to non-existent for ethnic minority women. Kogler Hill and Gant (2000) referred to mentoring as an important part of career development because it allows for informal support with encouraging communication between the mentor and mentee (or sponsor). Wilson (2014) also commented that the goal of a mentor and mentee (or sponsor) relationship is the setting and achieving of personal goals, which ideally would fit with advancing within the organisation or industry. The value of a mentor is in providing the foundation, setting achievable goals, and adding momentum at a reasonable pace for the mentee to follow. Mentoring is important for ethnic minority women entering an organisation, as it provides a visible career progression role model in the organisation and is particularly relevant when conducted by someone of an ethnic minority group. Brownell (1994) referred to the old boys' networks which can contribute to a lack of promotional and developmental opportunities when avenues are blocked because the women are not connected to important sources of information.

2.5.4 Critics of the Glass Ceiling Theory

Although the glass ceiling is a well-documented issue, there is a collective of authors who oppose this theory, referring to it as a myth. Wright and Baxter (2000) critiqued the glass ceiling metaphor as too broad and that it would need more adjectives to distinguish other inequalities arising from glass ceiling issues, such as "pay glass ceiling," "prestige ceiling" or "managerial promotion glass ceiling." Carli and Eagly (2016) added that the glass ceiling concept does not represent real-time situations for women facing issues in their career advancement because vertical workplace barriers are complex and seemingly impossible to overcome. The authors also commented that the use for the word "ceiling" creates the impression that women face obstacles that are

hidden until they encounter the ceiling and are refused further promotional opportunities. Furthermore, the metaphor also implies that women stagnate in their organisation until the ceiling is broken and they can progress by moving into senior positions.

Dowling (2017) noted that having more women in senior level positions within an organisation does not increase the market value of the organisation they are employed in, and investors do not believe claims that more women in executive positions will boost company profits. Dowling thus criticises scholars describing the effects of the glass ceiling by trying to out-metaphor each other and describe different versions of the ceiling, such as the "sticky floor," "glass elevator," "paper floor," "perspex ceiling," "double glass ceiling," and "concrete ceiling." Dowling also added two explanations for the observed gender imbalance in top level positions: one refers to women avoiding the opportunity for promotion because it may be a rat race, they prefer to avoid due to wanting work-life balance or job satisfaction; promotion would be perceived to jeopardise this balance. The second relates to performance-based jobs; men may be the better revenue earners in these jobs than are women, therefore the salaries paid to men and women reflect their performance and sales.

In contrast, Aslanargun (2012) drew attention to the fact that the glass ceiling is not present in all industries around the world. This view was based on a study of female school principals in Turkey and found that cultural stereotypes and gender barriers were not present among the participants, but their barriers fell outside their jobs and were related to familial and domestic duties. The gender of the participants suggests that issues that surround the glass ceiling can be found in developed and leading countries. Women that have reached the higher levels of their industry are there because they worked hard, and they are highly respected and positive psychological influences on those around them. If, however they are in high level positions and are seen to not work as hard as men, they serve as no purpose or value to other women in that same position and those in lower positions. Aslanargun (2012) therefore identified that the injustices outlined by scholars in relation to the glass ceiling metaphor, may belong in developed nations where barriers, stereotypes, and discriminations are widely documented.

2.6 Other Gendered and Ethnicity Related Metaphors

Like the glass ceiling metaphor that describes workplace barriers, other metaphors are also used to describe similar barriers that have evolved and add obstacles to specific genders and ethnicities, such as the "glass cliffs" and "glass escalators" that are gender related, and the "bamboo ceiling" and "brown glass ceiling" that are ethnicity related.

The "glass cliff" described by Sabharwal (2013) refers to women and minorities who have been successful in breaking through the glass ceiling but have been placed in a risky position that sets them up for failure, forcing them over the edge. While the cliff may appear as a breakthrough of the glass ceiling for minorities, danger and instability may await further down the track. Da Rocha Grangeiro et al. (2021) observed that women face a reduced chance of being employed to work in organisations that are profitable and achieve favourable results. Their chances are further reduced if they have been decision makers in policy making or are in a position of empowerment (Sabharwal, 2013).

The "glass escalator" is a racialised and gendered concept that refers to occupational segregation by gender in which White men who are employed in predominantly female dominated industries (e.g. social work, nursing) are promoted to leadership positions more rapidly than women in a similar position or with longer tenure (Sabharwal, 2013). The glass escalator serves as a glorious channel for White men who are propelled into the upper levels of their organisation, and highlights the occupational privilege they have over women in a female-dominated industry (Wingfield, 2009).

The "bamboo ceiling" was first coined by Hyun (2005), describes the blend of cultural and organisational barriers that prevent Asian people from reaching senior level or top organisational positions. A New Zealand study by Yeung and Crothers (2016) revealed that those of Asian descent are more likely to encounter discrimination than is any other demographic sector. Although the bamboo ceiling shares the discriminative barriers of the glass ceiling, it is specifically directed towards Asians (Tuttle & Kim, 2019), as evident in the under-representation of Asians in top level positions, as well as the combination of cultural and structural dynamics that hinder them from progressing further up the corporate ladder. Yu (2020) viewed the bamboo ceiling barriers as not restricted to one specific industry, although they are more prominent in some occupational sectors than others, for example, among all racial and ethnic groups,

women of Asian descent are those least likely to become executive leaders in the healthcare sector.

The "brown glass ceiling" is another metaphor on ethnicity discrimination, loosely describing barriers for Pacific people. Mesui (2019) referred to this and explained that the brown glass ceiling was coined to assist with the comprehension of challenges and struggles faced in the careers of women with brown skin. Ofe-Grant (2018) referred to effects of the brown glass ceiling stemming from first-hand experiences, as well as conversations, observations, and descriptions from Pacific people who had experienced the pay gap, discrimination, and slower career progression as part of the many effects of the brown glass ceiling. Due to the limited literature available on the brown glass ceiling and its connection to Pacific women, this metaphor and definition is yet to gain more academic support, understanding, and a conclusive and clear-cut definition of its effects.

The term "brown people" is a loose reference to the Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand, and depending on the context, can include Māori, as several authors have described Pacific and Māori people as being brown. For example, Callister (2008) wrote of the "browning of New Zealand" (p. 23), indicating both Pacific and Māori people. In contrast Taonui (2014) referred to people of Pacific, Māori, and Asian descent collectively as brown, when describing the ethnicities of groups of students at Massey University. In the media, Loto et al. (2006) mentioned "the browning of a kiwi sport" (p. 112) when the first captain of Pacific descent led the All Blacks in 2004. Pacific people are also referred to as "brown people" in resources created by the New Zealand Human Rights Commission (2020b). The Pacific peoples, therefore, can be referred to as "brown" within the setting of Aotearoa New Zealand, to include Pacific people, as well as those of people of Māori and Asian descent, depending on the context.

2.7 Mentoring

In Greek mythology, Mentor was a friend and counsellor to Ulysses. When Ulysses set out for the Trojan war, he entrusted his son Telemachus to Mentor, to nurture, teach and pass on knowledge to, because Ulysses would be away at war for ten years. Mentor was later revealed to be Athena, the goddess of war, in disguise (Tickle, 1993, as cited in Kumar & Blake-Beard, 2012). While the myth about Mentor and the act of mentoring is

relatively ancient, according to Merriam-Webster (n.d-a) a *mentor* is still a trusted counsellor or guide.

For industries such as hospitality, mentors are needed to help employees engage with organisational goals and values. To an outside observer, it may appear that employees can visualise their vertical advancement processes within an organisation, and such progression is favourable and encouraging for career focused individuals, regardless of their gender, race, or ethnicity (Mooney & Jameson, 2018; Mooney et al., 2014). However, this is not the case, and mentoring is needed for career development and longevity. Mentoring is particularly advantageous if the mentor has hierarchical support from management and can develop a mentee for a specific department or promote them in position or to a role at another property, making the mentoring relationship important for career enrichment.

The definition of "mentoring" is obscure according to De Cuyper et al. (2019), who considered it dependent on the environment in which the mentoring occurs, its ultimate goal, and the audience that awaits the outcome of the mentoring programme; mentoring is not a one-size-fits-all approach but theoretically offers an array of opportunities (De Cuyper et al., 2019). In a mentoring relationship there is a mentor and mentee; it can also be a team, group, or one-on-one relationship (Eissner & Gannon, 2018). The mentor role is usually held by a senior person within the organisation, and the mentee(s) is usually a junior member in the beginning stages of their career. The mentor takes on the role as the support person, and shares an invested interest in the mentee, sometimes referred to as a protégé, are aimed at helping career growth (Kogler Hill & Gant, 2000).

The benefits from a successful mentoring programme are reciprocal; the organisation sees the results of mentoring in better results and more consistent performance in those who have those who have been mentored (Dashper, 2019b), as well as reduced staff turnover, better job satisfaction, and commitment to the organisation; in turn, the mentor will have fulfilling career enhancement, personal satisfaction, recognition, and the benefits of information exchange. Mentees receive enhanced career mobility, gratifying job success, and possibly higher salaries as a result of completing a mentoring programme, or when they can move into more senior positions (Smith et al., 2000).

For women, the benefits of mentoring come from the support provided at departmental or organisational level that affect whether they stay with the organisation or leave, therefore affecting the retention levels of women in the organisation (Koontz et al., 2019). While a mentoring programme can be beneficial to both men and women, it is more important for women in overcoming gender related issues such as advancement to senior management positions (Dashper, 2019b). Therefore, the organisation itself is the integral component in a successful mentoring programme. Support from the organisation contributes to career development by providing mentees with opportunities: opportunities to contribute to the current skillset, and opportunities to move into senior positions in the organisation, or move on (Fearfull & Kamenou, 2006).

2.7.1 Types of Mentoring

This section outlines the diverse types of mentoring that are used informally and formally. For example, some mentoring comes in the form of networking or befriending, and reverse mentoring can be used if the mentee leads the relationship. The discussion in this section also addresses whether same-race mentoring is better than cross-race mentoring, and whether same-gender is preferred over cross-gender mentoring.

Mentoring relationships can be both informal and formal, and although they are quite similar, they do have quite distinct differences. Formal mentoring programmes are likely to occur in the workplace, and revolve around setting career goals with measurable timelines, usually based on organisational goals and objectives. Informal mentoring is not so structured, and depending on the natural interaction between the mentor and mentee, the relationship can evolve into a long friendship (Mentoring Complete, n.d). Women usually prefer formal methods of mentoring, as they often face difficulties finding influential mentors via informal methods. Women are usually reliant on formal mentoring programmes to assist their career growth into positions of power that can be provided through inside information from a mentor who is influential in their organisation (Dashper, 2019b). Informal mentoring can evolve naturally where either person may initiate the relationship. Allen et al. (2005) also suggested that formal and informal mentoring do not offer the same levels of mentoring; mentees who have received informal mentoring have reported greater success in their psychological career development with elements of more psychosocial support structures in the way of friendship and positive role modelling (Ragins & Cotton, 1993, as cited in Allen et al., 2005). Smith et al. (2000) suggest that formal mentoring programmes that are offered by the organisation are more effective for the future of White females. The authors also

add that ethnic minorities will struggle to find a suitable mentor, especially one that is of the same race, despite being inside or outside the organisation.

Another aspect of mentoring comes in the form of cross-race mentoring and same-race mentoring. Finding a mentor and building a successful relationship is key to forming positive networks within an organisation (Wilson, 2014). Ethnic minority mentees tend to attach themselves to people of the same ethnicity or share similar origins, which can limit their growth and development especially if the mentor and mentee share similar cultural ethnicities. In a study involving mentoring for youth development in the USA, Jucovy (2002) states that practitioners believe that youth are better matched if they are paired with mentors of the same-race. So, an adult mentor of a similar racial and cultural ethnicity cannot teach youth about coping mechanisms when the mentor does not know what it feels like to be in that particular minority group. Similarly, the youth cannot visualise a bright future full of prosperity and opportunity from mentor of a different race who has not experienced being in that specific minority race.

In contrast Randel et al. (2021) considered organisational cross-race mentoring beneficial for African American mentees, because White mentors have strong networking contacts that can support mentees' career advancement (Petersen, Saporta & Seidel, 2000, as cited in Randel et al., 2021). Pasifika respondents in Ofe-Grant (2018) research revealed that they preferred cross-race mentors (i.e., White) over a mentor of the same cultural heritage, because a cross-race mentor was seen to have influence and be able to enhance their career progress. In the area of education, Thorne et al. (2021) acknowledged that a mentor who is not the same race as their mentee, may not be well equipped to provide adequate support in areas of racism or stereotyping. The authors further suggests that white European (Pākehā) male mentors are least accepting, trusting, and supportive of their ethnic minority mentees, compared to mentees who are also white Europeans (Pākehā). Despite the challenges of the cross-race relationship, the influential positioning of the mentors enabled them to use their racial privilege to support the careers of their mentees (Thorne et al., 2021).

When considering cross-gender and same-gender mentoring, it is important to note that there are generally fewer female mentors than there are male mentors (Wood & Leck, 2008) so cross-gender mentoring is likely to involve a male mentor. Interestingly, female mentees paired with female mentors were found to receive more positive role modelling, and more rewarding intellectual and emotional support (Ragin & McFarlin,

1990, Koberg et al, 1998, Scandura & Williams, 2001, as cited in Allen et al., 2005). Allen et al.'s (2005) research addressed definitions and descriptions of the various types of mentoring but did not explain why one method works better than another.

Social identity theory suggests that interpersonal comfort is more present in same gender mentoring due to the shared social identities and experiences. Social interactions are fewer for female mentors dealing with male mentees compared to those of female mentors with female mentees, who are more likely to participate in social interactions after work (Ragins & Cotton, 1993, Ragins & McFarlin, 1990, as cited in Allen et al., 2005). Although research predominantly points to the positive effects of same-gender mentoring as opposed to cross-gender mentoring, Freeman Jr and Kochan (2019) suggested that to form successful cross-race mentoring relationships, it is important to build trust first, and be willing and open to discussing race and privilege. This will establish a foundation for a relationship with open dialogue, in which the mentor and mentee can ascertain if they have similar values and beliefs before commencing the relationship (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005, Allen et al, 2005, as cited in Freeman Jr & Kochan, 2019).

In contrast to traditional mentoring, reverse mentoring is seen as beneficial for leadership development by reversing who leads the relationship. Best explained by Smith (2019), reverse mentoring is a management method that pairs a senior employee to a junior employee, but unlike normal mentoring relationships, the junior employee is in charge. Jordan and Sorell (2019) added that reverse mentoring can be a tool to attract and retain younger people by providing the opportunity to gain clarity and acknowledgment between older management employees, and millennials. Modern reverse mentoring was designed to give organisations a more in depth understanding of how younger employees comprehend organisational functions whilst enabling them to speak their mind and share their thoughts and views on projects. In this situation, the organisation gains real insights, and can help its leaders understand how to work with the new generation entering the organisation.

The reverse mentoring relationship is beneficial for the organisation and mentee, just like traditional mentoring, a senior employee can create a good bond with the junior that can last the span of the career. Such a relationship provides the senior member a refreshing break from their normal daily routine, whereas the junior employee may find opportunities to take part in projects outside their everyday job functions; these allow

them to experience different areas of the organisation, which can be rewarding for them by giving meaning to their work (Smith, 2019). Benefits to the organisation include the ability to drive cultural change in the organisation, sharing digital skills between older and younger generations, increasing the retention of millennials, and promoting diversity so leaders can better understand the issues by minority groups such as LGBTQIA+ (lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, trans-sexual, queer, intersexual, and asexual etc.) and ethnic minorities (Jordan & Sorell, 2019).

Less traditional forms of mentoring also include networking and befriending. Ryan and Mooney (2019) suggested including networking as a mentoring tool to create, nurture, and maintain social ties that can be beneficial inside and outside the organisation. The ability to build networks within an industry helps in gaining influential mentors. Wang (2013) (as cited in Ryan & Mooney, 2019) suggested that would be crucial for working up hotel promotional ladders. Mulvihill (2011) suggested that mentoring and befriending can be used interchangeably, as they both form a support structure with elements of both social and formal relationships. A *befriending relationship* has a personal element to it and is based on mutual trust, discretion, and reciprocal interactions. Whereas a mentoring relationship is goal orientated and centred on knowledge, improvement, and growth, befriending develops informally and creates companionship and a supportive and social relationships that tends to last many years (De Cuyper et al., 2019).

2.7.2 Mentoring for Minorities By Minorities

The benefits of mentoring have a greater positive impact for ethnic minorities than they do for white Europeans (Pākehā's) however, Kogler Hill and Gant (2000) suggest that despite this benefit, ethnic minorities do not always have equal access to mentors and are often excluded from being mentored by senior leaders who can provide job opportunities. Mentoring, training, and coaching have some similarities, in that they are all useful developmental tools that enable growth, knowledge, and confidence for the recipients (Eissner & Gannon, 2018). Ethnic minority women have historically been under-represented in a range of areas, particularly at senior and corporate level leadership positions (McDonald & Westphal, 2013) but over-represented in lower paid casual work in industries such as the service sector (Hornsby & Scott-Halsell, 2015).

Mentoring, particularly in the service industry, needs women and those in minority groups. Kong et al., (2012) (as cited in Mooney, 2018) reiterated that the success and longevity of a career stems from the availability of mentors. Kogler Hill and Gant (2000) noted that cross-race mentoring (despite the plentiful research on what cross-race mentoring is), is uncommon due to problematic complications and the racial taboos it can involve. Cross-race mentees have also been noted to be treated differently by their mentors due to cultural stereotypes and racism. Cross-race and same-race mentoring are both beneficial, and provide significant career support; however, same-race relationships can offer more emotional and intellectual care in the form of trust between the mentor and mentee. The authors also observed that same-race relationships can ease the induction period and create bonds quicker, help form a greater sense of identity, enhance work-life balance, break through the inclusivity issues, and assist to create a fully supported and clearer pathway into an organisation for those in ethnic minority groups.

Fearfull and Kamenou (2006) recommended that dedicated organisational support is needed for mentoring programmes to work. This is important because it provides a sound base for ethnic minorities to excel. It is often the expectation of an organisation that those in ethnic minorities adapt themselves to every aspect of a mentoring programme and fit into the organisational culture. However, Kamenou and Fearfull (2006) commented that organisations need to move away from a persistent male-dominant mindset instead of forcing ethnic minority women to move towards it. Castillo et al. (2021) further explained that it is in the best interest of organisations to develop organisational strategies not just for measurable outcomes such as sales margins, but also for behavioural changes such as motivation, job satisfaction, and empowerment.

2.7.3 Disadvantages of Mentoring

Discrimination can arise in mentoring, according to Ibarra et al, 2010 (as cited in Richards et al., 2019), although organisations now offer mentoring programmes to both men and women, discrimination is evident in the form of the mentoring relationship, as it is most probable that women will be mentored by other women, who are not decision makers with power and influence. Unfortunately for women, any promotions that arise from being part of a mentoring programme, will be more likely offered to male mentees than to their female counterparts.

Dysfunctional and negative mentoring experiences can have impacts on mentees that outweigh the positive effects of mentoring. Negative mentoring can result from a mentee copying the bad behaviours of their mentor by mimicking them, physical withdrawal from absenteeism, loss of interest from a sense of betrayal, increase in stress, and a decrease in job satisfaction (Kumar & Blake-Beard, 2012). Dysfunctional or negative mentoring experiences are not uncommon unfortunately, and Wood and Leck (2008) acknowledged there will be breakdowns in the mentoring relationship as well as disappointments, difficulties, dissatisfaction, and even dysfunction.

A breakdown in a mentoring relationship influences the interaction itself, and career support, and can have long, negative, and damaging effect that can last well after the mentorship has ended. Dysfunctional mentoring interactions arise for reasons such as that one or both of the parties are unsatisfied that their needs are not met, or one or both parties are stressed from being in the relationship. This breakdown can be a result of a lack of or change of interest from either party, invasion and over-involvement in each other's personal lives, triangulation problems between mentor, mentee and the supervisor of the mentee, or that the relationship turns into a vicious one with jealousy, dependency, deprivation, lack of support, or abuse (Scandura, 1998, as cited in Wood & Leck, 2008). Dysfunctional or a lack of career related support can be caused by failing to assist the mentee to secure an appropriate position in the organisation; providing feedback, suggestions, or advice that is negative, unwarranted, or unhelpful; failure to coach, challenge, or protect from harmful situations; and failure to increase or promote the mentee's availability for future projects or jobs.

2.7.4 Disadvantages of Mentoring for Minorities

As well as dysfunctional mentoring issues outlined in the previous section, further issues are also present for those in ethnic minority groups. Women and those in ethnic minorities state there is a clear lack of access to mentoring programmes for them, compared to those available to their White male counterparts, and this may be due to the limited amount of mentors available, discriminatory practices, or other structural issues in organisations (Noe, 1998b, Kram, 1985, as cited in Smith et al., 2000). (Weyer, 2007, as cited in Dashper, 2019b) explained that female mentors who adopt the persona of masculine leadership will be perceived as cold, bitchy, and unlikeable, and any successes that result from their leadership or decision making, will not be accredited to them. (Girves et al, 2005, as cited in Thomas et al., 2007) referred to the negative

impacts of mentoring for ethnic minorities, who are prone to experience more isolation and limited access to mentorship programmes and role models, than do their non-ethnic minority peers. However, when mentoring programmes do become available, two different programmes can be provided: one for ethnic minorities, and one for others.

2.8 Summary

A job in the service industry is not considered a strong career choice in Aotearoa New Zealand (ServiceIQ, 2018, p.4). As one of the largest employers, the service industry suffered from the historical distrust of the Government in the 1950s, when service work was viewed as a "dummy subject" in high schools, and undesirable work due to its long unsociable hours and poor wages (Williamson, 2017). In 2020, it has suffered again from the effects of Covid-19, although research by Baum et al. (2020) found that the industry will indeed recover, but the struggles will remain, and in fact maybe amplified. Chen and Mooney (2020) explained that the service industry is dominated by women that are employed at the lower tiers of the industry, where they are likely to do the jobs that are considered to be women's work, referred to as gendered roles, this highlights the imbalances of gender in which the career paths of women differ from those of men. The glass ceiling theory refers to the gender imbalances that are evident in the underrepresentation of women in upper-level management and the lack of opportunities and promotions presented to women. Organisational support and mentoring are recommended for breaking through the glass ceiling, by providing support networks within organisations. Various methods of mentoring would be beneficial for the organisations, the mentors, and the mentees.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology - interpretivism - and the narrative analysis method that was used in this study. Starting with the philosophical and theoretical perspectives, the discussion explains the data analysis tool selected to produce the findings, and the personal reasons for this approach.

3.2 Philosophical and Theoretical Perspectives

According to Moon and Blackman (2014), there are three components of research: ontology, epistemology, and philosophical perspectives. These components assist in the application of philosophical principles and theoretical perspectives as a way to understand the research from the viewpoint of the researcher. These principles allow for a meaningful and precise interpretation of the results while avoiding assumptions that can misconstrue the data, affecting the end result and conclusions. Chia (2002, p. 3) also noted that a philosophical outlook assists in the construction of knowledge and engagement. He further added that such knowledge is often received via the cultural setting of the research, which can have an influence on how thoughts and attention are focused.

3.2.1 Ontology, Epistemology, and Paradigm

An ontology identifies something that exists that one can study and gain knowledge of (Moon & Blackman, 2014). Gray (2009) explained that *ontology* is the study of being, and the understanding of "what is," whereas the *epistemology* aims to understand "what it means to know," and recognises the existence of something and its reality. Ontology can be divided into two categories: realism and relativism. *Realism* describes a peripheral existence that exists and that can be measured, whereas *relativism* understands significance through the experiences and observations of an individual. The ontology of this research was relativist, because this allowed for an in-depth insight into, and greater comprehension of the perspective of Pacific women's experiences, revealed in interviews and observations. The collected data of insights and experiences illustrated the realities of being exposed to the effects of a glass ceiling that had evolved into a specific discriminative invisible barrier for women of Pacific descent in Aotearoa

New Zealand. Through the lens of relativism, this research analyses data on Pacific people in terms of how they are likely to be represented in the service sector.

The epistemology, according to Gray (2009), is the philosophical context for knowledge that is authentic and measurable. Moon and Blackman (2014) added that an epistemology concentrates on areas such as legality and validity, extent, and scope, as well as the process of obtaining the knowledge gained. Epistemology requires researchers to understand the philosophical perspective of the creation of knowledge, as well as how to gain knowledge, and what is possible to gain knowledge on (Chia, 2002). A constructivist epistemology allows for the generation of a background understanding of a specific topic, issue, or problem (Moon & Blackman, 2014), and while the effects of the glass ceiling are well documented, the views and experiences gained via primary research will strengthen current knowledge with new knowledge.

A *paradigm*, as defined by Göktürk (2005), is a set of assumptions or values, practices or concepts, that share a reality viewed or experienced by a group of people, particularly if they have a shared interest in an intellectual field. Various paradigms include (but are not limited to) positivism, structuralism, constructivism, critical theory, and interpretivism.

3.3 Qualitative Research

Interpretivism was relevant to this study because its aim was to understand the perspectives of respondents. Through the interpretations of a shared experience both culturally and historically, this research was able to analyse data from Pacific women who shared their views on the behaviours they had observed and experienced from their various workplaces and organisations. Through interpretivism comes phenomenology, which Moon and Blackman (2014) described as the crux of human experience, which can only be recognised and appreciated when the researcher is able to separate findings from their own experiences. The brown glass ceiling in this research is the phenomenon studied.

In qualitative research, data are collected in the form of words, using information sourced from reports, surveys, or face to face interviews, to gather concepts, thoughts, or experiences, whereas quantitative research aims to test or to confirm something in the way of a theory or hypothesis that can be measured against a fixed scale. It is the

analysis of this collected data that will form an interpretation and clarification of a topic (Johnson & Harris, 2002). In this research, a qualitative research method provided the ability to gain in-depth knowledge from the experiences of others that share a similar cultural background to that of myself and the researchers who collected the primary data analysed.

3.3.1 The Research Method: Narrative Analysis

As defined by Allen (2017), the *narrative analysis* method is used by researchers to understand or decode stories shared in the context of research and/or imparted in everyday life stories. Substantial, yet meaningful interpretations and conclusions can be arrived at, by focusing on elements set out in the topic of the research. Jones and Clifton (2018) also referred to narrative analysis as an ideal method when analysing stories from the perspective and experiences of the respondents. In research, knowledge is retrieved from the exploration and considerations of narratives, as anyone can tell a story, therefore, anyone can create a narrative to persuade the opinion of others (Kuenzler, 2021). In this research, the narrative analysis method aligned with cultural ethnicities of the respondents will be used to examine influences and make meaning. In this context, Saint Arnault and Sinko (2021) referred to "culture" as an influence on "our perception of ourselves, our world, our place in that world, and what we do as part of that world" (p. 2). The study of culture in narratives creates emphases on how culture can primarily steer the direction of the narrative, which then provides a more focused or tailored lens for analysis.

3.3.2 Ethical Considerations

As all data used in this dissertation were collected from secondary sources, no ethical issues were expected from the data collection process.

3.3.3 Data Collection

This research utilised secondary data to answer research questions. Convenience, time, and cost effectiveness are some advantages of using secondary data. The data were previously collected for research, and therefore provided opportunities to expand on the findings beyond what was originally analysed, through re-application, replication, and re-interpretation to investigate new ideas, theories, concepts, and frameworks of research design (Johnston, 2017; Shamblen & Dwivedi, 2010). This is different to

methods that use data collected at the source, as raw data can be detailed but inadequately structured, and at times, can be inaccurate and incomplete (Shamblen & Dwivedi, 2010). Limitations to the use of secondary data for this research, were that the primary researchers collected the data to answer a different set of research questions at a specific region or from a specific population of interest (Johnston, 2017).

The secondary data collected in one-on-one semi-structured interviews with Pacific people were collected for research by Tupou (2011), Ofe-Grant (2018), Mesui (2019) and Brown (2019), all of whom recognised glass ceiling and brown glass ceiling barriers, and the characteristics that affect career growth and upwards movement in organisations. All four qualitative studies were found in searches using key words such as: "glass ceiling," "mentoring for Pacific women," "inequalities of ethnic minority women," and the "brown glass ceiling" in Aotearoa, NZ.

3.3.4 Qualitative Data Resources

Case #	Data Source	Details
1	Smashing through the "brown glass ceiling": Exploring perceived barriers and facilitators to career advancement for Samoans in Aotearoa New Zealand. Ofe-Grant (2018)	Investigation of the glass ceiling for Samoans in employment, based on the lack of Samoans in senior leadership or management positions, and overrepresentation in labour intensive, manual, low-skilled jobs.
2	Pacific island women's experiences of the "brown glass ceiling" in senior management in Aotearoa New Zealand. Mesui (2019)	Research based on the brown glass ceiling and how it affects Pacific women because of their ethnicity and culture, and what contributes to the under-representation of Pacific women in leadership positions.
3	The effects of the glass ceiling on Pacific Island women in New Zealand organisations. Tupou (2011)	Research into the key barriers that hinder the advancement or upward progression of Pacific women into senior positions in New Zealand organisations.
4	Educational leadership through a Pasifika lens: Navigating their way in a New Zealand secondary school context. Brown (2019)	Research on indigenous leadership and how it reflects on the community the leaders serve, while facing issues such as attitudinal and organisational glass ceiling barriers that stop progression.

The qualitative data analysed in this research were collected by four female researchers of Pacific descent who were master's or doctoral students at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and University of Auckland (UoA) when their research was

collected. Through the narrative analysis lens, the data collected provided insights that were both damaging and informative – in this case, the realities shared by the respondents with these Pacific researchers, revealed real experiences and hard truths that Pacific people are facing within organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand.

3.3.5 Reflective Stance

My personal reasons for the chosen approaches come in three parts. Firstly, a qualitative interpretive approach supported my desire to understand and provide insights from the perspectives of Pacific interviewees in one-on-one interviews about their first-hand experiences. Alongside this approach, I subscribed to a relativist ontology that sought to find out what exists and its significance, through the experiences and observations of individuals. In this case, the brown glass ceiling was known to exist, and its significance was relevant because it has an effect an ethnic minority people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Secondly, using a narrative analysis lets me view their experiences through the eyes of a researcher, which gave me the opportunity to re-tell their stories in this dissertation. From the perspective of the previous researchers, it was interesting to me to find out the stories were told to them through words, and their reactions and expressions through spoken and unspoken body language. For example, when asked about experiences of racism, Mesui (2019) noted that respondents' tones altered to accentuate the emotion they felt during the experience being discussed. Another example of this was documented by Tupou (2011), who explained when interviewees shared their experiences of barrier prevention within their organisations, some became defensive, whereas others became upset. Thirdly, aligned with a constructivist epistemology that generates a background understanding of a specified topic, I was building on what I already knew, with new knowledge. I was able to personally relate to the experiences of the interviewees, and therefore, I was aware of the existence of the brown glass ceiling and was learning about the various effects it had on me as a person of Pacific Island descent.

3.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the theoretical perspectives used to support this research. The qualitative interpretive methodology proved useful in interpreting data gathered in previous research by highlighting the key features of the experiences of Pacific women. The relativist ontology verified the existence of the brown glass ceiling affecting Pacific

women, and how their experiences are different to those of non-Pacific women in Aotearoa New Zealand. Finally, the constructivist epistemology provided a contextual understanding of the data collected by the Pacific researchers by collating them to develop conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and discussions in relation to qualitative data on glass ceiling barriers for Pacific women in Aotearoa New Zealand, collected by Pacific researchers. The aim of this research had two parts: to explore the brown glass ceiling, and to identify a suitable support structure for Pacific women to break through the barriers to further advancement. Through the narrative analysis, the qualitative data presented prominent themes in the form of challenges that exist and support structures that are needed to enable more Pacific women to reach leadership positions in the service industry.

4.2 Ethnic Discrimination

Barriers such as discrimination were detailed in the qualitative data through first-hand experiences of stereotyping, bias, and tokenism. Ethnicity was perceived as a hinderance in some situations for respondents, where assimilation was suggested as a strategy to overcome the challenge of being ethnically different.

Research has revealed that ethnic minorities face more discrimination in the service industry than do others (Shum et al., 2020). Discrimination may show itself in different ways, and Aotearoa New Zealand is not immune to discriminative behaviours. Ofe-Grant (2018) suggested that discriminative beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours are present within organisations and impede individuals from reaching their true capabilities. Pacific people are more likely than other ethnicities to experience systemic and organisational barriers that prevent career progression, which suggests that the notion of diversity is promoted but not practised. The following experiences highlight the behaviours and attitudes at the respondents' places of work.

Case 1:

I always had the feeling that when they looked at me, they would be looking through me.

For example, rather than coming to me to talk about something, they would go to

someone else [...] which grated me a little bit.

Case 2:

...and sometimes it's still happening here in this day and age ...oh, that's a brown person so their job is to fetch and carry because brown people do all the servant work etc.

Case 3:

The problem in my workplace is the discrimination and the differences between men and women ...very big differences that keep us women from moving up to senior positions, such as Palagi (Pākehā) men get paid more than us women ... they get promoted easier than us ... really, really ...unfair ... but I won't give up. I believe in myself. I was born strong, and I have a lot of qualities and intuitive than those men in my workplace

Case 4:

I mean there's all sorts of unrealistic, crazy, dumb-arse expectations they have of you when you're brown...especially when you're in a space that people are not used to seeing you ...the glass ceiling is a lot lower when you're brown ... you have to be 100 times better ...

Cook and Glass (2014) referred to the mind-sets of decision makers in organisations, in which they perceive that people of a different ethnicity, gender or race, are viewed as less competent and incapable of leadership or management roles. Because such barriers exist, Pacific people are more likely to encounter the same organisational barriers to career progress than other ethnic minorities and people of colour experience (Landau, 1995, as cited in Ofe-Grant, 2018). Minorities therefore are viewed as less competent and capable in their roles in leadership, and because of the confidence demonstrated by others, view their leadership as weak and unconvincing. Their organisational decisions are not respected or valued, so if their performance weakens as a result of their leadership, they are replaced with a leader that is perceived to be more competent and capable, and mostly like not from a minority group (Cook & Glass, 2014). The negative consequences of being part of a minority group, according to Carton and Rosette (2011) are that they are perceived as incapable in their position, and experience a range of barriers, such as the staggering of their career advancement with a reduced chance of promotion into higher positions. This ultimately results in under-representation of minorities of different ethnicities, genders, or races, in leadership positions. Those ethnic minorities employed in senior management roles experience a heavily scrutinised

tenure and are promptly replaced if they demonstrate less than adequate performance, or if there are visible struggles because of their leadership. Those ethnic minority groups in senior management roles, have already experienced and survived a range of biased attitudes, and are most likely to be stronger and more resilient to resisting any further discriminatory behaviours (Cook & Glass, 2014).

Racism was experienced by participants in research by Mesui (2019) and Ofe-Grant (2018). This was identified as direct and indirect racism, with the most emphasis on indirect racism in subtle, covert forms. These racist experiences invoked feelings of resentment, anger, and isolation, which constrained career advancement.

Case 1:

I found racism in my accent. I do a lot of presentations and get asked "what nationality are you because your surname is not English?" or "you don't sound Samoan, your English is really good." [...] I was a minority, there weren't a lot of brown faces.

Case 2:

And I've turned up to meetings where I've taken my lawyer – and they've shaken her hand...thinking that she is the CEO... No, they don't know I'm Pacific because they see a Palagi (Pākehā) surname.

Mesui (2019) and Ofe-Grant (2018) documented institutional racism that appeared to be entrenched in core attitudes and beliefs in Aotearoa New Zealand, and almost appeared as normal traits and attributes of a society in which those who do not fit in are restricted and isolated:

Case 1:

I tend to think that my superiors are trying to keep me where they think I should be [...] it's like you put your finger on them, so they don't rise past you, which is very unfair [...] sometimes I think that underneath it is about racism and discrimination ...they're keeping you there in that spot because it suits them, or we tick a box [...] They do not have empathy for other cultures.

The data revealed first-hand experiences of racism in the respondents' places of work. Some of these experiences were in the form of labels. The term "coconut" is a derogatory name given to Pacific people, made into a more common descriptor during the Dawn Raids in New Zealand between 1974-1976. "Coconut" was used as a label by a non-Pasifika manager to describe a Samoan in the workplace.

Case 1:

I remember my (Pākehā) supervisor saying very quietly [...] this in another room [...] "yeah, we just hired another coconut...[...] man those fucking Samoans..."

Also:

my manager calls me "Pacific Princess"... nobody else was referred to by their race so why me?

Ofe-Grant (2018) noted 12 occurrences of the word "coconut" in four respondents' interviews, which suggests this term is commonly used in the workplace to refer to Pacific people despite the encouragement of diversity management and inclusive strategies described in this study. The label of "Pacific Princess" was frequently used in a condescending and patronising manner by one respondent's manager in meetings, conversations, and emails.

Stereotypes are formed from negative factors relating to ethnic and gender differences that are linked to social injustices (Brown, 2019) and based on assumptions around race, ethnicity, and gender. Ofe-Grant (2018) data revealed that gender, occupational, and racial stereotypes are attached to Pacific people, but experienced in different degrees. One respondent was mistaken for a cleaner in her place of work, and another, for catering staff:

Case 1:

I remember I went with another colleague with a proposal that needed tweaking [...] and so we met the marketing person [...] who gave me her rubbish bin [...] seeing the way she spoke to me was as if I was an idiot. She saw my brown skin and thought I was the cleaner. I saw that arrogance in her tone and didn't like that.

" ...catering staff have to enter through the side door."

One respondent (a Pacific male) was misidentified as an "air conditioning guy" by a visiting executive who commented to the male that his air conditioner unit was leaking; other occasions include being mistaken to be orderly staff, cleaners, or uninvited guests.

Case 2:

...and she encouraged me to hire the Palagi (Pākehā) ... but she said, "hire so-and-so because you're going to have issues with so-and-so" ... on paper they were both competent ...the Pacific Islander had the right attitude; she had the skills and the right attitude, but she had leave issues. The Palagi had skills and didn't have leave issues, but I was a bit worried about the attitude and the team fit in my space.

Mesui (2019) described assumptions respondents revealed about Pacific people; the assumption that all Pacific people live in a particular region of Auckland, and that if you speak good English, you are not born in the Pacific Islands. Another assumption relates to the stereotype that Pacific people are considered lazy or unreliable and can be a risk if hired. Historic stereotypes were noted by Mesui (2019), more than one respondent recognised they were being stereotyped by a colonised mindset: "our way is the right way and we know best" (p. 32).

Case 2:

That default attitude is racism. E.g., the people need a kick up the bum and they need to do this and we're here to help them – that attitude is colonialist [colonial] attitude and racism ... I am more intelligent ... racism is still colonialist [colonial] ...

Case 2 described having to deal with visits from colleagues (Pākehā) in overseas branches who had the mindset that they were superior and more intelligent than the respondent and other Pacific people.

As explained by Blank et al. (2016), unconscious bias can be a human characteristic that is quite natural and is loosely learned through cultural messaging. Growth develops from understanding people who are similar and share common traits, however, difficulties are met when people who do not share commonalities or do not take time to understand each other, and rather than aiming to grasp and understand cultures that are different, opinions are formed. The authors also suggest that quick judgement is made based on an assessment of someone or a situation, due to this automatic reaction related to how humans perceive each other, events, or situations, and form an understanding which leads to actions (or reactions) and unconscious decision making.

Mesui (2019) revealed contradictory behaviour between her and her supervisor when hiring, in the form of a conscious bias.

...if two people with the same credentials and stuff like that are being looked at by a non-Pacific person, they'll probably choose the non-Pacific person over the Pacific, yet the additional cultural context, understanding stuff like that is an asset which we don't actually count sometimes.

The role required cultural knowledge as a desired requirement, but a non-Pacific person was still considered first before a Pacific person was considered.

Case 3:

My supervisor is a white man, he is alright sometimes, and I feel bad working with him sometimes ... he thinks he knows everything, very bossy... plus ... he always takes things seriously and I wonder how I can develop a better networking with him.

Tupou (2011) noted an unconscious bias revealed by one respondent who felt her supervisor acted differently towards her, and although she was willing to succeed by learning to network with him, he treated her differently.

Tokenism is another trait in an organisation where maybe only one person of a specific race or gender is hired so the organisation is seen as diverse. However, this can push that person unintentionally into an unwanted spotlight which leads to pressures on performance with constant scrutiny from senior leaders and colleagues (Cook & Glass, 2014). In addition, due to the added pressures on solo minorities, they are less likely to have access to social or professional networks within their organisation. Mesui (2019) and Ofe-Grant (2018) both reflected on responses from interviewees who felt they were the token solo minorities in their organisations.

Case 1:

We knew that we had to do better in terms of our Kiwi counterparts [...] that we always had to prove a point to the Palagi. This is because we are most likely the only one of our kind.

Also:

The underlying theme is [...] whether it was directly said to me or hasn't been [...] "you got this role because you're Pasifika and you're male." And that line was thrown to me when I won the appointment here from an ex-colleague.

Respondents referred to themselves as being the only "one of a kind" because they knew that they were the only brown face in that team or workplace. They felt frustration, exhaustion, and discouragement from being labelled a "token," and felt they were under scrutiny in the workplace to work harder and perform better.

Case 2:

...yeah, I mean "token" in the sense of whether the rest of the organisation embraces that. And I think for (this area), they tend to be more embracive of the cultures – because we are in the hub of Pacific ... but as I say, sometimes it is all about, "okay, tick box, done that."

Also:

...I think they tend to try and expand by including Pacific in some of the leaderships and stuff ...for example, we have one Pacific (manager), which is fantastic, and that was a huge coup for us Pacific and, I think sense of, "oh, it's just tokenism."

Cultural values are of value, but not in the workplace - this research identified that cultural values are both an asset and a drawback, Ofe-Grant (2018) stressed the importance for organisations to gain cultural training and awareness and not allow the behaviours of a few people in an ethnic minority to represent the entire ethnic group. Some ethnic minorities resort to pushing aside their cultural pride, identities, and uniqueness in order to fit in with others in the organisation (Roldan & Stern, 2006, as cited in Wilson, 2014). Self-assurance and confidence may look different to ethnic minorities, and some may consider being passionate, bold, or confident as being brash or aggressive. Ethnic minorities may be uncomfortable with acting in the same manner, while they may be invisible due to their cultural penchant for modesty or shyness (Hyun, 2012).

Case 1:

I think one of the cultural challenges we have being [Pasifika], is that we have been brought up to really value and respect the other person [...] we are more interested in protecting the relationship and keeping other people happy, and that means that disagreeing with somebody is disrespectful.

Case 2:

... some of the challenges I had with older Pacific leaders ... "well you might be the boss of the organisation but you're just this little girl that I remember and ... I know your parents," so for me I think some of the tensions working – if you're Pacific in Pacific ...

This Case 2 respondent was referring to her cultural values that were questioned by a Pasifika male leader who undermined her position and challenged her authority.

Case 3:

But because of our Pacific Island culture, sometimes we can't say or show our disagreement.

Also:

If you want to survive, you have to speak up, if not you will become a slave for them especially if you are not a Kiwi.

Case 4:

A lot of challenges, sometimes you could be left isolated because they think "oh yeah, you've got it ... he's alright by himself ... he doesn't need this, he doesn't need that"

[...] a lot of non-Pasifika thought of using that Pasifika card or Pasifika rep to dump all the difficulties that they're facing and then leave you isolated.

This respondent in Case 4 was referring to being the informal contact person when issues arose for Pasifika students or staff, which were given to the respondent to work out because the non-Pasifika staff did not understand "Pasifika problems," "Pasifika issues" or the "Pasifika community" (Brown, 2019, p.33).

Ofe-Grant (2018) recalled an experience shared by a respondent in which respectfulness was seen as a cultural barrier in a situation between respondents of Pacific descent and their White European colleagues in more senior management positions. Verbal communication and eye contact was limited in Pasifika people because it is sign of modesty, demonstrating respect towards the person in the more senior position. Respondents noted during meetings that White European colleagues talked a lot, and with more volume compared to the respondents, who were listening, observing, turntaking, and waiting for other colleagues to finish talking before sharing their thoughts.

Case 1:

For me, it was having an interview with the inspector, and I have the utmost respect for him by looking down [...] that still happens today.

Also:

The Palagi doesn't understand fa'aaloalo [respect], and they regard our fa'aaloalo as a weakness [...] so because we were like that in everything that we did, they looked at us as if we're weak because we don't stand up and fight back, and things like that

For the European colleagues in senior management positions, lowering the eyes (looking downwards), not making direct eye contact, and limiting conversation, were viewed as a sign of weakness, and lacking in initiative. Being quiet during conversation or meetings was misinterpreted as not knowing anything and therefore not being a useful contributor of thoughts or ideas.

Case 1:

Don't you have an opinion, or are you filtering? How about you say something and not wait for everyone else?

Another example of being reprimanded by a manager:

People who sit at the table and don't say anything are only there for show and should go out the door that they came from.

Respondents noted the emotional hurt from being misinterpreted for not actively contributing to discussions when they believed they were being respectful by being quiet and were willing to share their thoughts outside the meeting. However, their behaviour was interpreted as deviant and weak in terms of leadership.

Mesui (2019) and Ofe-Grant (2018) suggested that assimilation was both useful and problematic, with more emphasis on it being a problem for their respondents. Assimilation as a strategy identified by Mesui (2019), was seen as practical and preemptive, as it could assist Pasifika women make a smoother transition into more senior roles in their organisation and prove themselves be effective in their positions. However, it was not easy for their respondents to do this, as they recognised that to measure up to organisational standards, they had to put aside their authenticity and cultural identity to be taken seriously in the workplace.

Case 1:

It's a shame that we do, but we have to act like [...] I know it's a bad word, but we have to act like Pākehās, Palagis.

...he acts white because he might not want to identify as a Samoan, so they don't even admit they're Samoans...

Case 2:

I find that when I'm in ... senior meetings with other senior leaders and there's a Pacific person in there, if they're female – I feel that they act as Palagi as possible [...]

Ethnic minority women are often forced to juggle or ignore their cultural identity in order to fit in and be accepted into an organisation that is White and male-dominated (Fearfull & Kamenou, 2006). They struggle to fit in to the organisation and find they are not supported or encouraged to represent their cultural ethnicity in any way. They are then forced to make a choice between separation or assimilation (Tupou, 2011). Cardno and Auva'a (2010, as cited in Brown, 2019) wrote that token leaders in senior positions do not represent the true picture of an ethnic group, in this case, of Pasifika women, because they are assimilated into a non-Pasifika ethnicity and therefore unable to truly partake in progression planning or develop programmes catered for Pasifika women in the organisation. Ofe-Grant (2018) viewed assimilation as insulting to those who were proud of their Pacific cultural heritage, rejecting their cultural identity in order to assimilate into a White European mindset; such behaviours were to be avoided. Assimilation would result in rejection and isolation from their ethnic group, so choosing to assimilate was more detrimental, than it was beneficial.

4.3 Support Structures

The second theme highlights the importance of a support structure that enables an individual and an organisation to mutually function effectively. Tupou (2011) explained that the attitudes of other work colleagues are significant in the career progressions of Pacific women in their organisations. Outlined in this section are the impressions of the deficits in this area, and what support would look like for Pacific women. The support section includes underlying themes, such as the two sides to organisational culture, and the use of mentoring to strengthen relationships and networks.

Organisational culture presents both problems and solutions for ethnic minorities. Although ethnic groups are diverse, and there is no single definition for "culture," Wilson (2014) defined *culture* as more than the colour of one's skin, as it is so much more robust than what is seen at face value. The mere lack of promoting or hiring ethnic minority women executives limits the number of ethnic minority mentors available in organisations — mentors who could be tremendously beneficial to ethnic minority women starting their careers. Limited access to mentoring programmes, training, and development, or other career enriching opportunities, could stunt the personal growth of many educated and qualified ethnic minority people long before they reach their full potential (Redwood, 1996, as cited in Wilson, 2014).

Tupou (2011) respondents acknowledged that gender roles were obvious in the workplace, as their behaviours were different to those of their male colleagues, especially if the colleagues were supervisors or managers. Characteristics indicative of the brown glass ceiling was those in which respondents noted that management and power were regarded as male responsibilities, which formed organisational culture as a barrier. Case 2 described an experience she had in a management position, where she was often challenged by male managers about her management style, which they did not favour.

Case 2:

Where I had pushback was from my male peers, the Pākehā men ...oh for goodness sake, just make a decision, stop asking us [...] good managers just make decisions ...

Case 3:

My supervisor is a white man, I do not feel comfortable working close to him, and he always picks on me, especially when we have departmental training.

Another respondent noted that the organisational structures particularly suited just men, especially when it was observed that their White male supervisor socialised only with other White men, who were also invited to attend sporting events, all features of the old boys' network that is a noted hindrance for women in the workplace.

Case 3:

The rules and structure of my workplace were designed to suit men, the boss socialised with the white men at work; they used to go out for sporting events, nothing for us women. I wonder when things will get be better for us women.

Also:

I just do my best, I don't go the extra mile because my manager won't take any notice, my family is really important to me, I have to balance my work and family, I need to have time with my husband and my children too.

Respondents felt that their male counterparts were seen to hold more senior level positions and were also paid more. Tupou (2011) also found the ratio of males to females was significantly unbalanced in the workplaces of respondents who had several concerns, one of them being the issue of a pay gap.

Case 3:

There are more men than women at my workplace, but I am suspicious of the pay rate, I have a bachelor's in communication, and I am sure there is a big difference in the pay scale of men than us women... most of the higher positions were taken by men. How can we change, what's the reason for this.

Mesui (2019) and Tupou (2011) found that organisational support systems were lacking for Pacific women in their places of work, particularly for those who juggled responsibilities outside their work lives such as those of family and the church. A lack of organisational support can lead to poor job satisfaction and a strain on meeting responsibilities outside the workplace.

In contrast, organisational culture as a support structure forms a much stronger layer of success than it does a barrier. Organisational change is not just realistic, but also achievable, and can address challenging work place attitudes that negatively affect the working lives of ethnic minorities (Castillo et al., 2021). Tupou (2011) found that respondents with a stable work-life balance felt that was beneficial to them, their work, and their family life.

Case 1:

We were in an organisation where the culture was really strong at giving people feedback, leading in technology, people management. I was lucky that I felt like I was being encouraged, that people were out help me and not shut me down.

Case 2:

... I've got a really good boss as well, so it's a fairly open relationship, I can talk to her as well about certain things and I think is - or if I have issues, or whatever it may be ...

Respondents explained how their working life changed for them when organisational support was genuinely present and active. Mesui (2019) mentioned the importance for organisations to understand that for ethnic minorities, being able to positively contribute to a healthy family life leads to having a stronger work life.

4.3.1 Mentoring

Mentoring is an integral part of a needed support structure for future Pacific female managers. One aim of this study was to ascertain if mentoring can break the brown glass ceiling, and what a mentoring programme would look like for Pacific women in their endeavours to reach senior level positions. Various recommendations on this topic were made by the researchers whose data were used in this study. For example, Tupou (2011) advised that mentees need genuine and sincere support from leaders in senior roles because their position is influential and beneficial for those seeking career development. It is hoped that mentoring would produce more brown faces in senior level positions.

Case 1:

I don't agree that only Pacific people can mentor, or coach Pacific students [...] in fact if you look at our world, it's very Western [...] these are the people that come from corporate worlds, who are going to be hiring and building teams that will have Pacific in them.

Also:

I don't think I could have coped if I didn't have those mentors. They helped me understand how to communicate in a different work context, talk, and have an appropriate behaviour ...

Case 2:

I have had a mentor in the past ... he was busting some huge myths for me during my time with him especially that people in our senior management roles are just people.

They don't have superpowers ... and he's recognised as a very well-loved effective leader with really strong values in the community – but just really balanced from a business perspective.

Case 4:

That first year, seriously there were a lot of things I didn't know [...] she is an amazing leader and she still my mentor at the moment [...] she had all this experience... she was so good, she set the standards so high, her training was so good ...

One respondent explained that senior level decision makers should have an open mind and think outside the box before making an evaluation or judgement, so decisions can be fair for everyone, and not just to suit a few people. An important recommendation for the longevity of mentoring programmes was to audit organisational processes and procedures for promotions, to assist in formalising processes, making them transparent and fair (McPherson, 2010, as cited in Tupou, 2011). As mentioned by Jones et al. (2000), aspirations of ethnic minority women who work in large, White, maledominated establishments, are not fulfilled, because the concept of managing diversity for leadership, is by the dominant group.

Case 3:

A good mentor will help the young ethnic women on their roles, building network with the managers and supervisor, as a result they will be happy and productive at work. In this way it will reduce discrimination and gender bias.

Respondents experienced negativity during their time as mentees. The following experiences reveal negative situations in mentoring partnerships that were difficult and unnerving due to cultural differences. These experiences raise questions in relation to whether cross-race mentoring, or same-race mentoring is better for the success of the mentoring relationship.

Case 1:

...rubbed him up the wrong way with irritating nonsense about fitness and Pacific players...

...every time I saw [name] I had angry thoughts in my head because he didn't know anything about Samoan culture...

The data included several examples of experiences of cross-race mentoring relationships.

Case 1:

I had some fantastic, superb mentors who are not Pacific, but have been open to learning my worldview and can see that I bring value into their context

Case 2:

I had some really good mentors – all men, senior managers, who were the ones who worked with me ...I had two really strong Palagi mentors ...both English men [...] so it was probably them in particular, but also the environment we were in, it was always very "what's possible, growing, moving forward."

Ofe-Grant (2018) found that some respondents did not prefer same-race mentors over cross-race mentors. This indicates a shift in cultural norms in which the acquiring and sharing of knowledge and experience was through mentors that were Pākehā, with the intent of accelerating Pasifika people into senior jobs.

Another aim of this research was to seek ways to build a support structure for Pacific women, in addition to support provided by mentoring. The following suggestions were provided by respondents to assist in the strengthening of support structures.

Case 2:

...here (work) they do a really good job in understanding where people are at in their life stages; whether you're a woman with a family or a father who is about to adopt, and they're really proactive – or they're making a real intentional effort to make sure that the people that we have get equal opportunities.

Also:

So, what helps me —I've got an excellent colleague. So, I would never have gone back to work without knowing that my support systems are and using them. I wouldn't have gone back, which is also a reason why I don't take other jobs too.

Case 3:

[...] the senior staff should be helpful and open mind to the new staff, and the boss should have an open mind and think outside the square before making a decision.

Sometimes the decision is made by the boss is only good for others but not for everyone.

Respondents made recommendations to Brown (2019), on ways of enhancing their attitudes and commitment in their roles as leaders. They reported that they felt highly valued because they were able to build trust in their support networks. All respondents in the included studies experienced some form of oppression that helped some of them move forward into better roles, but it was the strong support networks that provided the inspiration to support those following in their footsteps.

4.4 Summary

This chapter outlined the findings in the qualitative data used for this research, along with discussions about these findings. Through the lens of the narrative analysis, the qualitative data from four individual studies conducted between 2011 and 2019 were analysed. The data shared commonalities of themes, which assisted in developing the findings for this study. They each contained data on dissatisfaction in Pasifika women's work lives as a result of attitudes towards Pacific people and provided suggestions to support Pacific people in their ascent into leadership positions. The data were collected by Pacific researchers who resided in Aotearoa New Zealand at the time of their research.

The lens of narrative analysis assisted in producing themes that helped to understand stories' content, structure, and function (Saint Arnault & Sinko, 2021) This analysis presented common themes in the four qualitative studies in the form of challenges and support structures. The challenges that were prominent, presented obstacles that were experienced by Pacific people in their working lives, and not specific to an industry, occupation, or organisation. These challenges continue to affect Pacific people and are an underlying problem in New Zealand's workforce. The challenges appeared in the form of gender discrimination, racism, stereotypes, bias, and tokenism. The researchers also documented two additional challenges: organisational structures, and cultural ethnicity.

Dedicated support structures were recommended to help improve the working lives of Pacific people working in Aotearoa New Zealand, by overcoming the under-representation of Pacific people in leadership positions. Organisational support structures were recommended in the form of building genuine supporting and mentoring programmes to strengthen internal and external networks, promote engagement between employees and employers, and cross-cultural training to promote understandings of Pacific people and other ethnic minorities.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter marks the conclusion of this research with a summary of what was discussed. A summary of findings and reflections on the research questions is followed by the research's theoretical and practical implications. Lastly, limitations and suggestions for future research are presented.

5.2 Summary of Findings

This research used secondary qualitative data to identify and analyse the effects of glass ceiling barriers of Pacific women, referred to as the "brown glass ceiling" in this context because of the brown skin colour of Pacific people. The effects of the brown glass ceiling on Pacific women vary, as themes in the data discussed included discrimination (gender, racism, and organisational) and a lack of employment opportunities. The use of racist labels was identified as an underlying problem in the workplace and may have been considered a joke but were received as being offensive. Also mentioned was the need for organisational support to assist in providing opportunities and set a clear path for Pacific women and other ethnic minorities to leadership positions.

Despite government policies to reduce discriminatory attitudes in the workplace, Pacific people, and those of other ethnic minorities, still experience discriminatory behaviours and constraints. One of these constraints is the Pacific pay gap. Tupou (2011) noted the suspicion of one respondent who suspected she was earning less than were the men in her workplace, even though she held a university degree - this demonstrates the maledominant culture prevalent in New Zealand that is reflected in the gender and racial pay gaps. The NZ Human Rights Commission launched the Pacific Pay Gap Inquiry to determine why the pay gap exists and how it can be closed. This inquiry found that the greatest gender and ethnicity pay gap is that between White European men (Pākehā) and Pacific Island women (29%). The gap between the pays of White European (Pākehā) men and Pacific Island men was significantly smaller, at 22% (Pacific Pay Gap Enquiry, 2020).

The researchers also documented other double-edged challenges such as cultural ethnicity and organisational structures, which were viewed as being both a hinderance as well as a benefit to Pacific people. *Cultural ethnicity* was a term used to describe

some of the cultural practices of Pacific people, such as not making eye-contact with someone in a senior position as a sign of respect. Pacific people who present as being humble and quiet, may be considered shy and lacking in intelligence, whereas they are just showing respect. Organisational structures were seen as a hinderance when support was lacking. Brown (2019); Mesui (2019) noted that the lack of support meant their respondents were unable to successfully attain work-life balance and become a "go to" person to resolve problems that were Pasifika related in addition to doing their job. Three of the four authors of the studies examined in this research commented that Pacific people resorted to assimilation to fit in and be accepted by their non-Pacific colleagues and avoid being labelled or targeted with racial jokes. Respondents viewed assimilation by acting as a Pākehā, as an insult and rejection of their cultural heritage. Mesui (2019) and Ofe-Grant (2018) identified the use of degrading labels that respondents said were used both openly and covertly. Labels such as "coconut" and "Pacific Princess" were used as labels for respondents by their Pākehā supervisors, exposing the supervisors' racist attitudes.

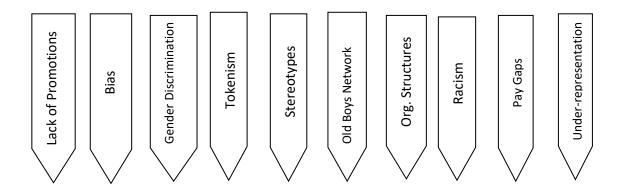
A significant part of this research was dedicated to identifying the different forms of discrimination that affect Pacific women. The findings suggest that discrimination against Pacific women exists in Aotearoa New Zealand, and although this research lacked primary data from Pacific women working in the service industry, it is expected that discrimination exists there too.

5.2.1 Conceptual Model

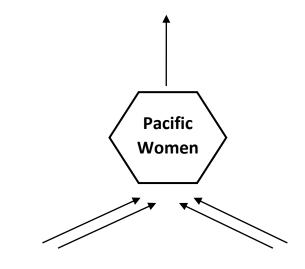
A conceptual model of the brown glass ceiling (Figure 4) affecting Pacific women was drawn from the findings in this research and focuses on the barriers that Pacific women face in their working lives in Aotearoa New Zealand. There are two parts to the model, with the "brown glass ceiling barrier" in the centre. Above the barrier of power, privilege and prosperity, oppressions such as discrimination related to gender, ethnicities, and culture, are focused in a downwards motion towards the barrier, keeping it in place, strong, and impenetrable. Below the barrier are Pacific women and the support structures that are needed to provide assistance in order for them to break through the barrier.

Figure 4: Conceptual Model of the Brown Glass Ceiling and Pacific Women

Power, Privilege, and Prosperity



The Brown Glass Ceiling Barrier



Mentoring Programmes

Organisational Support

Support Structures

Note: Authors impression of the glass ceiling barrier on Pacific women and support structures that can assist in breaking through the barrier and discrimination.

5.3 Reflection on Research Questions

There were two research aims outlined in Chapter one that were referred to throughout this study. The first aim was to explore the brown glass ceiling and its effects on Pacific women, and their ascent into senior leadership positions in Aotearoa New Zealand. The second aim was to identify suitable support structures to help Pacific women break

through the brown glass ceiling and move into more senior management roles. The research questions guiding this research were:

RQ1: Whether a brown glass ceiling affecting Pacific women exists in the service industry of Aotearoa New Zealand?

RQ2: How does the brown glass ceiling affect Pacific women in the service industry of Aotearoa New Zealand?

RQ3: What is needed to support Pacific women to break the glass ceiling in their ascent into senior leadership positions?

In response to research question one, it was found that the brown glass ceiling does exist. This was evident because Pacific women in this research were consistently in the lower echelons of their organisation, and their experiences as discussed in this research, provided evidence of the effects of those barriers. The effects of Covid-19 strengthened the barriers, exacerbating existing challenges for the industry that was not necessarily responsible for the creation of new problems arising from the pandemic (Baum et al., 2020). Despite ample research on cultural awareness, inclusivity, and managing diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand, discrimination still exists. "Managing diversity" is a term used by human resource practitioners, but challenges the concept of the phrase when referring to matters of difference within organisations (Jones, 2004). The concept of diversity revolves around matters of cultural awareness and inclusion (Prasad et al., 2005); therefore, employing a diverse work force is not an easy fix or one-size-fits-all approach to managing corporations of ethnically diverse people.

In response to research question two, it was concluded that the brown glass ceiling had affected Pacific women in Aotearoa New Zealand. This persistent barrier is difficult to penetrate, due to factors such as the Pacific pay gap, discrimination by gender, ethnicity and colour, racist labels, lack of promotional opportunities, tokenism, stereotypes of gender and ethnicity, bias, and the presence of the old boys network, that leads to underrepresentation of Pacific women in senior leadership positions.

The answer to research question three was to initiate mentoring programmes and the strengthening of organisational structures. If Pacific women are unable to find ways to break through the brown glass ceiling, then there will be no Pacific managers; if there are no female managers of Pacific descent then we will never see a Pacific female

director or CEO of an organisation, either in Aotearoa New Zealand or globally. Clendon (2020) pointed out that institutions have created organisational policies that were written by biased people, thereby perpetuating racism and systemic bias. Therefore, the best support structure is one that is built without any form of discrimination, and one that provides guidance in the way of mentoring to create interpersonal value between the mentee and mentor and aligned to the needs and values of the organisation.

5.4 Theoretical Implications

An important contribution of this research was to add to the literature on the brown glass ceiling, and its effects on Pacific women. The qualitative data revealed specific insights into the working lives of Pacific women, and were sourced by Pacific researchers, providing authentic stories of significant experiences that are taking place in Aotearoa New Zealand. These insights revealed that Pacific men were also affected, although their experiences were not exactly the same, as in some cases Pacific men were treated better than were Pacific women, for example, in terms of pay. Through the data, Pacific women could be seen working alongside colleagues and managers that were actively discriminating against them for their ethnicity, culture, race etc. Organisational support was recommended by the respondents, which suggests that organisational support needs more attention and is a much-needed initiative.

The adversities experienced by the Pacific respondents also aligned to intersectionality theory, which focuses on the intersecting forms of discrimination, and is an essential framework for understanding oppressions that are formed through privilege and power. The data revealed that the Pacific women had experienced overlapping forms of oppression, based on factors such as their ethnicity, age, gender, or even their religion; often, these factors are all present at the same time in a Pacific woman's life and career.

5.5 Practical Implications

The findings of this research provide practical implications for employers seeking to employ, manage, or empower a workforce consisting of Pacific people. Cross-cultural awareness is important and needed so organisations can address entrenched systemic discrimination. An organisation can understand ways of communicating effectively with co-workers from the Pacific and understand why they use a different type of body

language, such as limited eye contact, and being reserved during meetings. Diversity management needs to be addressed within organisations, but this research demonstrated that this is not yet effective.

Human resource practitioners may benefit from the use of focus groups with employees who share similar characteristics (eg. cultural ethnicity, gender, age, disability, etc) or a commonly shared situation (eg. employee induction, training, etc) where they can share their experiences and offer suggestions to help the organisation understand the workplace from their perspectives to anticipate change for the better. Utilising focus groups can reflect on organisational values and its commitment to its labour force and queries if it motivates trust in the leadership or belief in its product they are selling. Just as they are used as a qualitative data collection tool, focus groups are immeasurable because they collect experiences and dialogue. Advantages of focus groups can validate, inform, and compare previously collected data that can still be used to initiate changes. Limitations to this method can be from being set in a structured setting and participants may share experiences that may depict themselves more or less favourably (whatworks.org.nz, 2020).

Despite government agencies such as Statistics NZ collecting data on racial discrimination (e.g., the NZ General Social Survey) and academic literature describing the practices of managing diversity for human resource practitioners (Jones, 2004), diversity management needs to be strengthened at government level. This would alleviate the effects of the brown glass ceiling affecting Pacific women and those of other ethnic minorities. These implications suggest the need for support systems in organisations, that can provide possibilities for Pacific women to advance and thrive and gain experience and knowledge.

5.6 Limitations of the Study

This research was focused on the experiences of Pacific people living and working in the service sector in Aotearoa New Zealand; therefore, there are various limitations to be considered. Knowledge that is received through culture can influence a researcher in terms of how attention is focused and directed (Chia, 2002). The first limitation of this research is the nature of this research, which may be viewed as subjective. However, this is to be expected in knowledge creation, particularly by myself, as a researcher of Pacific Island descent.

Findings from this research based on secondary data of Pacific women's experiences and observations may not be a true representation of the experiences of all Pacific people living and working in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, a second limitation arises; the respondents were of a mixture of Pacific people, so their experiences may have varied depending on the island they originated from, whether they were New Zealand born or migrants, their age, and perhaps the number of years in their job, at the time the data were collected.

A third limitation in this research is the limited amount of academic literature on the experiences of Pacific people working in New Zealand's service industry. Mesui (2019) also noted this limitation on the lack of research on the brown glass ceiling and its effects on Pacific people in New Zealand.

A fourth limitation arises from the use of secondary data. Primary data are obtained using specific interview questions, whereas secondary data are used to answer research questions that data collection processes were not designed for (Shamblen & Dwivedi, 2010).

5.7 Suggestions for Future Research

Further research is needed on the topic of ethnic minority women's experiences, both negative and positive (Fearfull & Kamenou, 2006). Further research from the point of view of Pacific women working in Aotearoa New Zealand and Pacific women globally, would add more depth to the literature on ethnic minority women, based on experiences influenced by their cultural beliefs. Suggestions for further research are in two parts; it is recommended that more qualitative research is directed into a) the effects of the brown glass ceiling on Pacific people (male and female) to add more knowledge to the literature on this topic, and b) forming a more accurate definition of the brown glass ceiling and its barriers and stigmatised traits that prevent Pacific women from reaching senior levels in organisations.

A second suggestion for future research is to conduct qualitative research into the brown glass ceiling in the service sector in Aotearoa New Zealand. The service sector is not seen as a viable career option for Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand, however, ServiceIQ (2017) stated there were 28,321 Pacific peoples working in the service sector. Therefore, another avenue for research would be to collect data from Pacific people

currently working in senior levels of the service industry, to explore their versions of the brown glass ceiling and their relevance to this industry.

A third suggestion is to conduct a longitudinal study on Pacific women throughout their careers. This could be conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand or globally and would be beneficial for gaining insights into experiences at various stages of the careers of the same individuals, to identify any changes in their attitudes and behaviours.

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