The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my beautiful sister
~Leota 'ODA' Ane Aunoa Salanoa~
27 October 1975 – 14 May 2019
a aunoa le alofa, e nutipala le fa'amaoni
a aunoa le agalelei, ua lelea le fealofani
a aunoa le fusifusi, ua motusi le feoeoea'i
You are loved, you are missed and you are remembered.

ABSTRACT

The Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme is New Zealand's first contract labour migration programme aimed at enhancing development in the Pacific and assisting employers in New Zealand (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010). The RSE is an important, distinct and arguably unrecognised workplace setting for participating Pacific Island countries. A focus on the communication within the teams in this setting has the potential to offer useful information to organisations to enhance practicalities, as well as to understand the role of culture in the communication practices of the sojourner groups. To capture a holistic understanding of the communication patterns of the Samoan seasonal workers, this study centres on workplace competence (including transactional and relational features of talk) specifically as it relates to the communication skills of seasonal workers from Samoa under the RSE scheme.

The qualitative design of the study encompasses an ethnographic approach, which embraces in-depth semi-structured interviews alongside workplace observations and audio-recordings, in the context of horticultural work. It makes use of and extends Pacific methods by adopting the *Fatugātiti* model (a developing methodology that recognizes the subtleties and nuances of a Pacific context) and putting this model into practice, which I argue, is relevant to both analysis and to data collection methods where participants are co-researchers and equality is prioritised. Fieldwork involved two phases and was carried out for 8 months between February and December 2017. Following the established seasonal movement of workers (February-May in Samoa) and (June-December in New Zealand), Phase 1 was carried out in Samoa, where seasonal workers from two groups were interviewed in their villages prior to their travel to New Zealand. The second data collection phase (Phase 2) involved observations, recordings and debriefs and was carried out in New Zealand, in the Hawkes Bay and the Bay of Plenty, where the seasonal workers from the participating groups are contracted for employment.

Drawing on data collected from participants in (1) an established and (2) a novice group of Samoan seasonal workers, this research explores transactional and relational

practices in workplace discourse. My analysis indicates that these practices are community driven, that is, the ways in which the participants enact task-based and people-focussed interactional strategies in the workplace are shaped and motivated by the cultural norms they bring with them. These practices are employed as a means to encourage productivity, accomplish workplace goals and simultaneously support relationships and contribute to team culture. Despite being in a foreign country and working in unfamiliar conditions, the data provides evidence of participants adapting to new contexts, seeing the benefit in the work they do and finding a collective routine to negotiate working life while in New Zealand.

Findings from this study exemplify strong Samoan cultural traditions that people integrate into day-to-day customs and practices. The inherent relationships, the multifaceted layers of interactive solidarity, the group dynamics and the dimensions of hierarchy are a manifestation of culture enacted in ways that are specific to the particular workplace. For these groups of seasonal workers, their practices illustrate activities that are deep-rooted in the cultural norms of families, churches and village communities. The use of transactional and relational practices and the emphasis on working together as a group serves to conserve and stabilise the community in the field.

This study aims to make a contribution to the use of culturally appropriate research methods for workplace communication, especially in the under researched area of blue-collar work environments. It also addresses the need for greater engagement with analytic frameworks that take account of Pacific knowledge and skills, embedded in the context of Samoa. The research strengthens the current dialogue in the workplace context, especially around issues of mobility as well as intercultural and multilingual interaction.

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CONTENTS

TABLES AND FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

ABOT	American and British Office Talk
AI	Appreciative Inquiry
CA	Conversation Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CoP	Communities of Practice
DAG	Discourse Analysis Group
ESPG	Education Sector Proposal Grant
FGR	Faculty of Graduate Research
FVRF	Fijian Vanua Research Framework
HEC	Human Ethics Consideration
HR	Human Resource
IS	Interactional Sociolinguistics
L2	Second Language
LALS	(School of) Linguistics and Applied Language Studies
LWP	(Wellington) Language in the Workplace Project
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment
MCIL	Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labour
MPMC	Ministry of the Prime Minister and Cabinet
NUS	National University of Samoa
PO	Principal Officer
RSE	Recognised Seasonal Employer
SBS	Samoa Bureau of Statistics
SEU	Seasonal Employment Unit
TRM	Talanoa Research Methodology
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington

GLOSSARY

Throughout the thesis, Samoan words are used. To help ensure fluency, the first time a Samoan word appears, it will be in *italics* with a gloss. Subsequent use of these terms will be in plain font and without translation. For reference, please refer to the glossary. This format takes into consideration the presence of the Samoan language and allows the thesis to be read in a cohesive way.

‘āiga	extended family
‘aso	batten
‘ato	basket
‘au‘au	ridgepole
‘aumaga	untitled men
‘ava o le feiloaiga	welcoming (kava) ceremony
ali’i	chief matai
alofa	love/care
aso	day
aumoega	courtship
fa’aaloalo	respect
fa’afaletui	a gathering of people for a specific purpose
fa’afetai	thank you
fa’afiafiaga	dancing and entertainment
fa’aipoipoga	wedding
fa’alavelave	obligation
fa’alupega	honorifics
fa’asāmoa	Samoan ways
fa’asoa	an exchange of views and opinions of people
fa’atulima	reciprocated formal greeting
fafo	outside
faguu’u Samoa	Samoan oil
faigafaiva	fishing
fale	house
fatu	weave/heart

fatugātiti	weaving a titi
fau	hibiscus tiliaceus
feagaiga	covenant of respect between a brother and a sister
folafola	acknowledge
fono	meetings
fulumoa	bird feathers
gaogao	emptiness
itiiti	little
koko Samoa	Samoan cocoa
kuka	cook
launiu	coconut leaves
lautalotalo	poison bulb
lauti	ti leaves
lega	turmeric
lima	hands
lotu afiafi	evening prayer
maliu	funeral
mālōlōga	rest
malu	sheltered
matai	chiefs
nu'u	village
palagi	European Westerners or Caucasians
pese	song
pitonu'u/faleātua	sub-village
pu'a	hernandia peltata seeds
saofa'i	bestowal of a chiefly title
silasila	to look
soālaupule	giving and taking of opinions with regards to authority
tā'ua	us
talanoaga	an informal discussion of anything or everything
tamāli'i	high chiefs
tatau	tattoo

taulele'a	untitled men
taumafataga	meal time
tauvala'auga	roll call
teuila	ginger leaves
titi	grass skirt
tōfā	wisdom
tuafafine	sister
tufa'ava	'ava distributor
tulāfale	orator chief
tuligāmanu	hunting
vā fealoa'i	respected space

TRANSLATION

In the Samoan context, chiefs and orators often use *alagā'upu* and *muāgagana* (Samoan proverbs), which are taken from myths and legends, history and the ordinary lives of Samoan people. The use of these proverbial expressions is a strategy in oratory when elaborating and embellishing the language (Schultz, 1980). The use of Samoan proverbs as preambles in this thesis has cultural relevance for understanding the content of each chapter and illustrates the importance of cultural values in my research. While there are various ways of translating these proverbs, my explanations and interpretations are drawn from Schultz (1980) together with guidance from my Samoan advisors.

For the data set, the translations of participant interaction and workplace communication are written with the intended meaning in mind. Accordingly, the translations in this thesis are not verbatim; rather, they aim to capture the meaning expressed by the participant(s).

1 INTRODUCTION

Ua tapapa galu ae temeteme sivasiva le piapia
The ebb and flow of tireless waves hitting
the rocks, making the sea foam dance

1.1 RATIONALE

As a Communication Studies lecturer working in a vocational education context in Samoa, I was challenged to find ways of improving communications skills for those training to enter different trades. Knowing how to support these students meant understanding their workplace communication needs and their future linguistic practices. In particular, as a Samoan researcher, I am drawn to improving workplace communication opportunities within my community, concentrating predominantly on identifying and enhancing successful communicative competence. This thesis investigates the workplace communication of Samoan seasonal workers, tracking them from their Samoan villages to their New Zealand worksites, with the aim of gaining a holistic understanding of their communication patterns. The opening proverb *Ua tapapa galu ae temeteme sivasiva le piapia* summarises the impetus in undertaking this qualitative, ethnographic research, and in particular my prioritisation of naturally occurring workplace interactions. The constant ebb and flow of waves hitting the rocks is evocative of the perseverance required to gather knowledge, but learning and interacting with people is exhilarating (like the foaming and dancing), and I hope I will offer a small yet meaningful contribution to the area of workplace discourse.

All components of my research - the data collection, the methodology and theory, and my "being part of the conversation" - are inspired and influenced by the Samoan culture; I incorporate *fa'asāmoa*[1] or Samoan ways, which play a vital role in my community. A focus on workplace communication offers important information to

[1] There is great suppleness in this broad concept, but for the purposes of this research, it refers to the Samoan language, including socio-pragmatics and various cultural practices.

organisations so that they can be productive and operate effectively (Fernie & Metcalf, 1995). My area of interest is workplace competence, specifically as it relates to the communication skills of seasonal workers from Samoa under New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme. I seek to explore how these skills can be improved to help Samoa as a participating country sustain such a scheme. I apply a Samoan research methodology to try to gauge what "works" in the workplace for Samoans and most importantly enhance the situation for seasonal workers for whom English is a second language.

1.2 RECOGNISED SEASONAL EMPLOYER (RSE) SCHEME

The Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme is an initiative by the New Zealand government taken to meet a short-term demand for workers, particularly those who do not qualify for entry under selection policies that prefer migrants with high-level skills and qualifications (Ramasamy, Krishnan, Bedford & Bedford, 2008). Seasonal migration programmes aim to be beneficial to the migrant, the sending country and the receiving country. While New Zealand has long depended on immigrants to increase the national supply of labour, there has been a significant rise in the number of temporary migrants arriving in recent years (Bedford, Bedford, Wall & Young, 2017; Gibson, McKenzie & Rohorua, 2014; Gibson & McKenzie, 2010).

New Zealand's Recognized Seasonal Employer (RSE) Scheme is a large and expanding programme that benefits Pacific Island Forum countries by offering employment in the agricultural sector to non-New Zealand nationals or resident workers (Seasonal Employment Unit, 2015). The scheme was launched in 2007, in response to a considerable shortage in the horticulture and viticulture sectors (Lamm et al., 2010), with the key objectives of enhancing development in the Pacific and assisting employers in New Zealand (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010). The scheme allows eligible workers to undertake seasonal work in New Zealand for a maximum of seven months in any eleven-month period (although actual times can vary depending on the employer) in planting, maintaining, harvesting or packing crops for an approved employer in the horticulture and viticulture industries (Nunns, Roorda, Bedford &

Bedford, 2013; Seasonal Employment Unit, 2015, Gibson & McKenzie, 2010). New Zealand employers go through an accreditation process to achieve RSE status and they need to demonstrate a commitment to recruiting and training New Zealanders before looking for workers from overseas[2] (refer to Appendix A).

Although the RSE scheme has offered temporary employment for Pacific workers during the past decade, arguably turning one of the most significant policies for aiding Pacific families in their own communities, criticisms have been raised about the scheme, notably in terms of the exploitation of the works. From the perspectives of the employers, the demand for Pacific seasonal workers continues to grow (Bedford et al., 2017), yet the RSE is at present restricted at 10 500[3] arrivals per annum. The strict constraints around arrival, departure, length of stay and the eligibility of employers/contractors, the compulsory conditions required within the workplace are some of the inflexible charges that are seen as problematic. From the point of view of the seasonal workers, there are complaints about earnings, living expenses, and disproportionate charges mostly concerning weekly rates for shared accommodation (Bedford et al., 2017). These concerns have been presented in studies of the RSE scheme (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; Rockell, 2015; Bailey, 2017; Bedford, 2013). Rockell (2015), providing a critical lens on the RSE policy, argues that the exploitation is,

> closely linked with employment of undocumented migrants at rates of pay lower that those otherwise prevailing in the sector. The implication is that undocumented migrants are more at risk of exploitation than unfree labourers on officially sanctioned contracts and much of the literature supports this notion. This notion of exploitation revolves around legal definitions and the domestic labour market. From this prevailing perspective, workers who are

[2] http://www.samoastrong.ws/seasonal-work.html

[3] The RSE scheme has always had a cap on numbers of seasonal workers who are permitted to enter the country each year in order to protect this type of work for New Zealanders. The initial cap was 5000 but this was reached within 2 years. The cap was then raised to 8000, where it remained until July 2015 when it was raised to 9000 and then in November 2015 to 9500 followed by a further increase in November 2016 to 10, 500 (Bedford, Bedford, Wall & Young, 2017, p. 52).

> paid at market rates (the same as domestic counterparts) and at or above the minimum wage, are free from exploitation (p. 26).

Whilst the scheme has been criticised as focussed on the use of temporary migration as a means to deal with labour shortages (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010; Gibson, McKenzie & Rohorua, 2008; Lovelock & Leopold, 2008), the RSE has simultaneously been dubbed 'best practice', having achieved its specified short-term aims of supporting New Zealand employers to meet labour shortages and increase productivity while also adding to development goals in the Pacific (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010; C. Bedford, 2013; R. Bedford et al., 2017). The scheme is also considered by many stakeholders to be delivering 'wins' for participating employers, as well as for workers and their families (Bedford et al., 2017). Successive surveys of horticulture and viticulture companies in New Zealand indicate that the RSE scheme has supplied major productivity gains for many participating employers. These gains have assisted them to invest in business improvements and expansion at a consistently higher rate than non-participants (Research New Zealand, 2015). The scheme has arguably also benefitted Pacific countries and more specifically Samoa as alluded to by the Samoan Prime Minister in a 2015 statement:

> I believe the evidences will speak for themselves and there is no doubt the success of the RSE policy has and will continue to provide a solid foundation for continuous development of a strong and productive relationship between the labour receiving countries and their respective horticultural industries, and the Pacific island sending countries and Government agencies[4].

Samoa supplies the third largest number of workers under the RSE, behind Vanuatu and Tonga (Nunns et al., 2013; Gibson & McKenzie, 2010; Seasonal Employment Unit, 2015). The scheme continues to be at the helm of village developments, allowing families in Samoa to generate income to assist them with school fees, church donations and *fa'alavelave* (social obligations), but most importantly, to support the

[4] NZ-RSE Employers' Conference from 9-11 July 2015 Apia opening address by Samoa's Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi in samoa.samoagovt.ws/2015/07/nzs-seasonal-employers-meet-in-samoa/

general wellbeing and standard of living that comes with a reasonable level of income. Anderson[5], who is the local contact for one of the groups involved in my research and the founder of the Community Trust spoke admiringly about the benefits the community has reaped from the RSE scheme.

> The fact that they can go away and at the end of a week hold in their hand what if they were here would take months and months to earn, that's the big difference. Making sure that these workers are well prepared to maximise the opportunity is paramount (Anderson, interview data, 15 March 2017).

Despite the critiques of the RSE and in some ways supporting the exploitation, for these groups of seasonal workers the earnings they receive are judged good enough in terms of the Samoan economic context and because it enables them to fully support their families. As will be seen in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the men are appreciative of the opportunity to be engaged with RSE work. Regardless of the working conditions and the uncertainties in having their work hours reduced, they know that the money they get is able to provide and sustain their families in Samoa. Glimpses of these circumstances were seen in the field work where concerns were raised at times, but these concerns were largely outweighed by reference to stability and opportunity, being responsible to the group and performing to the best of their abilities.

Samoan candidates are selected from a group of unemployed or self-employed people in their early 20's. They range from those who did not perform satisfactorily in high school, to those who dropped out of secondary schools but have little command of the English language. Successful candidates include individuals who completed the secondary school level through to those who have had at least a year of tertiary education. It is usually expected that these workers will have enough English language knowledge and skills to be able to survive in a New Zealand workplace. It is also assumed that they have an understanding of how English is used in a range of contexts and that they have attained an ability to use English for a variety of purposes. The motivation for this study is to focus on workplace communication to critically

[5] Pseudonym – Local Contact for the Established Group.

consider the actual communicative practices of the workers and thereby challenge or confirm some assumptions and goals.

Some argue that for people to be able to effectively communicate, especially within fields such as international trade and economics, as well as diplomacy, a common working language is necessary (Nunan, 2001, 2003; Pan & Block, 2011). However, the use of English over the years has changed considerably, "reflecting patterns of contact with other languages and the changing communication needs of people" (Graddol, 1997, p. 2). Language is an essential tool to access knowledge and participation, but prescriptive approaches seem outdated. One of the most important things is the use of language appropriate to the setting. While the societal assumption might be that communicative competence emphasises the use of English, in practice, this disciplinary viewpoint overlooks the demanding work the seasonal workers do and the reality of the interactions in which they are involved. As will be seen in Chapters 4 and 5, the seasonal workers move between Samoa and New Zealand as a village. In addition, the workers are not in New Zealand to learn and use the English language to communicate with English speaking managers and superiors. Instead, the seasonal workers are in New Zealand to work and leave again[6]. My focus on communicative competence is in the context of the men in this study working together as a team to achieve workplace goals. Given that the RSE workers come in groups and are allocated to different orchards in groups, the idea of working together in groups will be very relevant to my research.

I position myself within the field of workplace communication research and specifically amongst researchers focussed on practical outcomes. Although workplace communication has been investigated in many previous studies, language use in horticultural/agricultural workplaces, particularly in the Pacific, has been noticeably absent. It seems that while there is growing research on language in the workplace, the attention currently paid to workplace talk and the impact of culture on workplace interaction in vocational contexts in general and in the horticultural context

[6] See also current sociolinguistic studies of the impact of transience on communication in culturally and linguistically diverse workplaces (Lønsmann, 2017; Lønsmann, Hazel and Haberland, 2017).

specifically is much more limited. Investigations of vocational education most typically fall within English for Specific Purposes (ESP), but the literature that exists on preparing students for agricultural work is not in the area of applied linguistics and does not include a significant focus on language use. The numerous studies on the RSE scheme discuss the scheme as a development and economic program (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010; Gibson et al., 2008; Lovelock & Leopold, 2008; Nunns et al., 2013), and as temporary migration for employment (R. Bedford, 2008; R. Bedford et al., 2017; Bedford, Bedford & Ho, 2009; C. Bedford, 2013). However, there is very little on the seasonal workers themselves. My study therefore aims to bridge the gap between language use in agricultural settings and the influence of culture in workplace interaction, which is currently underrepresented within the scope of applied linguistics and ESP research areas.

1.3 CULTURAL CONTEXT

To put the current research into context, it is important to look at some of the features of traditional Samoan culture, which is integral to the design and analysis in this study. As will be discussed in the following chapters, recognising the cultural context provides an understanding of the ways in which Samoan values and norms emerge as relevant in workplace interactions of the seasonal workers in this study. The recognition of the cultural context has useful implications for approaches to workplace communication in general, including the economic benefits.

Samoa's distinctive culture, its people and the contextual setting are meaningful in this study. Samoa consists of two main islands, Savaii (the largest island) and Upolu (second largest island), with eight smaller islands Apolima, Manono, Fanuatapu, Namu'a, Nu'utele, Nu'ulua, Nu'ulopa, and Nu'usafe'e. As at 2016, Samoa's total population stood at 195, 979 in the Population and Housing Census (Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2017). The main island of Upolu, where the capital of Apia is located, has a population of 151,439, representing 77 percent of the total population while the rest of the population resides in Savaii (43,560, representing 22 percent) and Manono

and Apolima Islands (980 or 0.5 percent)[7]. For the participants in this study, data shows that fa'asāmoa is an unquestioned norm in all their activities.

Samoa's typical way of life separates the Samoan community from the rest of the Pacific Island peoples (P. T. Baker, Hanna & T. S. Baker, 1986; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2000; Puaina, Aga, Pouesi & Hubbell, 2008). It has three key structural elements to it: the *matai* (chiefs), *'āiga* (extended family) and the church. Today, as in the past, the social unit of Samoan life is the 'āiga or family. The 'āiga is headed by at least one matai, who is appointed by the consensus of the 'āiga (Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2017). There are two distinct types of matai titles, the *ali'i* or chief matai and the *tulāfale* or orator chief (see also Aiono, 1986). Matai are the heads of the extended family and their position is multifaceted, covering family, civic and political duties in the village (Aiono, 1986; Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Samoans are typically committed Christians, and Sunday is seen as a day of worship, when time is devoted to family and no physical work is undertaken[8]. The Samoan people are proud of their unique cultural heritage and have been able to successfully preserve and uphold their traditional way of life. Over the past century, some traditions and customs have changed to accommodate western influences. However, fa'asāmoa still informs daily decision making, both in the home and in the workplace (Kruse-Vaai, 2011; Aiono, 1986; Anae, 2015).

The impact of culture on workplace interaction is widely acknowledged (see Schnurr, 2008; cf. Newton, Henderson, Jolly & Greaves, 2015; cf. Puaina et al., 2008). To explore this impact, the study focuses on my community as a participant country under RSE, drawing on my 'insider' status to support the analysis. Given the structure of Samoa, the workers in the study hail from rural villages. I cooperated with two different groups as part of the research, one representing novice groups and another

[7] The Statistical Abstract 2017 serves as a statistical reference, describing yearly combined statistical information gathered and assembled by the Bureau concerning social, economic, environment and other detailed subject matters (SBS, 2017). Estimates for total population from previous years can also be retrieved from http://www.sbs.gov.ws.

[8] Misatauveve Melani Anae, 'Samoans - Culture and identity', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/samoans/page-3, (accessed 6 October 2018). Story by Misatauveve Melani Anae, published 8 Feb 2005, updated 25 Mar 2015.

representing established groups. Novice in the context of these seasonal workers is a group that is new to or inexperienced in a certain task or situation (Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary, 2008). Novices tend to be described in relation to experts and are often expected to be more rigid in following their initial understanding; but it is not always the case that the expert outperforms the novice (Reilly, 2008) and my analysis offers exploration of this difference. The established group, on the other hand, is a group that has been engaging with seasonal work since the inception of the RSE scheme. The environment is no longer unfamiliar for these men as they have been interacting with these orchards for much longer (cf. Beven, & Cornford, 1999). The workers are placed in orchards in non-urban settings, where the impact of culture may be even more significant. This movement from non-urban settings in Samoa to provincial (non-urban) regions in New Zealand (cf. Roberts, 2010; cf. Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015; cf. Lei, 2003) is also significant in explaining how work is executed (further discussion in Chapter 4).

1.4 APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY APPROACH (AI)

Beginning my research in 2017 was very timely because it was the 10th year anniversary of RSE. My fieldwork revealed that the people involved think highly of the RSE scheme and its positive benefits. In an interview with the representative from Asher Sunshine Worksite (one of my participating orchards), the scheme has been hailed as a success contributing to positive reinforcement of feelings received by both the employers and workers.

> I don't think you can under-estimate how much the scheme means to people, both here in New Zealand and the Pacific Island countries. I mean this is an income that people can't all have, so this is an opportunity for them to help their families, to support their families, to have an income and to be able to do some big stuff (Taylor[9], interview data, July 2017).

[9] Pseudonym

This is in harmony with the Appreciative Inquiry (AI) approach which features regularly in the research conducted by workplace discourse analysts. The appreciative inquiry approach aims to contrast with a more traditional goal where people delve straight into the problem and then try to discover solutions to alleviate setbacks (Hall & Hammond, 1998; Cooperrider, Peter, Whitney & Yaeger, 2000). In contrast, AI is a generative method that provides an organisation with the awareness, understanding and inspiration that comes from understanding what they do well, and how they can develop and continue to have success (Cooperrider, 1990; Cooperrider & Srivastava, 1987; Clarke, Egan, Fletcher & Ryan, 2006; Hammond, 2013; Johnson & Leavitt, 2001; Simons & Havert, 2012). It looks at what 'works' in an organisation and encourages doing more of this rather than concentrating on what does not work. In sum, AI concentrates on discovering what works well and how to cultivate and maintain success within organisations as opposed to focussing on the problems and inconsistencies.

In the field of workplace and discourse analysis, an understanding of workplace communication needs and linguistic practices has most typically involved an emphasis on identifying and enhancing successful communicative competence. The approach has also been seen as advantageous for gaining access to quality data and avoiding a deficit approach, which may deter potential participants. I take the same perspective, with an additional lens of fa'asāmoa or a Samoan way of doing things. The AI approach embedded within cultural norms adds value and has the potential to make sense of the RSE scheme and those aspects that contribute to participants' successful communication.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study thus aims to explore the following overarching question:

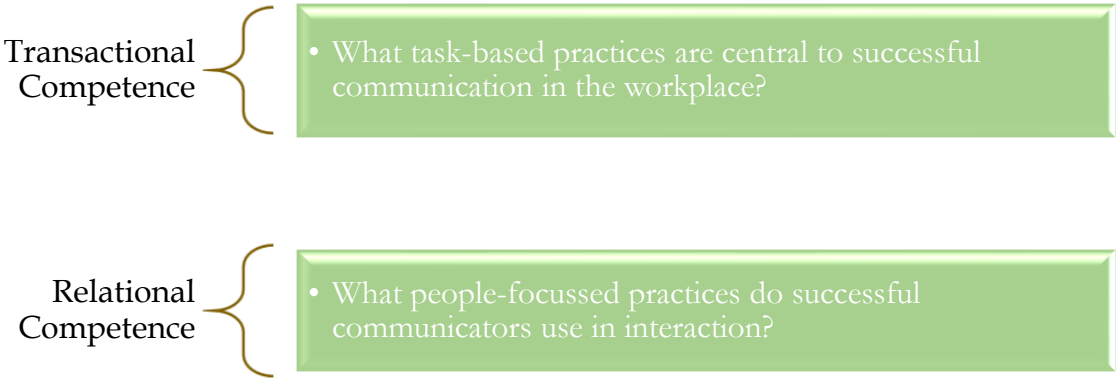
1. What determines 'competence' in the communication skills of RSE workers?

Having good communication skills is not solely reliant on proficiency but is also related to the interpersonal skills and communicative abilities required to get tasks

completed successfully (Holmes & Marra, 2004; Holmes, Burns, Marra, Stubbe & Vine, 2003). Therefore, success in this context concerns how effective a person is in the work they are undertaking. A successful worker, following the appreciative inquiry approach discussed earlier, is identified by the people working with them (the approach also applied by the Language in the Workplace Project (Marra, King & Holmes, 2014; Holmes, Marra & Vine, 2011; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003)).

In exploring communicative competence in the workplace for these groups of seasonal workers, attention will be given to both transactional (task-based) and relational (people focussed) skills (see also Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). In evaluating the success of these seasonal workers, it is essential to recognise both skills to ensure a holistic understanding of the communication patterns. In terms of my research, transactional skills relate to the business of doing agricultural work and relational skills describe the ways in which people attend to each other, that is the "need to feel they are valued and important components in a team or a group" (Holmes & Marra, 2004, p. 379).

The following sub-questions will shape the research:



1.6 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The remaining chapters of the thesis are structured as follows:

Chapter 2: Literature Review outlines the most significant research studies and frameworks in the field of workplace discourse and the myriad divergent features of interest in workplace interaction. This is followed by a discussion of the gaps and opportunities acknowledged in the current research which have guided the research questions.

Chapter 3: Methodological Framework describes and justifies the study design, accentuating the importance of an ethnographic approach in qualitative research. A discussion of traditional Pacific approaches that have emerged as culturally appropriate in carrying out research among Pacific people follows, with specific attention given to the Fatugātiti research approach.

Chapter 4: Data and Analysis provides a detailed account of the research methods employed to investigate the research questions. It describes the study sites and participants, the operational procedures used for this study, the instruments for data collection, the selection of data for analysis and how they align with the Fatugātiti model discussed in Chapter 3. The Fatugātiti framework is emphasised in the chapter to authenticate the practicality of this traditional approach in research carried out in traditional settings, such as Samoan village communities.

Chapter 5: Solidarity in the Teams presents the results of the analysis and gives insight into the two groups of seasonal workers involved in the research. The chapter explores how they engage with seasonal work, what they do that is exceptional to them and how they successfully accomplish workplace goals. Although different in terms of experience given the years they have been a part of the RSE scheme, there is evidence of salient village patterns in how the two groups recreate village structures for themselves at their respective worksites.

Chapter 6: Inherent Hierarchies in the Workplace explores dimensions of hierarchies, power, directives, getting things done as a leader and how these are negotiated in the

workplace context. It considers the existing relationships the seasonal workers bring with them. The focus on the actual discursive enactment of work allows for clear insights into the emergence of culture as a salient guiding feature for both the novice and established groups of seasonal workers.

Chapter 7: Discussion explores and connects the key findings in the data in light of the Fatugātiti model to reflect on its usefulness and whether there is a need for refinement. The chapter reflects on the use of transactional and relational practices and how working together as a group is enriching, conserving and stabilising.

Chapter 8: Conclusion draws together the strands of the arguments and evaluates the theoretical, methodological, analytical and societal implications of the findings, indicating possible directions for future research.

Next, I present a review of related literature.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Fou Sina i Futu, alofa i mata o Valavala
If you love Valavala, try the passage of Futu

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the field first emerged in the early 1990s, workplace discourse analysts have investigated a range of relevant features in an array of workplace contexts. This chapter synthesises the research and explores areas of most relevance to my research interest. The opening proverb *Fou Sina i Futu, alofa i mata o Valavala* tells the story of Sina who travels through the passage of Futu to connect with her elderly mother Valavala. The expression symbolically points to the importance of valuing and consulting existing understanding by going back and investigating what others have explored. In the research context, the proverb is apt as it embodies my role in going back and revisiting previous research to guide my work. To investigate my research questions, I must re-trace and take the right path (try the passage of Futu), otherwise I may never arrive at my destination (Valavala). As a Samoan linguist, my passion for my research topic encompasses going back to earlier research and knowledge to try and find evidence that is relevant to the communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers. In doing so, I must also go back to my own roots as a Samoan to clarify how I, the researcher, can approach my research topic and the people I need to work with. The chapter discusses how the research community communicates, investigates, analyses and builds knowledge in this field. It aims to provide a critical review of prior research that motivates and justifies my research questions in the context of Samoan seasonal workers in New Zealand.

Drawing a distinction between transactional and relational skills has emerged as analytically useful for understanding workplace discourse (Koester, 2006; Holmes, 2009) and I consider this in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 provides detail of the analytical perspectives in the field, followed by a discussion of Interactional Sociolinguistics as the dominant approach to analysis (Section 2.4). To support the analysis of the

seasonal movement of the seasonal workers, Section 2.5 examines labour mobility and sojourners and the transition of people between countries. The remaining segment of this chapter clarifies the research focus (Section 2.6), identifying gaps in the literature that this research intends to address.

2.2 TRANSACTIONAL AND RELATIONAL PRACTICES

Studies in the area of applied socio-linguistics have indicated a shift in emphasis and growing interest away from formal aspects of language towards exploring the nature of communication and language use. The ability to interact successfully with others in the workplace is fundamental to improving day to day interactions between workers, especially those from diverse cultures and backgrounds. The separation between transactional and relational skills has emerged as a useful (arguably artificial) distinction in recent studies for understanding workplace discourse (Koester, 2006; Holmes, 2009). At a discourse level, while transactional talk remains a central focus because of its significance to workplace goals, relational work is increasingly recognised as playing a beneficial role by contributing to good workplace relations (Fletcher, 1999; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Schnurr, 2008). As will be seen in Chapters 5 and 6, these practices often co-occur during the accomplishment of workplace objectives, where people get things done efficiently while concurrently constructing and maintaining collegial relationships (see also Holmes & Stubbe, 2015).

A range of discourse features have been explored that can be used to accomplish workplace goals. The use of power and directives are some of the important factors in explaining the ways in which people get things done at work. Holmes and Stubbe (2015, p. 53) argue that explicit directives "tend to be most frequent in routine instructions from superiors to subordinates, unless the superior is asking for something out of the ordinary or beyond the call of duty". As pointed out by Holmes and Stubbe, different workplaces develop different cultures, thus directives in complete form are less common in some workplaces (cf. Bernsten, 1998). Furthermore, as will be explored in Chapter 6, addressing a group, rather than an

individual may be an important element in how a directive is negotiated (cf. Holmes & Stubbe, 2015).

Relational practices according to Dwyer (1993) are "the methods/strategies through which group members relate to each other" (p. 572). Holmes and Marra (2004) investigate this view of relational practice and also acknowledge the diverse ways in which people 'do' relational practice in workplace discourse. Drawing on data from the Language in the Workplace Project (LWP), their study explores men and women from different organisational structures displaying relational practice. The investigation develops and expands upon Fletcher's (1999) research, which views people with relational skills as "people with the ability to work effectively with others, understanding the emotional contexts in which work gets done" (as described in Holmes & Marra, 2004, p. 377). Fletcher (1999) states that people with strong relational skills have a tendency to be overlooked, arguing that relational skills are normatively associated with women and femininity. She highlights particularly "invisible" practices, namely humour, storytelling and thanking. Fletcher notes that the use of these strategies encourage a team to achieve their goals (see discussion in Holmes & Marra, 2004).

The multiplicity of discourse strategies used in constructing and maintaining good relations among people at work and their co-workers has received a lot of attention. These strategies include small talk and social talk (Holmes, 2000b), humour in the workplace (Holmes, 2000c), anecdotes (Burns, Marra & Holmes, 2001) and paying compliments or giving approval (Holmes & Marra, 2004). All of these strategies seek to construct and cultivate good workplace relationships, to establish solidarity between team members and to build new work relationships (Holmes & Marra, 2004). These are going to be important in my analysis, especially their intersection with the role of culture (see Chapters 5 and 6) and how this influences interaction. Specifically, this study will give attention to how Samoans execute transactional and relational practices in their workplaces.

2.2.1 Hybridity in Workplace Communication

Rapid developments and changes in technology have exposed many workplaces to substantial structural changes (Koester, 2010). As discussed by Iedema and Scheeres (2003), such changes have not only seen "workers across a variety of sites being confronted with having to renegotiate their knowing, their doing, and their worker identity" (p. 316), but also the need for constant change in order to stay competitive. This requires workers to take on new tasks, particularly tasks involving new kinds of communication (Gee, Hull & Lankshear, 1996). These changes have had an influence on both written and spoken discourse (Iedema & Scheeres, 2003), the styles of communication in institutional environments (Fairclough, 1992) and the increased 'hybridity' of talk in diverse areas of social activity (Cameron, 2000). Koester (2010) claims that these changes influence the way people communicate; people from different cultures are coming into contact more regularly and working together through migration and the increasingly global nature of business (Schnurr, Marra & Holmes, 2007). The mobility of people and the concept of globalisation is discussed later on in this chapter.

2.3 DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON WORKPLACE DISCOURSE

Workplace discourse analysis is the umbrella label for the rapidly developing field of research into spoken and written workplace interaction with a focus on the ways in which language is used to convey meanings. The contextual settings for the field of workplace discourse analysis have expanded significantly in the last 20 years, with researchers paying growing attention to interaction in a much wider range of workplace contexts (Holmes & Marra, 2014; Candlin & Sarangi, 2011; Drew & Heritage, 1992). Alongside the varied analytical interest is a new depth of theoretical engagement resulting in a diverse number of frameworks developed for approaching the analysis of workplace communication (Holmes & Marra, 2014).

In workplace discourse analysis, contextual information remains a central focus. Holmes and Marra (2014) review a range of approaches that are most visible in current research on workplace communication. These include Interactional Sociolinguistics

(IS), (Gumperz, 1982), approaches to Politeness (Holmes, 2012; see also Mullany 2006), Rapport Theory (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2008), Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995), Post-structural Theory (Baxter, 2016) and the Social Constructionist Approach (Holmes et al., 2011; Holmes & Marra, 2011). While each of the theoretical approaches has different goals (e.g., interpersonal relationships in politeness and rapport management, identities in social constructionism) and forms distinct statements about the role of context and the integral contrasts between groups, these frameworks reflect the different questions and assumptions that workplace communication researchers are addressing in their analysis (Holmes & Marra, 2014, p. 127). The array of research has seen a shift away from the dominance of health care (e.g., Cicourel 1987, 1999; Erikson 1999; Ragan 2000), legal proceedings (e.g., Bhatia 1993; Gibbons 1994) and new jobs and interviews (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; Koester, 2006; Holmes 2009). The field now includes different types of institutional and non-institutional contexts and countless features of workplace interaction (Holmes, 2009, 2011; Koester, 2010). Koester (2010) describes the field: interaction between co-workers "comprise the key site for an investigation of workplace discourse and these may take place in formal meetings or in more informal, ad hoc interactions" (p. 13). She goes on to promote a corpus approach for parallel studies that have investigated workplace interactions. One study is her own research on the American and British Office Talk (ABOT) corpus, which consists mainly of backstage informal, unplanned workplace interactions between co-workers in office settings (Koester, 2006, 2010), a corpus that can be paralleled with the similarly rich Language in the Workplace Project (LWP) data set. Koester (2010, p. 3) explains the field as being extremely diverse as it involves "interactions occurring across a whole range of occupational settings, from factories to offices, hospitals to government offices, and private businesses to non-profit organization[s]".

The field also incorporates a number of analytic approaches. Stubbe (2010) asserts that the particular discourse lens depends on the researcher's disciplinary and theoretical positioning and their emphasis of inquiry. Through language use, people engage in interactions to convey communicative meanings and display knowledge so that it is understandable to others. The interaction between co-workers brings to light

distinguishing features of workplace discourse compared to discourse occurring in other settings, such as social or intimate environments (Koester, 2010). In their early and influential edited collection *Talk at work* (1992), which investigates the intricacies of talk and interaction within a variety of work settings or institutional contexts from a conversation analysis (CA) perspective, Drew and Heritage offer a range of criteria that differentiate 'institutional talk' from ordinary conversation, which is commonly understood as the neutral benchmark for comparison in this approach (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Koester, 2010; Holmes & Marra, 2014).

1. Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientations* of a relatively restricted conventional form.

2. Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.

3. Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific contexts (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 22).

In this work, the focus is "institutional talk", which although now covering only part of the field still recognises that workplace interactions are often unbalanced, that is, there is the possibility of disparities in the distribution of institutional power or expert knowledge between the participants (Heritage, 1997). Put simply, interactions between those at managerial level and interactions between their employees are likely to differ in terms of knowledge and/or power between the participants.

> Just as people in a workplace may talk together about matters unconnected with their work, so too places not usually considered 'institutional' for example a private home, may become the settings for work-related interactions. Thus,

> the institutionality of an interaction is not determined by its setting. Rather, interaction is institutional insofar as participants' institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 3-4).

Most studies on workplace discourse can be placed on a continuum from those that focus more on the *interaction order* to those that are more interested in the *institutional order* (Sarangi & Roberts, 1992). However categorised, the diversity should not be overlooked.

2.3.1 Blue-Collar Contexts

While the vast majority of the research focusses on professional, white-collar workplaces (and meetings in particular as a specific genre within them (Angouri & Marra, 2011; Ford, 2010)), attention has also begun to stretch into pink collar and blue-collar workplaces (Lønsmann & Kraft, 2018; Liben, Bigler & Krogh, 2001; Segal & Sullivan, 1997). Pink collar is associated with services and is often used to refer to people working in care-oriented careers such as nursing, teaching, secretarial work, waitressing, or childcare. While men may well fill these jobs, they are normally female-dominated and usually compensate the workers considerably less than white-collar or blue-collar jobs do (see McDowell, 2018; see also Lazzaro-Salazar, 2017).

The developing body of research investigating blue-collar worksites includes factories, building sites, mines and construction work (Lønsmann & Kraft, 2018; Holmes & Woodhams, 2013; Baxter & Wallace, 2009; Clyne, 1994; Goldstein, 1997; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Sunaoshi, 2005; Lucas & Buzzanell, 2004; Lucas, 2011). Blue-collar work generally refers to physical and labour-intensive work, and as noted by Gibson and Papa (2000), includes skilled tradespeople, factory workers, farmers and other labourers. Lederer (1987) suggests that blue collar describes occupations in which a person engages in some type of physical labour that is paid in an hourly, rather than fixed, wage (see also Gibson & Papa, 2000; Lønsmann & Kraft, 2018). The initial analyses in this area were mostly concerned with inter-cultural communication recognising that participants were expected to participate in a predominantly English-

speaking environment (Holmes & Woodhams, 2013; Clyne, 1994; Goldstein, 1997; Sunaoshi, 2005). Examples include workers in a car-manufacturing factory negotiating shared understanding (Sunaoshi, 2005), and more recently on building sites, (for example Baxter & Wallace, (2009) where investigations centre on how male builders create professional characteristics through collective and collaborative accounts while travelling in a truck between different building sites). Within the blue-collar context, there has also been focus on relational work and its importance. The creation of professional identities by workers within these industries has seen construction workers connecting their professional status to the quality of their work, thus creating social integration. This manifests through narrative (Styhre, 2012), and the construction of in-out group identities through talk, thus increasing solidarity[10] (Baxter & Wallace, 2009), workplace humour (Holmes & Marra, 2002) and the use of competitive humour (Nelson, 2014). In the same way, Lønsmann and Kraft (2018) highlight the significance of understanding the meaning of particular language use as embedded in specific contexts, as language and communication play an influential part in both everyday work and the social lives of blue-collar workers.

2.4 INTERACTIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS (IS)

As noted earlier, the theoretical framework of Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), is well established in sociolinguistics (Vine, Holmes, Marra, Pfeifer & Jackson, 2008, p. 344). The framework explores discourse in its broader sociocultural context, bringing in the analyst's knowledge and familiarity of the community and its norms to explain what is going on in interaction (Vine et al., 2008; Holmes, 2008; Schiffrin, 1994; Swann & Leap, 2000). IS has its roots in the ethnography of communication and analysts using this approach typically focus on linguistic and cultural diversity in communication, and how this impacts relationships between different groups in society (Stubbe et al., 2003, p. 358). Widely considered the founder of IS, Gumperz describes the approach as developing from a conversation analysis approach where:

[10] Consider the use of expletives in complaints and 'whingeing' to express positive politeness and solidarity on the factory floor (Daly, Holmes, Newton and Stubbe, 2004).

> we must turn to a speaker-oriented perspective and ask what it is speakers and listeners must know or do in order to be able to take part in a conversation or to create and sustain conversational involvement. By formulating the basic issues in this way, the focus shifts from the analysis of conversational forms or sequential patterns as such to the necessarily goal-oriented interpretive processes that underlie their production (Gumperz, 1992, p. 306)

The interactional sociolinguistics approach takes into account the socio-cultural environment and applies this understanding of context to the analysis of micro linguistic features (Holmes, 2013). Given that contextual information is an important aspect of interpretation (Gumperz, 1982, 1999), IS enriches explanations of participants' expectations and knowledge in an interaction (Gordon, 2011; Gumperz, 1999; Holmes, 2013; Stubbe, 2010; Stubbe et al., 2003). As is standard in methods adopted within the field more widely, the focus of this study will involve the recording of workplace practices as primary data supported by details of how they communicate in the workplace gathered through observations. When analysing the recorded data, I will apply IS as my chosen discourse analytical approach for working with naturalistic recordings (see Stubbe et al., 2003).

2.4.1 Wellington Language in the Workplace Project (LWP)

In carrying out this research, the techniques, approach and philosophy of the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project (LWP) have been influential in my own research design and data collection methods (see Chapters 3 and 4 for a deeper discussion). The LWP was established to meet the practical and ethical challenges of collecting a large corpus of naturally occurring spoken data, representing the way people communicate in a range of New Zealand workplaces (Stubbe, 2010). Its broad aims include recognising the features of effective communication between people in the workplace; identifying the causes of miscommunication; and exploring possible applications of the findings for New Zealand workplaces (De Bres, 2009). The LWP has compiled a large dataset of workplace interactions over more than 20 years, investigating competence in effective workplace talk and workplace practices (Marra et al., 2014; Holmes et al., 2011; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, 2015; Riddiford, 2011;

Riddiford & Joe, 2005). A key finding offered by the team is that effective communication depends upon the context in which the exchange takes place (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). The project has real world applications, helping migrants to New Zealand develop competence in communication skills and workplace practices that are considered suitable in the workforce (Riddiford, 2011; Riddiford & Joe, 2005). The LWP has also contributed to an understanding of language acquisition and development in workplace communication skills and strengthened understandings of the complexities of professional communication (Holmes & Marra, 2014).

2.4.2 Language Use in Workplace Settings

In workplace discourse the focus has mainly been on integrating and having to use English to communicate. Language is an essential tool to access knowledge and participation. A central emphasis in the field of workplace discourse is the importance of and the ability to use appropriate language in the workplace (cf. politeness theory). As discussed earlier, much of the research in workplace discourse globally is focussed on white-collar workplaces. However, Mangubhai and Mugler (2006) argue that white-collar jobs, which technically necessitate such aptitude, are more common in urban areas. The growth in urbanisation, as well as improved levels of education, indicate a "greater proficiency in and use of English than was common in the past" (Mangubhai & Mugler, 2006, p. 88). As pointed out by Kruse-Vaai (2011), in the Samoan context, "different linguistic circumstances are recognised by most speakers and their linguistic competence is therefore proven by the way they vary their use of language appropriately in relation to the context" (p. 65). This means that effective communication is dependent upon the context of the situation in which the exchange takes place; while in some contexts, only one language will be used, in other contexts both English and Samoan can be used in changing proportions.

Recent discussions in the field of workplace communication have indicated difficulties faced by adult immigrants in a community that uses English as its first language (Marra, 2012; Yates, 2011; Yates & Major, 2015). Successful interaction is dependent on the migrants' involvement with the local community in English, which arguably contributes to facilitating learning and increasing motivation (Yates & Major, 2015).

The ability to communicate fluently in the L2 (second language) is reliant on active involvement and immersion into a new culture, and both task-focussed and people-focussed interaction. Although workplace communication has been investigated in previous studies, language use in agricultural workplaces, particularly in the Pacific, has to date not been studied and this is one of the contributions that my study will make. In this context, is English competence really the most central concern?

2.5 LABOUR MOBILITY

Labour mobility which is encapsulated and prioritised within the current focus in sociolinguistics on 'sociolinguistics of the globalisation' (Blommaert, 2010), is the recognition that people move backwards and forwards across international borders. Globalisation and migration are interconnected, with mobility understood as an essential part of the global economy (Mohanty, 2007; Stalker, 2000). Since the 1960s, studies show that there has been a steady increase in movement from the Pacific region, as islanders seek "employment and access to services in the metropolitan states on the fringes of the region: mainly New Zealand, Australia and the USA" (Connell, 2006). More recently, these migration opportunities have been directed towards skilled migrants (Connell 2004a, 2004b).

There have been numerous initiatives investigating short-term migration to enable Pacific islanders to work temporarily in agriculture overseas and to return home again after a period of less than a year (Connell, 2010; Mares & Maclellan, 2007). In the early 2000s, the agriculture sector in New Zealand and Australia faced labour recruitment setbacks, which saw agricultural organisations relying on tentative flows of labour, including holidaying backpackers, 'grey travellers' and undocumented 'illegal migrant' workers (Connell, 2010). Achieving better access for Pacific Island countries to employment opportunities in Australia and New Zealand has been a long-term focus of the bilateral and multilateral agendas of Pacific Island Heads of government. To accomplish a mutually beneficial situation for all parties, an additional supply of labour from the Pacific has been needed to match labour shortages in receiving countries (Luthria & Malaulau, 2013). These joint schemas and

plans saw the establishment of the New Zealand RSE scheme, launched in 2007, which provided seasonal employment in the agricultural industry (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010; Lovelock & Leopold, 2008). Australia followed suit by launching a similar scheme in 2009 (Connell, 2010).

As described in Chapter 1, the RSE scheme has allowed eligible workers to undertake seasonal work (Seasonal Employment Unit, 2015), in planting, maintaining, harvesting or packing crops for an approved employer in the horticulture and viticulture industries in New Zealand (Nunns et al., 2013). The Samoan seasonal workers on the scheme offer exciting potential within which to investigate the sociolinguistics of globalisation in the workplace context, notably because of the unique issues of mobility, intercultural and multilingual interaction as well as the under researched nature of this blue-collar site.

2.5.1 Sojourner Workers

Interestingly, when I first began this project, it was with the idea of working within the local community in New Zealand in which the seasonal workers are employed. However, the patterns that occur in the movement of seasonal workers seeking employment in the metropolitan cities seem to reflect a 'sojourner' lifestyle. Sojourner(s) is a term normally accorded to people who live outside of their cultures of origin for a lengthy period of time, often with the clearly designated purpose or goal of intending to return to their home country at the end of their term abroad (McNair, 2014). As explained by Useem and Cottrell (1996), sojourners are not migrants or refugees looking to begin a new life in the host culture, nor are they tourists or travellers vacationing in a host culture for leisure (Yu, Kim, Chen & Schwartz, 2012). Most of the literature relating to sojourners and their experiences stems from Paul Siu's work in the 1950s. He defined a sojourner as "a stranger who spends many years of his lifetime in a foreign country without being assimilated by it" (Siu, 1952, p. 34). No matter the career or calling, what makes the sojourner exceptional is the provisional and purpose-driven qualities of the sojourn, which is to do a job and be able to accomplish it in the shortest possible time before returning to the original culture (McNair, 2014; Jacobson, 1963; Siu, 1952; Useem & Cottrell,

1996). Although sojourners are residents of host communities, they are not completely integrated into those communities. As described by McNair (2014), the sojourner:

> […] does not integrate to a meaningful degree into his [sic] host culture; instead, he *clings to the culture of his own ethnic group*, and he *is not typically a sojourner unless he has maintained his homeland tie*. Thus, he does not experience the same inner turmoil typically experienced by the marginal man. He does not become a permanent resident in the place of his sojourn, either. For the sojourner, the experience abroad is intended from the outset to be temporary: *the intrinsic purpose of the sojourn is to do a job and do it in the shortest possible time* (p. 12, *italics* is original).

The seasonal movement for the RSE scheme sees workers taking up employment in New Zealand for a period of seven months, and then returning home for a five-month holiday. They may then later return to their allocated worksites to resume employment. This mobility among the seasonal workers, where they are in the host country for employment and do not speak the majority language of the host country, is likened to this sojourner 'drift' because of the extended time during which they live abroad. This matches Piller and Lising's (2014) study of meat workers in Australia who demonstrate that language is of less importance for the worker in the workplace because of the type of work carried out. Lønsmann and Kraft (2014) also argue that migrant workers in their study "had little opportunity to gain or improve English competences – even though this was seen by their colleagues and by themselves as important for other aspects of socialisation into the new community" (p. 141). As discussed in Chapter 1, the Samoan seasonal workers in this study may speak only their home language and have lingua-franca exchanges only from time to time; however, for the most part they keep themselves separate.

My interest in this form of mobility aligns with recent trends in the field of workplace discourse on boundary crossing and transition (e.g., Angouri, Marra & Holmes, 2017). The subtleties of globalisation and the complications of transitions and "being

accepted as 'one of us', that is, choosing whether or not to partake in the group's shared norms" (Angouri et al., 2017, p. 3) parallels the movement of the established and novice groups of seasonal workers in this study. Accordingly, this study hopes to address these dynamics within the context of agricultural work, thereby moving the field into new and important terrain.

2.6 ESSENTIALIST AND CONSTRUCTIONIST APPROACH TO CULTURE

As acknowledged in Chapter 1, the Samoan 'culture' is central to the aim and exploration of this study, affording insight and sensitivity into the ways in which Samoan values and norms are salient in the workplace interactions of the seasonal workers in this study. There has been a recognised surge in diversity in workplaces in many countries, where employees from many ethnic groups and nations are increasingly embraced. As Holmes (2018) notes, this has enhanced "workplace interaction linguistically and culturally, but also provides communicative challenges to many employers and co-workers who are members of the majority group" (p. 335). Within the research context there has been a refining of the distinction between cross-cultural and intercultural interactions: while cross cultural communication research distinguishes the communicative practices of *distinct* cultural groups, intercultural communication research centres on interaction *between* two distinct cultural groups (e.g., Gudykunst, 2002; Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 2003; Holmes, 2018). Given the backgrounds that the two groups of seasonal workers come from, it is necessary to understand how culture influences communication and interaction at these worksites.

The conception of culture is among the most extensively used and its importance is constantly growing in existing discourse of social sciences and humanities. It is a term which is hard to define, yet has enormous currency and use in both lay and technical contexts (Jahoda, 2012; Shah, 2004; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; Hofstede, 2003; Apte, 1994; Giddens, 2005), as well as being conceptualised at different layers of depth (Spencer-Oatey, 2000). Jenks (1993, p. 59) views culture as a way of life that is

"transmitted, learned and shared", involving relationships with the accumulated shared symbols representative of, and important within a particular community. Spencer-Oatey (2000, p. 4) further explains culture as a "fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions…that are shared by a group of people that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour". The primary postulation is that cultural knowledge is the traditional information passed on from generation to generation and acquired through living and sharing with a cultural group as its member. It can be understood as a pattern of taken for granted assumptions about how a given collection of people should think, act, and feel as they go about their daily affairs (Allen, 2005; Shah, 2004). Furthermore, culture is regarded as an interlaced system of values, shared assumptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour in a given group, community or nation (Adler, 1998; Cheng, 2000).

Traditionally this resulted in a rather static and fixed understanding of culture, while more recent approaches often differentiate between this essentialist stance and a constructionist understanding. The contrasts between these approaches are not always noted. According to Dahl (2014), the descriptive understanding of culture is essentialist, that is, culture according to this understanding is something people have, where a group of people share values, codes and norms. For example, when one is said to be an essentialist about a particular group identity, it occasionally indicates nothing more than that this identity is very hard to change (Berg-Sørensen et al., 2010). Hacking (2000, p. 17) argues that essentialism is simply the "strongest view of inevitability", although loaded with heavy philosophical connotations (Berg-Sørensen et al., 2010). Dahl claims that an essentialist culture "has an essence, a core that expresses homogeneity and particularity in a certain culture" (2013, p. 38). These, for example, include skills and values that determine how to behave, think and how to act that are essential for that particular culture. In similar disposition, Hofstede (1980, p. 21), defines culture as the "collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another". Here, culture is something that is considered to be shared in the same way by all people belonging to this culture, and as a result the knowledge of cultural codes enables one to predict how people will

behave (Dahl, 2014). Moreover, these are "…abilities, notions, and forms of behaviour persons have acquired as members of society (Eriksen, 2001, p. 3). As explained by Dahl (2014, p. 3), "a descriptive cultural approach emphasises that culture is historically anchored, that tradition is an essential part of culture, and that we learn culture in a society". That is, everything we learn frames of interpretation that contribute to what we do.

Correspondingly, constructionist perspectives recognise greater individual agency and ongoing change to the enactment of culture within contextualised settings. Whilst the term is often used loosely to refer to any social influence on individual experience (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998), the approach recognises that ethnicity is fluid, not static (Cornell & Hartmann, 1988; Torres 2015; Waters, 1990), and is a way of seeing as opposed to a way of being (Brubaker, Loveman & Stamatov, 2004; Ajrouch, 2017). As a theoretical paradigm, social constructionism emphasises the social nature of knowledge development (Lazzaro-Salazar, 2017; see also Allen 2005), emphasising that culture is negotiated and renegotiated in the practices of interactants.

Anne Phillips argues that "cultures are not bounded, cultural meanings are internally contested, and cultures are not static but involved in a continuous process of change" (2007, p. 27). Following this dynamic understanding, culture is formed in encounters when mutual relations and power are part of the context, that is, meanings are shared, interpreted and created when people communicate (Dahl, 2014). Eriksen (1994) argues that "cultures are not indivisible packages of etiquette that one either has or does not have. People are cultural hybrids" (p. 14). Simply put, this means that culture is spread within a population, each element is the common property of some of its members. Culture is thus not something people "have" but something people "do" in encounters in specific situation. This view is further reinforced by Lazzaro-Salazar (2017), who contends that one of the central beliefs of social constructionism is that humans construct the world through social practices. As follows, it supports a subjective understanding of social phenomena accentuating the idea that experiences are formed when social players interact with each other (Weedon 1997; Lazzaro-Salazar, 2017).

Just as we would not expect all women to behave the same way, or all older people to behave the same way, we cannot expect all Samoan people to behave the same way. Rather, in their negotiations they draw on shared understanding to construct themselves as members of the same culture as and where relevant. For the seasonal workers in this study, my interpretations rely on this more dynamic constructionist cultural approach. This means that culture is brought into the light and established as shared when people interact with each other. As will be seen in the subsequent chapters, cultural norms are regularly highlighted by the workers, and form a significance source of meaning making in their interactions.

2.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As previously stated, the overall purpose of this thesis is to explore the communicative competence of the Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE scheme. This chapter has introduced studies which investigate how people carry out work and accomplish workplace goals (Holmes & Marra, 2004; Holmes, 2009, 2011), focussing on both the task at hand and people-oriented aspects of talk (see also Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, 2015). In evaluating the success of the seasonal workers, it is essential to recognise both transactional and relational skills to ensure a holistic understanding of the communication patterns.

As noted, transactional skills are understood as relating to the business of 'doing' agricultural work and achieving workplace objectives. Relational skills describe the ways in which the team members/participants interact with each other, building rapport with colleagues and the need to understand they are appreciated and are important members in a team or a group (Holmes & Marra, 2004).

Situating the context of the study within the wider workplace discourse area provides a sequential structure that has guided and influenced the unfolding of the study. As alluded to earlier in the chapter, the gaps this study hopes to fill come about from having acknowledged my theoretical stance within the field. As indicated in Chapter 1, an emphasis on workplace communication affords organisations with essential

information so that they can meet practical needs and operate successfully. In this manner, an understanding of workplace communication and specifically language practices has resulted in an emphasis on recognising and improving successful communicative competence. The following specific questions will therefore be addressed through the analysis to be presented in Chapters 5-6.

Table 2.1: Research Questions

Primary Question	What determines 'competence' in the communication skills of RSE workers?
Research Question 1	What task-based practices are central for successful communication in the workplace?
Research Question 2	What people-focussed practices are successful communicators using in interaction?

2.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter, after reviewing a range of approaches and contexts in the field of workplace discourse analysis, has provided a brief overview of the importance of contextual factors and how we investigate workplace discourse. The framework to be adopted for this study has also been presented. The chapter has identified gaps and the space for conducting the study in the field from a cultural dimensions lens and within the emerging trend for boundary crossing. The passage to Futu as referred to in the beginning of the chapter highlights the study as looking at what exists in the literature. This review sets up the basis upon which the study was conducted. In resuming this journey, in order to be able to reach Valavala, the next chapter discusses the methodological framework used to operationalise the main questions in this study.

3 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Fa'ae'e le 'au'au ae tatou velo 'aso
Place the ridgepole first, then we shall pass the battens

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As expressed in Chapter 1, the interest for this study developed out of my role as a Samoan academic trying to enhance workplace communication opportunities within my community. The proverb, *Fa'ae'e le 'au'au ae tatou velo 'aso*, derives from Samoan house building which is a respected traditional trade in Samoa. In building the roof of a Samoan *fale* (house), the builder makes sure that the ridgepole is firm and stable before the battens are placed on top. For the purpose of this study, the ridgepole ('au'au) represents the range and diversity of knowledge from Pacific and other scholars already made available for us to build upon or add to. The battens ('aso) are equated to layers of ideas being passed to the ridgepole to strengthen the fale. Here, I aim to outline my ridgepoles.

This chapter explains the methodological framework I use, giving prominence to the importance of including an ethnographic approach and a qualitative study. I begin with a brief overview of the research design (Section 3.2), followed by a discussion of the ethnographic approach and its vital role (Section 3.2.1). Section 3.2.2 explores how both emic and etic perspectives are valuable in making sense of the data. This research is situated within a broader framework of Pacific approaches, which I argue, are culturally appropriate lenses for carrying out research among Pacific people. A discussion of traditional Pacific approaches follows in Section 3.3, with particular focus on *Kaupapa Māori Research* (Section 3.3.1) which influences many of the approaches, and then the influential *Kakala Framework* (3.3.2) and the *Fijian Vanua Research Framework* (Section 3.3.3). Section 3.3.4 provides clarification of the *Talanoa Research Methodology*, emphasising its pertinence for framing studies in an indigenous context. The *Fatugātiti* model, my chosen lens, is then discussed as a methodological approach most appropriate for carrying out research among Samoan people (Section

3.4), encouraging the inclusion of the important elements of *soālaupule*, *fa'asoa*, *talanoaga* and *fa'afaletui*.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design (planning, structuring and reflecting) is an important step for any investigation in order to operationalise the research questions (Kerlinger, 1986); the plan, purpose, motives and techniques shape the research (Hakim, 1987; Patton, 2002). The research design centres on matching the research questions and data to the researcher's theoretical stance. To be able to deliver a comprehensive and realistic representation of seasonal workers' transactional and relational skills, this qualitative study employs an ethnographic approach which involves long term unstructured fieldwork, including observing and interacting with the participants in their real-life environment.

3.2.1 Ethnographic Approach

Ethnography is one of the oldest and most distinctive forms of qualitative investigation (Quimby, 2006). Generally, the aim is to understand reality by focussing on ordinary experiences and the everyday life of people (Konu, 2015; Holloway, Brown & Shipway, 2010). Ethnography's primary assumption is that, to gain an understanding of a world they know little about, a researcher must encounter it first-hand (Blomberg, Burrell & Guest, 2009; Blomberg & Karasti, 2012). As such, ethnographic studies involve gathering information in the settings in which the activities of interest normally occur. Ethnographers typically engage in participant observation in order to gain insight into cultural practices and happenings. These insights develop over time and through recurring analysis of many phases of fieldwork (Blomberg, Schumann & Trigg, 1997). Although guided by basic principles, the foundation of ethnography relies on the ability of all humans to identify what is going on through participation in social life (Blomberg et al., 2009; Blomberg & Karasti, 2013). These principles comprise exploring phenomena in their natural settings, taking a holistic view, providing an informative understanding, and taking a member's perspective (Blomberg, Giagomi, Mosher & Swenton-Wall, 1993; Blomberg & Burrell

2012; Blomberg & Karasti 2012). Ethnography is therefore conceptualised as complete immersion in a foreign culture, where the ethnographer has to learn the language as well as the way of doing things.

This level of engagement with the target community through participation in community life involves immense commitment and time. As noted by Marra and Lazzaro-Salazar (2018), such a commitment can be unrealistic, both in terms of time and finances. As a compromise, many researchers gather the kinds of information obtained in ethnography, making use of participant observation and semi-structured fieldwork, without the lengthy investigation that is customarily carried out. This is described as "ethnographic" data collection. Furthermore, Marra and Lazzaro-Salazar argue that by employing an ethnographic approach, "researchers endeavour to access and interpret social events of complex modern communities from multiple perspectives. This involves a multiplicity of data collection techniques that allow for a holistic approach to the study of culture" (2018, pp. 346-347). Distinct features categorize ethnographic research, as opposed to a true ethnography (Hammersley, 1992). These features include the study of a small number of cases usually over a lengthy period of time, embracing a wide initial focus at the beginning of the research, employing a range of types of data, using minimal pre-structuring of the data and analysing the data through verbal descriptions and explanations (Hammersley, 1992; Konu, 2015; Marra & Lazzaro-Salazar, 2018; see also Churton & Brown, 2010). In a qualitative paradigm, to be able to support our interpretations and be able to get an emic understanding (see also Spindler & Hammond, 2000), we spend as much time as we practically can to make the "unfamiliar" familiar so that we can understand and make sense of what is going on (Marra & Lazzaro-Salazar, 2018). The information that is gathered supports the researcher's interpretation of the data collected.

3.2.2 Emic and Etic Perspectives

In an attempt to gain an understanding of behaviour and characteristics of participants and their activities, it is important to incorporate both emic and etic perspectives. The emic–etic distinction underpins the choice of enacting the ethnographic technique of making observations and generating field notes (Hoare, Buetow, Mills & Francis,

2013). Researchers record people's way of life as seen by both the people themselves (emic) and the analyst/researcher who takes an etic (analytic or outside) approach to describing communities and cultures[11]. The concepts of emic and etic originate from a distinction in linguistics between phonemics, which includes the study of sounds used within a particular language (Tripp-Reimer, 1984; Hoare et al., 2013), and phonetics, which is the study of speech sounds at a more abstract level of understanding (Schmidt & Richards, 2010). Emic analysis thus describes the structure of a language or culture in terms of its elements and their functions (Brown, 1993), and as an analogy represents features of a particular culture from inside the group (Hoare et al., 2013) by referring to a description of the phenomena as understood by the person (Spiers, 2000; Schmidt & Richards, 2010). As part of an ethnographic approach, researchers aim to prioritise the participants' perspectives, the community perspective, and the inside knowledge that is needed to understand the participants' culture. On the other hand, an etic perspective is "used to describe phenomena as viewed by someone outside the experience" (Spiers, 2000, p. 716) as an existing external scheme (Brown, 1993) whereby we observe and report behaviour without the opinion of those within the cultural group (Hoare et al., 2013; Schmidt & Richards, 2010). In its simplest form, it is the analytical or theoretical understanding of what we offer as experts. To gain insight into cultural practices and happenings, an ethnographic approach affords the researcher access to the activities in which the participants are engaged. As identified by LeCompte, Preissle and Tesch (1993), elements of ethnographic approaches include empirical data gathered in their naturalistic setting; the research is holistic, that is, it seeks a description and interpretation of the 'total phenomena' and the constructs of the participants are used to structure the investigations (as cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p. 221). The intention of the research is to investigate and present the worldview of the participants and also to describe and analyse patterns of social interaction. Ethnographic approaches have been used widely in the workplace research, with which I align. The underlying motives of ethnography are invaluable resources in helping me make sense of the data collected and achieving my research objectives.

[11] See also https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/ERCb.htm

As an important additional consideration, Smith (1999) criticises Western approaches and advocates tools for researching with indigenous people in her inspiring work on decolonising methodologies. She calls for research-based understanding that is shared, collaborative and developed with participants for all indigenous people. Within workplace communication research, Holmes et al. (2011) also take a stance on the importance of researching *with* rather than researching *on*, that is, working with people as collaborators and recognising that research should be mutually beneficial, that researchers should not just take, they should also give.

In recent years, a number of scholars have conducted research with indigenous Pacific people, foregrounding a culturally appropriate and diverse approach. Work by Pacific scholars is beginning to be acknowledged in the Pacific, with many frameworks being developed and reviewed (Thaman, 2013). The following sections explore Pacific approaches that are considered suitable for studies within an indigenous framework.

3.3 PACIFIC APPROACHES

Over the past three decades, indigenous research methodology has been advocated as a distinct paradigm for engaging in research that involves indigenous people and issues (Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2010; Chilisa, 2012). Pacific approaches that have emerged as suitable for carrying out research among Pacific people aim to combine strength from Western epistemologies with methods with which Pacific people are well-versed. This 'decolonised' philosophy has informed research globally. There are a range of different lenses adopted by Māori, Pacific and non-Pacific academics and researchers in their efforts to deconstruct and reclaim a Pacific indigenous worldview ('Otunuku, 2011). As Smith (1999), a pioneer in the area focus on Māori communities in particular, asserts "our understandings of the academic disciplines within which we have been trained also frame our approaches" (p. 37). This movement has seen Pacific researchers in turn reflecting on their own practices, recognising that they can adjust the way they do things to make sure they are appropriate for working with their communities and accommodating their goals.

McDonough (2012, p. 461) notes that "indigenous paradigms offer the possibility of theoretical and methodological frameworks that can be politically positioned but are culturally-centred in community". We must learn how to position ourselves critically and examine reflexively our own assumptions, not just about research but about our day-to-day lives, how to enact our theories and enact our politics. While assumptions of dominant or western research methodologies generally prescribe objectivity and neutrality, by comparison, the values or priorities that guide indigenous research activities and analysis are grounded in place and centred in community; they are generally linked directly to the culture of the community. These critical approaches afford greater focus on traditions concerned with one's relationships to others, and the ways and protocols of "how to be" (to others) in the community (Smith, 1999). Smith further notes the importance of using theory to recognise and make known one's positioning relative to the research, and allowing for locally and culturally derived values and knowledges to be prioritised and, in turn, to structure the research. Decolonised methodologies promote indigenous knowledge, experiences, and beliefs in developing undertakings intended to benefit the community (Smith, 1999; McDonough, 2012). Acknowledging the strengths of existing paradigms and identifying what else needs to be built into an approach strengthens research practices so that they are more useful and beneficial to communities being investigated (Smith, 1999). Thus, the emergence of culturally appropriate and critical approaches that highlight and embrace cultural difference is not simply the result of challenging research orthodoxies, but rather aims to inform new ways of knowing and discovering, and to offer innovative methods more fitting for research with indigenous people.

Anae (2010) notes that the development of Pacific paradigms, concepts, metaphors, models of 'well-being', research methodologies and cultural competencies has taken place in the health sector in particular (e.g., Agnew et al., 2004; Koloto, 2001; Ministry of Health, 1997; see also Tamasese, Peteru & Waldegrave, 1997). The drive to develop new methods of thinking about research and the need to build Pacific research capacity and ability has become more noticeable of late (Anae, 2005). The development of Pacific research methodologies is seen as necessary for acquiring the valuable (and ethical) involvement of Pacific people. These research paradigms and

methodologies are evidence of the need to understand how Pacific people, as individuals, as well as a collective and importantly as co-researchers, prefer to take part in research, and what it is that informs their participation in research (Anae, 2010). Māori and Pacific research methods and practices are influenced by scholars such as Smith (1999, 2012) in her *Kaupapa Māori* framework, Konai Helu-Thaman's use of the *Kakala* (1992, 1996, 2003) and Vaioleti's (2006, 2013) discussion of the *Talanoa* as a methodology. Each of these argues for the importance of using an approach that echoes Pacific values and beliefs.

3.3.1 Kaupapa Māori

In her seminal work, Linda Smith (1999), evaluates Western paradigms of research and knowledge from the perception of an indigenous Māori woman. She challenges traditional Western ways of knowing and researching and calls for the 'decolonisation' of methodologies and the need to carry out indigenous research (Smith, 1999, 2012). She argues that decolonisation is concerned with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices. Graham Smith (1992) who has also written broadly about the Kaupapa Māori model states that "when doing research across cultures or within a minority culture, it is critical that researchers recognise the power dynamic which is embedded within the relationship with their subjects" (p. 53 as cited in Vaioleti, 2006, pp. 24-25). Smith (1999) lays out recommendations for non-indigenous researchers to enhance their practices concerning indigenous communities, especially her own Māori community, and discusses the fundamental issue of whether it is appropriate for non-indigenous researchers to be immersed in research with indigenous people.

To strengthen Māori research practices, Smith (2006, p. 24), further argues that researchers need "strategies that enable them to survive, to do good research, to be active in building community capacities, to maintain their integrity, and manage community expectations". These challenges led to the development of the Kaupapa Māori research framework and principles to guide research that involves Māori (Smith 1999, 2006; see also Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). Kaupapa Māori research is associated with "being Māori, connected to Māori philosophy and principles, and

takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture, and is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being" (Smith, 1999, p. 185; see also G. Smith, 1990).

3.3.2 Kakala Framework

Building on this work in New Zealand's Māori community, there have been a variety of models and frameworks developed by Tongan scholars and academics in efforts to mitigate the limitations and restrictions of traditional western frameworks (Manu'atu 2000; Taufe'ulungaki, 2002; Thaman, 1992, 1997; Johansson Fua, 2014). A key result has been the development of the Kakala framework by Konai Helu-Thaman as the articulation of her conceptualisation of teaching and learning (Thaman, 1997). Through Kakala, Thaman criticises educational paradigms that reflect western values and methods and how they have taken the place of Tongans' worldview, values and processes (Thaman, 1997, 2003, 2013). Kakala is taken from the Tongan metaphor in which *kakala* means a garland of fragrant flowers (Taman, 2013). The model is based on the traditional process of fragrant garland making, which resonates with certain Tongan values and principles such as reciprocity, sharing, respect, collectivism and context-specific skills and knowledge (Thaman, 1997). It explains the process of gathering knowledge and information, analysing, organising the information, and applying it through gift giving. As explained by Johansson Fua (2014, p. 52):

> The research framework that we wished to design would allow us as insiders to be insiders, studying our own people, our own knowledge system. A research framework was needed that would allow us to access and capture the authenticity of our traditional knowledge system in its intended form, structure and process.

Thaman, together with other Tongan academics has written extensively about Kakala (see also Taufe'ulungaki, Johansson Fua, Manu & Takapautolo, 2007), providing opportunities for students in particular to explore theories and to recognise Pacific worldviews in their thinking (Johansson Fua, 2014). Additionally, Kakala paved the way for other Pacific academics to be courageous in recognising and giving value to

Pacific philosophies, values and customs (for a more detailed discussion see Thaman, 2013; Johansson Fua, 2014; Nabobo-Baba, 2008). Abdullah and Stringer (1999) draw attention to the idea that by positioning indigenous people at the heart of the research where their practices and understandings are the source of investigation, there are opportunities to broaden the knowledge of indigenous people and to transform their understanding of the socio-cultural world. The next section explores an inclusive research agenda and paradigm shift in Fijian research framing.

3.3.3 Fijian Vanua Research Framework (FVRF)

The Vanua framework is similarly founded on the conception of decolonising research and its methodologies (following Smith, 1999; Hauofa, 1993; Thaman, 2003; Baba, Mahina, Williams & Nabobo-Baba, 2004; Nabobo-Baba 2008). The framework was developed and applied by Nabobo-Baba in a study that documented Fijian epistemology in the Vanua of Vugalei (see also Thaman, 2013; Nabobo-Baba, 2008). The related philosophical positionings of Kaupapa Māori Research and other comparable Pacific frameworks, like the Tongan Kakala, all of which continue to gain from the widespread shift in academia to decolonise the academy, inform FVRF. It is an approach embedded in indigenous Fijian thinking whereby the "land, genealogy, life, place, knowledge, clans [are] all wrapped into one, and central to all indigenous communities and worldviews" (Thaman, 2013, p. 112). Vanua research puts forward the argument that research among Fijians should be based and rooted (as well as framed) in Vanua identities, cultures, languages, ways and philosophies of knowledge (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). The Vanua is "pivotal to the Fijian's identity and is the heart of his existence/her existence and the central essence of being Fijian" (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p.143). Sanga and Reynolds (2017) note that the Vanua framework has inspired researchers like Meo-Sewabu (2014), who describes "cultural discernment" (p. 345) as a process whereby the ethics of Vanua-framed research can be developed in consultation with community to ensure a valid cultural fit. The FVRF makes a case for appropriate space in the academy for the insertion of an alternative framing for indigenous Fijian research.

3.3.4 Talanoa Research Methodology

While the previous models are geographically constrained, Talanoa Research Methodology is used in multiple Pacific countries, including Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. It is a pan-Pacific methodological approach that has to date been dominated by Tongan and Fijian researchers. *Talanoa* is understood as "a conversation, a talk, an exchange of ideas...used in multiple ways to obtain information...for creating and transferring knowledge" (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 192). The cultural concept is shared by Tongans, Samoans and Fijians. It can be formal, as between a chief and his or her people, and it can be informal, as between friends in a kava circle (Johansson Fua, 2014). *Tala* is to inform, let know, communicate, ask or apply; *noa* is a topic of any kind, normal, make-believe, void or nothing in particular (Vaioleti, 2006). Talanoa, then, literally means "talking about nothing in particular and interacting without a firm framework" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 23). The significance of talanoa, however, should not be underestimated. Vaioleti's understanding of the concept in the Samoan and Fijian contexts was established during interactions with locals on a trip to Samoa as part of the ancient practice of multi-level and multi-layered critical discussions and free conversations (Morrison, Vaioleti & Vermeulen, 2002; Vaioleti, 2006). It parallels the way the community, business and leaders receive information from the community, which they then use to make decisions about public, church and national matters. Equally, talanoa is discussed as a method used in Fiji to publicise information by local government departments, NGOs, village representatives, business representatives and local agencies (Vaioleti, 2006; Morrison, Vaioleti & Veramu, 2002). Furthermore, it is used to collect information from villages, leaders and different government agencies, with the aim of using findings to formulate national policy proposals (Morrison et al., 2002; Vaioleti, 2006).

Talanoa is about everything and anything that participants are interested in. It builds better understanding and cooperation within and across human relationships ('Otunuku, 2011), and supports the building of relationships between the participants (Coxhead, Parkinson & Tu'amoheloa, 2017). Vaioleti (2006) argues that in a good talanoa encounter, noa creates the space and conditions, while tala brings together researchers and participants' emotions, understanding and experiences (emic

perspective). This understanding is referred to as something that has been overlooked by long-established research approaches (Vaioleti, 2006). In this manner, talanoa requires researchers to participate genuinely and intensely in the research experience rather than stand back and analyse, and is "subjective, mostly oral and collaborative, and is resistant to rigid, institutional, hegemonic control" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 24). The language and behaviour used in a talanoa can vary, depending on the context and the people engaged in it. The skill of talanoa is "embedded in the values and behaviour that are associated with the talanoa, and it is the context of the particular talanoa that determines the appropriate behaviours and values for it" (Johansson Fua, 2014, p. 56). Talanoa aims to remove the distance and space between the researcher and participants and thus people are more accommodating, accepting and open to change and compromise.

The Talanoa Research Methodology corresponds with Pasifika education research guidelines for research involving Pacific people in New Zealand, embracing and supporting Pasifika cultural values (Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu & Finau, 2001; 'Otunuku, 2011). Although explicitly intended for health research, the guiding philosophies for maintaining ethical relationships are applicable to all research. This evaluation is also echoed by Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2014), who promote empathy as pivotal to the success and validity of talanoa. They argue that the research method must reveal "knowledge making and knowledge sharing of the participants" (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014, p. 328).

In terms of Pacific approaches, Talanoa dominates published academic literature and it is noted for its ability to provide comprehensive information when carefully organised and structured. It plays a very significant role in the research process (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Halapua, 2008; 'Otunuku, 2011; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2013; 2006). Yet, Suaalii-Sauni and Fulu-Aiolupotea (2014) indicate that there is still a need for researchers from Pacific Island countries such as Samoa to be more involved in its application and development in order to employ indigenous research tools, methods and methodologies and to show how they differ by country in practice. This call is also made by Tui Atua (2009) who argues for

the importance of bringing together values and approaches in policy and research. His use of the Samoan proverb *E iloa le lima lelei o le tufuga i le so'ofau* (the mark of good statecraft is shown in blending idiosyncrasy) is apt, especially at a time when Pacific work is beginning to be recognised more widely. He claims that Pacific people need to be drawing upon their strengths, insights and values, which necessitates engaging researchers and experts to develop their own models around that which is meaningful to them (Tui Atua, 2009). Tui Atua suggests that Pacific people embracing this approach offer "rich new paradigms, greater diversity and colour in practice and the warm connections of humanity with land, sea and spirituality" (2009, p. 91).

With Tongan and Fijian research dominating the use of the Talanoa framework, it is interesting to reflect on how this is perceived by Samoan people. The concept of Talanoa is multifarious; it suggests gossiping, exaggeration, talking aimlessly or general conversations about anything and everything, a very different understanding than is used in existing research. Unfortunately this can lead to the talanoa approach encompassing a superficial interpretation for Samoans. Nonetheless, what is very clear is the importance of respect in Pacific approaches and an open two-way relationship. The Talanoa framework resonates with the Samoan cultural concept of trust; that is, for talanoa to work, the researcher must have a deep understanding of relevant cultural values and beliefs and be able to build a trusting relationship with the participants (Kolone-Collins, 2010; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014).

There is a lot of commonality in these traditional Pacific approaches, drawing on the importance of mindfulness, sensitivity, ethical behaviour and collaborative work. The use of a Samoan-focussed research approach in particular affords access to the subtleties, sophistication and sensitivities of the participants, thereby resonating with community values and beliefs. These are the ideas that reinforce the ethnographic approach in workplace research globally and have emerged as core areas that I am looking at in terms of research methodologies (cf. Newton & Kusmierczyk, 2011; see also Angouri, 2018; cf. Fairclough, 2013). This is the foundation of my stance; as a result, I have drawn on these central components and propose an alternative, but

arguably compatible methodological approach called *Fatugātiti* that is more fitting to Samoan research for a number of reasons.

I consciously adjusted my methods in line with the philosophy of being culturally appropriate. Initially, as I set out to carry out this research, I was prepared to make use of the Talanoa methodological approach, not only because it is the leading approach in researching Pacific people, but also because I felt it was the only option for carrying out Pacific research. As I read more about Talanoa and its significance, I realised that the Talanoa approach did not suit the project I was embarking on. Furthermore, because I had an understanding of interrelated concepts, given the context I was working in and my field of study, I felt the need to use a differently-nuanced model as a representation of my participants' voices and their stories of success. Fatugātiti, the alternative approach I use, builds on what already exists, accounting for the balancing of the weaknesses and strengths of various approaches inherent in the foundations of the arguments surrounding the decolonisation of methods – that is, being aware of my participants' needs, focussing on the context within which I am operating and also my role as a researcher, the aims and objectives of my work and my philosophical goals.

While Fatugātiti has only recently emerged as an approach amongst Samoan researchers [12] (Amosa, personal communication, 2017), I envisage my use and exploration of it will contribute to the theory. In Fatugātiti, there is clear potential to acknowledge something that is already in the culture and more importantly, bridge the gap between what is culturally relevant and what has been written from the outside (cf. emic/etic perspectives, where I am positioned as an 'insider' as well as a researcher/analyst). I actively collaborated with participants as co-researchers, fostering a positive working relationship by embracing a Samoan approach that is both culturally appropriate and distinctive. I see places where I offer something new and can make a methodological contribution because of the people I am working with, the context in which I am working, as well as the particular goals I am trying to achieve

[12] This research is coming through in conference papers, but it is not yet published, so I have gone to the main proponent of the approach, Maulolo Tavita Amosa.

through the workplace focus. Simultaneously and taking into account western research methods which are relevant, my research contributes to the building and strengthening of another paradigm that is pertinent to the values and beliefs of the Samoan community.

3.4 FATUGĀTITI MODEL

The Samoan approach of Fatugātiti is a developing methodology which aims to recognize the broader Pacific context. Fatugātiti can be explained by its literal meaning that is '*fatu-gā-titi*', or to gather and collect leaves to weave (*fatu*) a [foliage] *titi* (skirt) (Amosa, 2016, 2017). Fatu also means to compose, to create, to craft. *Fatu* describes overlapping and the art of layering in grass skirt making. In Samoan traditional customs, a *titi* is used when participating in formal occasions and celebrations, such as *saofa'i* (bestowal of chiefly (matai) titles), *fa'aipoipoga* (wedding), *fa'afiafiaga* (dancing/entertainment), *ta'alolo* (gifts/food offering), *aumoega* (courtship), *faigafaiva* (fishing), *tuligāmanu* (hunting) etc. If a titi is to be woven, it will have many designs or patterns which are used by its creator. The maker of the titi can apply and use any design or pattern (depending on the size of the leaves used) and whatever he or she sees as suitable to match the nature of the occasion. As stated by Simanu (personal communication, 2016), not all leaves are the same, not all leaves are appropriate for the event you are attending. The skilful creator of the titi can use *lauti* (ti leaves), *teuila* (ginger leaves), *lautalotalo* (poison bulb), *launiu* (coconut leaves), *pu'a* (hernandia peltata seeds), *fulumoa* (bird feathers) or *fau* (hibiscus tiliaceus) interweaving different layers so that it remains intact and is not easily damaged (Amosa, 2017). Once a titi is complete, *faguu'u Samoa* (Samoan oil) is applied to make it gleam and shine. This is a sign that a titi is ready to be worn in celebration. A titi epitomises protection and encirclement as it covers (and embraces the wearer) and holds in place. A well woven titi lasts for a long time whether it is worn as an adornment or for a more practical purpose.

In theoretical terms, the meaning of Fatugātiti includes "how discussions prevail, ensue and [are] facilitated according to the focus or aim that the initiator of the

discussion intended to achieve" (Amosa, 2016). When interacting, Fatugātiti is making something with a clear purpose in a positive manner. Whilst everyone is regarded as equal in the discussion and as being open to differing opinions, the choice of words and tone are carefully selected so that the way in which the message is conveyed is persuasive and the information received is genuine. While recognising and acknowledging the work of other Pacific researchers (e.g., Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Johansson Fua, 2014; Thaman, 1997; 'Otunuku, 2011; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006; Tamasese, Peteru, Waldegrave & Bush, 2005), the idea of weaving a titi represents an elaboration via this metaphor or analogy.

In the research process, I am guided by the analogy of Fatugātiti. It is a conceptualisation of working together, collaborating and understanding from the participants' perspective. The model is fitting given that the participants in my research include *tamāli'i* (high chiefs), *tulāfale* (chiefs/orators), *'aumaga* (untitled men) and school leavers. Fatugātiti, accordingly, is pertinent in bringing the participants' voices together, especially because they hail from rural villages, where customs, practices and protocols are salient to everyday life (Huffer & So'o, 2005; L. D. Holmes & E. R. Holmes, 1992).

The Fatugātiti concept fits well into the Samoan cultural exchange of words and its use is imperative in the Samoan customs concerning the dynamics of the 'give and take' of valuable information. Amosa (2017, 2019) further suggests that the true essence of the concept lies in the changing patterns and construction of a titi by its creator to suit its purpose. The art of perfecting the pattern and making of the titi requires creativity, critical thinking and most importantly, appreciating the values and beliefs involved in the activity. Since another meaning for fatu is 'heart', *fatu le titi* can be simply translated into the actual making of the heart of that titi. The keyword here is 'fatu' that is, the concept that everything hinges on the heart, without which, all organs of the body collapse. In the following chapters, I will show how this influences both my research process and interpretations.

Figure 3.1: Fatugātiti Model - *A cultural framework for communication*

Created by Thomas Tufuga

The Fatugātiti model in Figure 3.1 provides a representation of my proposed approach, grounded in the beliefs and values of the fa'asāmoa or the Samoan way of doing things. As Figure 3.1 shows, the model incorporates the important elements of *soālaupule* (giving and taking opinions to develop authority), *fa'asoa* (an exchange of views and the opinions of people), *talanoaga* (an informal discussion of anything and everything) and *fa'afaletui* (a gathering of people from a common simple persuasion).

As explored earlier, having drawn on the dominant ethnographic approach in workplace research, the Fatugātiti makes use of the strengths of the western use of the approach and then embraces Pacific methods. These include the importance of

mindfulness, compassion and sensitivity, ethical behaviours, collaborative work, each reverberating community values and beliefs. As will be seen in the following chapters, the interweaving of the elements of the Fatugātiti model is noteworthy, recognising opportunities for the researcher and participants as co-researchers to engage in the collaborative nature of the fa'asāmoa; the act of weaving a titi epitomises the communal way of life in Samoa. Applying Fatugātiti, I recognise the accepted hierarchies of the village and their vitality in village settings, the dimension of power and its manifestation in directives embedded explicitly in Samoan cultural norms. The analogy of the leaves symbolise the growth of understanding in the conversations that take place in field work, gradually unfolding into new developments in the communication of the seasonal workers in this study.

I acknowledge the ongoing progression of theoretical insights and practical methods (Holmes, 2018), yet I also recognise that one of the advantages of the ethnographic approach is the core ability to be more accommodating to the participants and the emphasis placed on familiarisation with the context. The influences on indigenous research activities and analysis are grounded in place and focussed in community, usually relating directly to the culture of the community (Smith, 1999). As noted earlier, Smith (1999) advocates the need to learn "how to be" in these micro contexts (even if I share wider cultural orientation), and to be mindful of local needs and aspirations. As discussed in Chapter 2, the reflections exemplify the significance of understanding culture, acknowledging the distinct ways in which relationships and interactions are recognised not only between groups, but also more significantly within groups. The saying *E sui faiga, ae tumau fa'avae* rings true here: Approaches and methods change, but foundations stay the same. Combining ethnographic ideals and the Fatugātiti Model allows me to talk about my role as a Samoan researcher from the village and the context I am working in, to be part of the dialogue and part of the conversations, and to be able to secure access to traditional knowledge and practices shared by the villages and the groups involved. With Fatugātiti, I am very mindful of the space between myself as a researcher and participants.

As will be seen in the following chapters, the four key elements create a *vā fealoa'i*[13] (respected space) that is appropriate and enabling. Additionally, these elements of the Fatugātiti Model are layered, correlated and are integrated. They represent language and culture as woven together in a pattern, which depicts the unity of the people involved in decision-making.

3.4.1 Soālaupule

Soālaupule is the exchange of *pule* (authority), roughly glossed as giving a perspective that you want to share. It is a process inherent in reaching or making decisions (see also Silipa, 2004). It is a democratic process in which you give an opinion (*aumai le tōfā),* discuss it and see if a consensus can be reached (*avatu le fa'aūtaga*), so that whatever consensus you arrive at, it is what people want (Amosa, 2017). The process, although lengthy, encourages a high degree of interpersonal interaction and problem-solving skills (Utumapu-Mcbride, Esera, Toia, Tone-Schuster & So'oaemalelagi, 2008). Put simply, soālaupule is the distribution of authority underpinned by a value that emphasises the importance of listening and hearing one's voice in decision-making. No one holds the 'power', as everyone is included in the discussion. Additionally, in the fa'asāmoa, to avoid disputes and disagreements, soālaupule is used to highlight unison.

3.4.2 Fa′asoa

Fa'asoa is the process of sharing, i.e., an exchange of views at either a formal or informal gathering. The prefix *fa'a* is 'to', *soa* means 'partner or carry'; fa'asoa then involves two or more people carrying out a conversation. *Fa'asoa mai, fa'asoa atu* means an exchange of opinions (Fulumu'a, personal communication, 2017), this is to ensure that people are freely expressing their views when arriving at a consensus, without fear of being ridiculed and rebuffed. The underlying philosophy in fa'asoa is that once there is consensus, everyone is bound by the decision-making (Amosa, 2017).

[13] See also discussion of *vā* as critical in relationships and conflict resolution (Kruse-Vaai, 2011).

3.4.3 Talanoaga

Talanoaga refers to informal interactions where protocols are more relaxed. It refers to conversations (Tui Atua, 1994, as cited in Sua'ali'i-Sauni, 2001) or a chat as the nominalisation of the verb talanoa (Milner 1966; Duranti, 1980). Talanoaga is more open and encourages any kind of talk to happen between any persons or groups of persons (Sua'ali'i-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014), including the talk that takes place informally at a gathering of friends, or in a village meeting (Kolone-Collins, 2010).

3.4.4 Fa'afaletui

Fa'afaletui is where discussions and rules of engagement are more formal. Tamasese, Peteru and Waldegrave (1997) develop this concept further as a research methodology, based on the process of how knowledge and information is gathered, defined and framed in the Samoan knowledge system. The framework incorporates three distinct but complementary perspectives: (1) the people on the mountaintop; (2) the people in the treetops, and; (3) the people in the canoe out in the sea (see also Tamasese et al., 2005; Tuāfuti, 2011). Fa'afaletui aims for unanimity and agreement among chiefs in a village *fono* (meeting). Amosa (2017) argues that a unique characteristic of fa'afaletui is, *E le paoa e le isi le finagalo o le isi*, which means that you say what you want to say until you have exhausted your opinions and then it is the next person's turn to speak. In the past, fa'afaletui was a semi-formal gathering among orators in a village. These days, people may also use it to describe formal gatherings (Fulumu'a, 2017). *Fālē* means the sharing and exchanging of ideas and beliefs and *tui* means of high rank or status, or a Samoan king, as in Tui Manu'a, a king (Amosa, 2017). Fa'afaletui therefore is a bigger body of people coming together, with a common purpose and aim.

These aspects of the Fatugātiti Model guide my approach to data collection and analysis. Their application and developments are central to the rest of the thesis.

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has provided the rationale for my research design, placing emphasis on the importance of an ethnographic approach for a sound qualitative study. The emic and etic perspectives in understanding the behaviour and characteristics of participants and the work they do are key to my approach. The chapter also emphasises traditional Pacific approaches that have emerged as culturally appropriate in carrying out research among Pacific people (the ʻauʻau (ridgepoles) referred to in the opening quotation). Special attention is given to Fatugātiti, a developing methodological approach that has clear potential for acknowledging the Samoan culture, and more importantly, bridging the gap between what is culturally important and what has been written outside the culture. The Fatugātiti approach epitomises my assembling of battens (ʻaso) in reinforcing the ridgepoles. In operationalising the model, the next chapter discusses the data collections methods, procedures and the research approaches this study employs in gathering and analysing information.

4 DATA AND ANALYSIS

Tāfesilafa'i
Meeting face to face

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter follows on from the methodological framework discussed in Chapter 3, providing a rationale for the choice of research methods employed to investigate the research questions in this study. It explores how the research questions have been operationalised, taking into account the methodological framework and best practice in the field. The proverb *Tāfesilafa'i* sits well in this chapter for its literal meaning, *tā* (short for *tāua* or us) and *fesilafa'i* (derived from the root word *silasila* meaning 'to look'). Tāfesilafa'i can be explained as meeting someone face to face or coming together and engaging in any form of discourse. In this case, the idea of coming together is represented by my explanation of the research methods for my reader as well as my engagement with my participants as co-researchers. The contextual meaning of tāfesilafa'i explains that the protocols of the fa'asāmoa have already been covered, ensuring both the participant and researcher are seated and facing each other to discuss the topic openly and honestly.

For the purpose of this chapter, the proverb provides an endpoint to be reached by laying out the research mechanisms and materials used in the data collection and how they align with the Fatugātiti model. An important step in this process was meeting with the seasonal workers and representatives, to gather different 'stories' to produce a collaborative method and a rich set of data. I aimed to create a space, so that each participant's story is embraced and celebrated (the specific equality of the Fatugātiti model). To this end, the chapter begins with an explanation of the purpose of the research and addresses the decision to adopt a qualitative paradigm (Section 4.2), followed by a discussion of the research site (Section 4.3). Section 4.4 provides the data collection methods and procedures and reflects on the researcher's situatedness and the importance of framing studies in the indigenous milieu. Section 4.5 provides

information about the recruitment process and a summary of the mechanisms used in the data collection. The data set and data processing are discussed in Section 4.6. Finally, Human Ethics considerations are discussed in Section 4.7.

4.2 RESEARCH APPROACHES

This section presents the approaches used in the study. It considers the operationalisation of my research approach to capture the interaction patterns of the two groups of Samoan seasonal workers involved in the research. Observing and following these seasonal workers to their New Zealand worksites allowed me to explain and identify the dynamic contextual influences on the ways in which these men interact with one another and how they function in a country that is unfamiliar to them.

4.2.1 Qualitative Approach

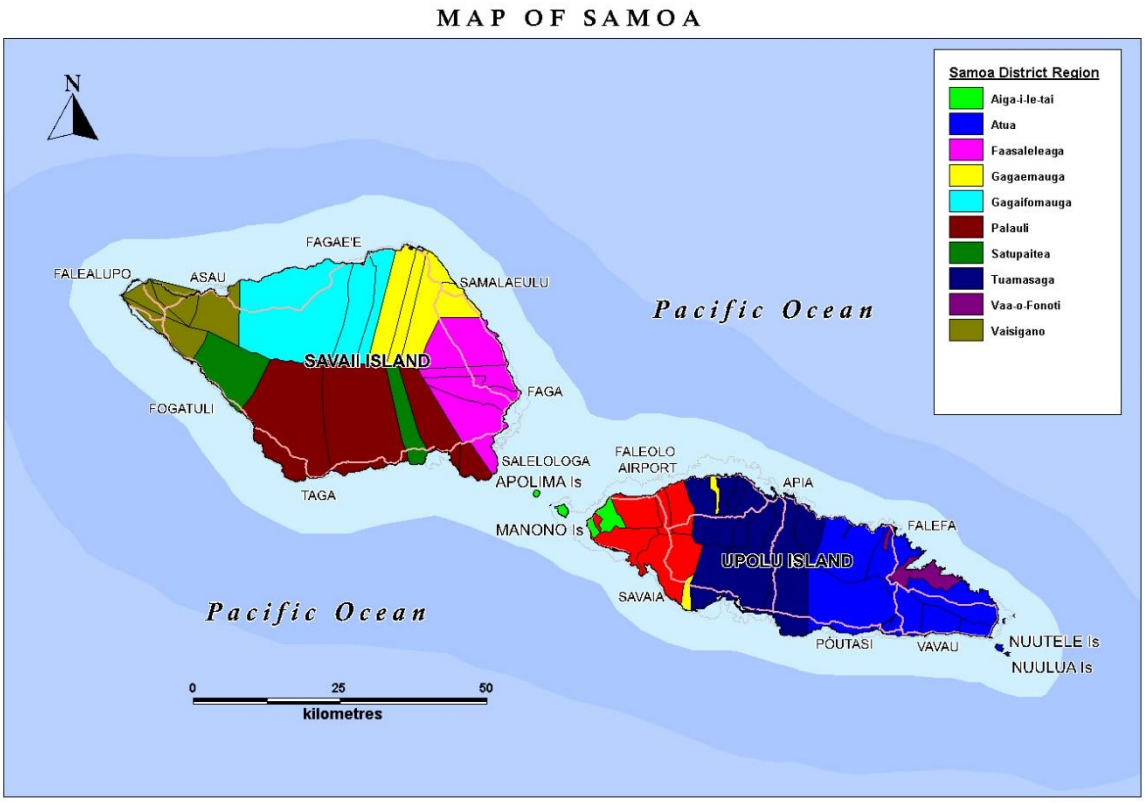
Given the emphasis on naturalistic enquiry, a qualitative approach aligned with the ethnographic and emic perspectives discussed in the previous chapter and seen as most fitting for the types of research questions presented. It also corresponds with my methodological philosophy, which prioritises exploration of human behaviours and activities. As noted by Patton (1990), the qualitative methods I employ are used to identify and comprehend naturally occurring phenomena in their naturally occurring states. Accordingly, a qualitative approach with its emphasis on depth rather than breadth is required, to identify the patterns and purpose in our behaviour and provide insights that will enrich our understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Richards, 2003; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). The qualitative design of the study embraces in-depth semi-structured interviews, alongside workplace observations and audio-recordings, in the context of horticultural work. As indicated in Chapter 2, I am following best practice in the field and emphasising in particular the goal to work together with the participants as collaborators. This supports what I have outlined in the Pacific approach discussed in Chapter 3, by complementing field goals with Pacific goals in my approach.

Based on the seasonal movement discussed in Chapter 1, this study follows an established and a novice group of Samoan seasonal workers from their villages in Samoa to their New Zealand orchard worksites. As indicated in earlier chapters, I am drawn to improving workplace communication opportunities within my community, focussing particularly on identifying and enhancing successful communicative competence. In order to accommodate the design and objectives of the research described in Chapter 1, it was necessary to retain ongoing dialogue with the organisations involved (see also Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). Holmes and Stubbe (2003; 2015) discuss a 4-step process in the data collection process, i.e., (1) making contact, (2) recording the talk, (3) collecting contextual information and (4) providing feedback, to obtain rich and diverse data sets in a range of different workplace contexts. As will be seen, I was deeply inspired by this process and it was foundational in how I went about collecting my data, especially in terms of the philosophical weight given to making adjustments that were appropriate for my context. In what follows, I first provide an outline of the research site followed by information about my meetings with government officials and representatives. The later part of this chapter provides the strategies and steps taken in balancing best practices in the field with culturally appropriate (and instrumental) approaches in the data collection process.

4.3 RESEARCH SITE

As noted in Chapter 1, the fieldwork necessitated two phases, which followed the established seasonal movement of workers (February-May in Samoa) and (June-December in New Zealand). Phase 1 was carried out in Samoa. The seasonal workers from both groups were already in Samoa for their five-month holiday. As explained in Chapter 1, the seasonal workers from the two groups were located in traditional village communities. The study was conducted on the two main islands of Upolu (where the established group is located) and Savaii (the location of the novice group), with both groups situated in rural areas of the islands (refer to Figure 4.1).

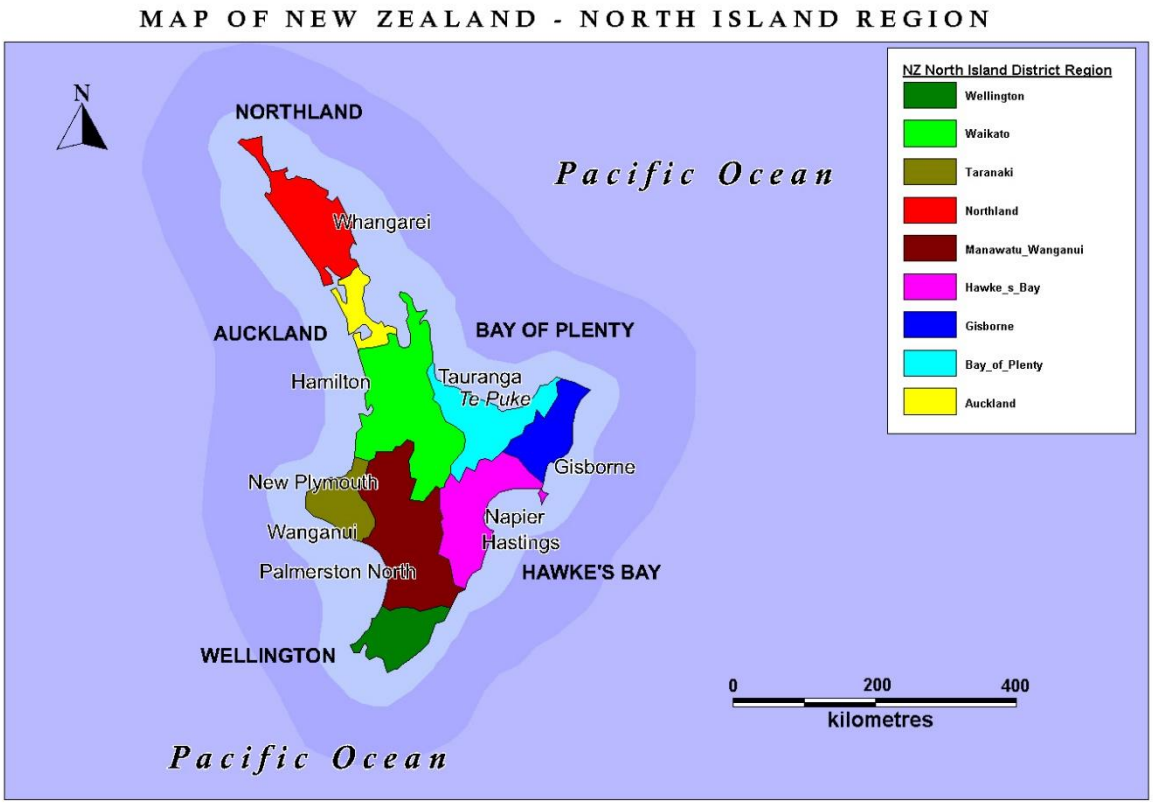
Figure 4.1: Map of Samoa



Source: Land Link Services, 2019

Being within close proximity of potential research participants was an advantage for this research. Kiesler and Cummings (2002) note that through the lens of research, co-location among people aids work and is beneficial to relationships and group interactions. I felt it was important to make connections and build rapport outside of the workplace context and thus after meeting the seasonal workers for the first time I went with them to their respective homes. My initial plan was to start with the whole group. These meetings allowed for the possibility of attrition and for narrowing down the number of participants later when I returned to New Zealand (cf. Palinkas et al., 2015). The ethnographic approach provided me with the opportunity to be deeply engaged with the participants and when they recommenced work, our existing rapport facilitated the workplace observations and recordings. The second part of data collection (Phase 2) was carried out in the North Island, New Zealand, in Hawkes Bay (established group) and the Bay of Plenty (novice group) regions, where the seasonal workers from the participant groups are contracted (refer to Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Map of the North Island, New Zealand



Source: Land Link Services, 2019

As indicated earlier, each group originates from a village setting in a rural area in Samoa and moves to a provincial area in New Zealand. The map of the South Pacific in Figure 4.3 provides a sense of the distance that the workers travel so that they are better able to support their families financially. It should be noted that these groups of seasonal workers travel as an intact village to New Zealand, where they may be physically separated on a day-to-day basis if allocated to different worksites but live together and later return home as a village.

Figure 4.3: Map of the South Pacific

Source: Land Link Services, 2019

4.3.1 Collaborations with Government Officials

While relationships with the participants were and are my priority, these relationships followed official meetings in the earlier stages. After securing ethical approval (refer to Appendix Q), I sent out an email to the Samoan Ministry of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (MPMC) which at the time of the data collection was coordinating the RSE scheme as part of its portfolio. My networks in Samoa afforded me the opportunity to get in touch with two government officials, whom I wanted to interview regarding the scheme. My first point of contact upon arrival in Samoa for Phase 1 was a meeting with the Government officials. I met with these officials because this is how workplaces are typically accessed in Samoa (cf. Billet, 2001, 2002, 2004). I was fortunate that the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of MPMC received my request favourably. I met the CEO in his office, arriving ten minutes before the scheduled

interview. As is normal in the Samoan culture, there was *fa'atulima*[14] (reciprocated formal greeting) and then the facilitation of discussions accordingly (clearly reflecting the Fatugātiti elements I describe in Chapter 3). The CEO talked about the RSE scheme from a policy maker's perspective and how it has benefitted Samoa as a participating country, as well as the government's role as a coordinating body for RSE. The next day, I met with the Principal Officer (PO) for the Seasonal Employment Unit (SEU). During the time of the interview, the SEU was preparing to be incorporated into the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labour (MCIL), effective June 2017, because most employment policies sit with the MCIL. After meeting the two government officials, I was invited to attend the Ministry's pre-departure orientation for the seasonal workers, which took place the following week and was intended for seasonal workers who would be returning to New Zealand. This provided me the opportunity to observe the Samoan seasonal workers as they were briefed about the policies and protocols to adhere to and what is expected of them upon arrival at their allocated New Zealand worksites.

4.3.2 Meetings with Local Contacts

The local contacts I met with were the representatives responsible for recruiting the established and novice groups of seasonal workers and for providing appropriate support in advance of their departure. I introduced myself and the project to the local contacts initially via email. I also attached an information sheet tailored to the local contacts so that they were better informed of my research (refer to Appendix E). Both local contacts were hoteliers and the meetings took place at their respective hotels. The meetings apprised me of their distinct way of recruiting their seasonal workers and how each group has managed to take part and (in the case of the established group) continue to be involved in the scheme. The local contacts also talked about how their respective communities have benefitted from the scheme. These meetings clearly indicated that the workers are closely monitored to make sure every individual in the village is offered the same opportunity.

[14] Sauvao-Va'auli (2018) defines fa'atulima as the initial process of verbal acknowledgment of someone or a group of people.

4.3.3 Meetings with Employers

Since the seasonal workers were on employment contracts in New Zealand, my first point of contact in gaining access to participants was a courtesy email to the employers (cf. Step 1 of LWP). Both gave authorization in principle (in the form of a signed letter of approval) to carry out workplace observations at their companies. As discussed earlier, the second part of data collection (Phase 2) was carried out in New Zealand where the seasonal workers had returned to (re)commence employment. Before meeting the participants, I made arrangements with the company representatives for interviews. The meetings with the representatives provided me with contextual knowledge of the worksites, which is crucial in fieldwork (cf. Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). For the Evanson[15] Worksite where the novice groups would be working, the Human Resource (HR) Manager corresponded through email on behalf of the company. Having received approval to carry out workplace observations and recordings, I had many interactions with HR. My first day at the company was a pleasant surprise in that everyone knew I was going to be on site that day. For the Asher Sunshine[16] Worksite where the established group would be, the employer had welcomed me in his response to my email and had referred me to the Liaison Officer with whom I dealt in preparation for my worksite visit.

4.4 METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The elements of the Fatugātiti were well established in my approach. As noted in Chapter 3, the data collection methods are a way of enacting the Fatugātiti approach. My emphasis was the use of both English and Samoan and the goal was to be culturally sensitive and appropriate to the fa'asāmoa protocols concerning the dynamics of the 'give and take' of valuable information. This emphasis aligns with the ethnographic approach which involves long term unstructured fieldwork (Hammersly, 1992; Churton & Brown, 2010; Marra & Lazzaro-Salazar, 2018). In putting Fatugātiti into practice, I was able to gather a rich body of data for understanding key dimensions to support the discourse analytic approach for working

[15] Pseudonym
[16] Pseudonym

with naturalistic recordings (see also Stubbe et al., 2003). As alluded to earlier, in terms of the approach to analysis, participants are regarded as co-researchers and the Fatugātiti methodology recognises the subtleties and nuances of a Pacific context where respect amongst researchers is prioritised. The study therefore is grounded on the principle of *research with* participants (see also Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; also discussed in Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton & Richardson, 1992).

4.4.1 Rituals of Encounter

Each of these meetings represents a form of encounter with its own processes. Salmond (1974) is well known for her work on 'rituals of encounter' (especially in the Māori context) and distinguishes between the highly ceremonial *whaikoorero* or greeting speeches, and the topical speeches that make up the debate or decision-making part of a gathering (Salmond, 1974; Watson-Gegeo, 1986).

> Although individual and group standing and power are won through competence in whaikoorero, real political decisions are made through take speeches. As a result, those who succeed in greeting speeches also engage in topical speeches, their ceremonial success lending weight to their opinions (as cited in Watson-Gegeo, 1986, p. 154).

Sabo (1992) describes the rituals of encounter in the context of Native American villages, with their elaborate greeting ceremonies. These ceremonies provided valuable insights into the diverse cultural perspectives that Native Americans brought to their encounters with Europeans (1992, p. 54). In carrying out my own research, I reflected on these encounters in depth as an important part of my methods, recognising the need for adjustments. I was mindful of the ways in which the procedures influenced my data collection. I was also conscious of the cultural importance in these rituals of encounter, that is, being sensitive in how I approached the participants and those involved in the study in Samoa and knowing how to connect with the different worksites in New Zealand.

After meeting with the local contacts, I got in touch with the team leader for the novice group. The team leader was (understandably) initially concerned about the fact that I was going into a village where protocols need to be followed and observed (cf. Fijian customs, Nabobo-Baba, 2008). He was worried that my presence would get him into trouble with the village council, and there was no *'ava o le feiloaiga* (welcoming kava ceremony) to welcome me to the village. The *'ava* ceremony is a primal Samoan ritual that is performed at the beginning of all important services and gatherings (Meleisea, 1987; Refiti, 2017). Usually led by the high chief of the hosting village, the ceremony begins with words of welcome as the participants sit cross-legged on the floor in a circle or semi-circle. The events include the preparation and consumption of an 'ava drink, which is usually followed by a feast. To his relief, I could reassure him that I was only coming over to meet them and brief them about my project. The team leader was hesitant but after I mentioned over the telephone that approval had been granted from their employer, the tone improved. Like the team leader, when I first told the seasonal workers from the novice group who I was, there was a bit of hesitation – for some, they felt that my being there would have an impact on their return to employment in New Zealand. I had to assure them that my project was not government affiliated and that it was research aimed at investigating the communications skills of Samoan seasonal workers. During this process, I discovered which people I needed to meet as my gatekeepers (cf. Holmes, 2007). It was the rituals of encounters that I needed to go through which brought about this information. This was crucial for the ethnographic fieldwork and because I had this support, I could then process the data in the way that made use of the ethnographic insights gained.

4.4.2 Warranting

In a qualitative paradigm, each piece of data sits within its own context; and as result data from a different context cannot be used to verify a different set of data (Silverman, 2015; see also Shenton, 2004). This means that as a researcher, I recognise that not every data set will give me the same results but that I must be mindful of ways to support my interpretations. Having followed and observed the novice and established group, my methodological framework and data have led to the justification of my analysis. This is an interactive process. The need for warranting also

contributed to my decisions to conduct semi-structured interviews, observations and workplace audio recordings to seek out supplementary and complementary information.

4.4.3 Researcher Situatedness

Initially when I set out to meet the seasonal workers for the first time, I arranged to go with a matai. Having studied the list of seasonal workers from the company, and after meeting with the local contact, I was aware that most of the seasonal workers hold matai titles, some high chief titles, while others are orators and the rest are *taulele'a* or untitled men. Duranti (1997) states that a matai title customarily comes with privileges over land and its products as well as the responsibility to take part in decision-making practices such as political meetings or fono (see also Duranti 1994; Kruse-Vaai, 2011). In a Samoan village, status and rank distinctions are pervasive in everyday and ceremonial life. Duranti (1997) argues that the "language marks such distinctions in a number of ways, the most obvious of which is a special lexicon called *'upu fa'aaloalo* (respectful words) used in addressing people of high status and in talking about them in certain contexts" (p. 72-73). In my role as researcher, I was apprehensive about going out to meet the seasonal workers for the first time. First, although we are all Samoans, I do not hold a matai title, so it was unseemly for me to address the village chiefs and their families given my status. I was also going into villages where people prioritise culture-oriented relationships. Having come from a village myself and being heavily involved with our *pitonu'u/faleātua* (sub-village) and church activities, I knew what was expected upon arrival. Despite having knowledge of Samoan customs and practices, it was culturally appropriate to go with a tulāfale (as an intermediary), hence the importance of the proverb tāfesilafai, where the tulāfale acts as the go between to cover the Samoan protocols and etiquette. I made sure I secured a tulāfale who was versed with the honorific or *fa'alupega*[17] (see also Va'a, 2001) for the particular villages and chiefs. For both groups, the intermediary and I were greeted by the team leaders at their homes, and the use of Samoan connotations and

[17] Fa'alupega or the naming of chiefly titles is a fundamental part of Samoan culture and custom, as it connects individuals and families to land and origins of their past. This knowledge is usually acquired over time by matai (chief) and is recalled and acknowledged in speeches during special ceremonies and events (Akeli, 2013).

honorific salutations were employed to greet one another in a courteous manner. Once that was completed, it was my turn to introduce myself and brief them on my research. Conversations and talk were conducted in Samoan, in the form of talanoaga and fa'asoa and helped establish good connections between the researcher and the participants.

4.4.4 Accessing Participants' Location

In conducting research, it is important for the researcher to think carefully about how to gain access (Johl & Renganathan, 2010) to participants' location. Gaining access also involves negotiating who should be the informants that offer information in conducting research (Feldman, Bell & Berger, 2003). The initial meeting with the seasonal workers was at their households. I conducted these interviews in people's homes because that is where I felt they would feel comfortable. Longhurst (2003) argues that being in the environs you are studying can also prove useful. It is all about finding a place that is 'accessible' for the interview. The main consideration for this is for interviewees to feel comfortable in the space (see also Bullard, 2003). The team leaders met us and we went from one household to another where the matai and family members of each seasonal worker received us (cf. Marra 2008). There was fa'atulima and the tulāfale spoke on my behalf, paving the way for the Fatugātiti dialogue that was to follow. This process was invaluable as I was able to collaborate with the people in the Samoan language. Moreover, by collaborating with the participants, I was able to weave in the cultural perspective and traditional aspects of the fa'asāmoa, thus forming the titi that protects the social relationship between the researcher and the participants. While I was collaborating with the seasonal workers, it refined my processes, making it easier when I carried out Phase 2, reinforcing the concept of *researching with* (Holmes et al., 2011).

To support my interpretation of the data collected in Phase 2 of fieldwork, the ethnographic approach provided me with access to specific cultural practices, the happenings and activities in which the participants are engaged in, and an ability to make sense of what is going on (Marra & Lazzaro-Salazar, 2018). In the New Zealand settings and aligning with company procedures, I was given a tour of both premises

where the seasonal workers were placed. I was also introduced to the orchard managers to whom I had to report every morning (in case I needed assistance) before embarking on fieldwork observations and recordings. The friendly atmosphere at each worksite demonstrated how welcoming these companies are.

Going into Phase 2 fieldwork, I was aware that I was going into *palagi*[18] contexts where a Samoan researcher could potentially be seen as invading their space and place. From a Western viewpoint, space and place are easy to separate and are often separated in discussions in the literature (see also Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; cf. Rodman, 2003; cf. Buttimer & Seamon, 2015). Place is typically understood as a physical location, and space is (broadly speaking) where interaction occurs and how it is organized. However, the Samoan perspective does not divide space and place in the same way. Usually, for Pacific people, sacred relationships exist between people, as well as between people and the environment (Sauni, 2011; Anae, 2016; Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009). To nurture the 'space' is to respect and maintain the sacred space, harmony and balance within relationships (Seals, Parsons, Salanoa, Filo & Otieno, 2018). My relationship as a researcher with the participants, being able to recognise distinct procedures, knowing my community membership, my understanding of protocols, my ability to build rapport and my identity as a 'village girl' are all-important qualities for successful data collection, contributing to my cautious academic identity.

4.4.5 Demographic Questionnaire

A survey questionnaire was administered and given out to 25 seasonal workers (13 from the established group, 12 from the novice group) in the first meeting in Phase 1. The aim of the survey was to find out background information about the seasonal workers. Sample questions ranged from biographical information (education, the company they were contracted to, when they joined the scheme) and their prescribed tasks since becoming an RSE worker (refer to Appendix M). The questionnaire was in both English and Samoan and the seasonal workers had a choice as to which version

[18] The term is used by Samoans to describe Westerners.

they would fill in. While 23 of the seasonal workers from both groups opted for the Samoan version, 2 preferred to fill in the English questionnaire.

The seasonal workers were also given the opportunity to ask questions if there was any detail on the questionnaire that they were not clear about. The men seemed content to provide the demographic information that was required of them and it became clear to me that being a community member and being able to support the workers with this task was an advantage. At the end of the week, I collected the questionnaires and then made a summary of their responses (refer to Appendix C). As pointed out by Valentine (1997), it is common practice to carry out a simple questionnaire survey to gather basic factual information. An understanding of this basic information gave me insights into both groups and the potential participants when meeting them again in Phase 2.

4.5 PARTICIPANTS OF THE STUDY

In selecting a smaller set of focus participants, a purposeful sampling approach was employed. Purposive sampling is a technique commonly used in qualitative research (Patton, 2002; Palinkas et al., 2015) to involve participants who can best give an opinion or information about the research questions and enrich understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Creswell, 2009; Sargeant, 2012; see also Kuper, Lingard & Levinson, 2008). These qualities, coupled with the importance of availability and willingness to take part, the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an insightful manner, contribute equally to identifying and selecting individuals (Bernard, 2002; Spradley, 1979; also cited in Palinkas et al., 2015).

4.5.1 Seasonal Workers

As discussed in Chapter 1, based on my preliminary contacts and interactions with RSE personnel from the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE), I decided to follow two groups of seasonal workers. One was an established group (part of the RSE scheme since its inception); the other was a novice group (joined the scheme in 2016). Both groups came highly recommended because of the good

working relationship their employers have with the local contacts (Lupo, personal communication, 2016). For both groups of seasonal workers, the selection of focus participants (i.e., those who would be interviewed and recorded) was made according to the number of years spent as an RSE worker, age and job designation (cf. Cameron 2000). After analysing the demographic data, for the established group, participants were selected according to their experience, that is, new seasonal workers and those who had been on the scheme for 4-5 years. For the novice group, selection was made according to the participant's age and allocated task at the worksite. This was to try and gauge the seasonal workers' overall experience, providing a description of the work they do in the workplace and the different kinds of interactions in which they engage.

All were given pseudonyms. To keep the rhythm of speech, the pseudonyms match the number of syllables in their real names (cf. New Zealand English corpus, LWP OP #5, 2001). For the two worksites, the pseudonyms Evanson and Asher Sunshine were English names, given that these are New Zealand workplaces. For the participants from the established group and novice group of seasonal workers, the pseudonyms were designed based on the Samoan alphabet. Giving precedence to the Samoan alphabet fits my cultural context. The systematic way of identifying the participants and separating the two workplaces meant that the novice group were given pseudonyms beginning with vowels, *Atina'e, Emani, Iose, Olataga* and *Ulafala*, while the established group received the consonants, *Filipo, Gasolo, Lemi* and *Moe*.

4.5.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Interviews are often the sole data source for a qualitative research project (Adams et al., 2002), typically arranged in advance and at a designated time and location outside of everyday events. They are generally organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewees. Semi-structured in-depth interviews are the most widely used interviewing format for qualitative research and can occur either with an individual or in groups (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). For me, they represent just one component of my data, but a very important one. The semi-structured

interviews, like the initial interviews, were organised at a time and place that was convenient for the participants. In Phase 1, the interviews were carried out at each individual's home. In Phase 2, the interviews were conducted at the orchards and in the packhouse, as seasonal workers went about their tasks. The interviews were all in Samoan and took no longer than an hour. The questions were asked as was deemed appropriate and as they arose in interaction with the participants. This activity gave the participants the opportunity to share their thoughts, opinions, skills and information about how they operate in achieving their tasks successfully. Here, I argue that the titi is formed when the different ideas and knowledge are discussed. Both the participants and I (in my role as researcher) were able to reflect on the narratives and 'leaves' of the titi that were used to make the work possible. Bringing all the participants voices together is one of the strengths of the Fatugātiti model and is the over-riding element of the cultural canopy (encirclement of the titi) in this process of sharing. Exchanging views and building from this dialogue was extremely important.

In my approach, the interview guide I developed consisted of questions that established rapport. They involved past experiences, expectations, reflections on practice and reflections on future requirement (refer to Appendix O). In other words, these semi-structured interviews were carried out to find out what was going on in practice from the workers' perspectives and were intended to supplement my observations of what takes place in the workplace. In facilitating the interviews, the 12 participants from the novice group and 13 participants from the established group were provided with the opportunity to respond to routine questions and then continue to more challenging ones about how they communicate in the workplace. The first phase, as is typical, was characterised by uneasiness and insecurity stemming from the strangeness of a context in which the interviewer and interviewee are new to each other (see also DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; cf. Keller & Weinrich, 2004). During this phase, the aim was to get the interviewee talking. The first questions were broad and open-ended, reflecting the nature of the research with the goal of being non-threatening (cf. DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). This not only puts the participants at ease, but deliberately allows for the possibility that the interview might explore areas that are important to the participants, but which are not anticipated by

the researcher, thus affording unexpected insights (Gee & Ullman, 1998). My goal was to quickly develop a positive relationship during these in-depth interviews.

> Essentially, rapport involves trust and a respect for the interviewee and the information he or she shares. It is also the means of establishing a safe and comfortable environment for sharing the interviewee's personal experiences and attitudes as they actually occurred (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 316).

As noted by Warren and Karner (2005), it is through the connection of many truths that interview research contributes to our knowledge of the meaning of the human experience. The Fatugātiti approach is therefore fitting, as the study encourages a reflective, narrative style where the research participants set the pace and the interviewer listens, clarifies, probes, and eventually brings up any topics which need to be covered in the interview and which have not arisen spontaneously in the course of the talanoaga and fa'asoa. As discussed in Chapter 3, in the process of *fatuga* (weaving) of the titi, the creator uses only the leaves and the fragrance that are appropriate and relevant to the context at the occasion the titi will be worn. Most of the interviews were in Samoan, with the exception of the New Zealand employers (where English was used); the Samoan government officials and local contacts switched between Samoan and English. Immediately after each interview, I documented the overall tone of the conversation including any significant information that emerged and anything that was particularly captivating in the conversation (cf. Longhurst, 2003).

4.5.3 Workplace Observations

In Phase 2, the focus participants for the novice group were observed over the four weeks at the orchards and in the packhouse. This resulted in a total of 10-14 hours of observation per participant. For the established group, each participant had a total of 16 hours of observations in the four weeks (each observation included multiple participants). The workplace observations aimed to capture the participants in their natural setting and at the same time to secure insights about how work is carried out

in the workplace. Observational data was effective in that it recorded "non-verbal behaviour in natural […] settings and longitudinal analysis" (Bailey, 1994, p. 244). All of these observation opportunities shed light on the communication skills of successful RSE workers through strengthening my understanding of what was going on in practice. This also contributed to my understanding of the experiences, expectations and preparation of the workers versus the reality of working life and practices. The workplace observations allowed access to how the workers interact with others in the workplace, simultaneously producing a data set to support the micro level discourse analysis, which made use of audio recordings, as described below.

4.5.4 Workplace Audio-Recordings

The workplace recordings allowed me to focus fully on the interaction during observations instead of feeling pressure to get the participants' words written in my notebook (see also Valentine, 2005). The investigation of naturalistic workplace communication has been a research focus for many years in workplace discourse analysis (Holmes, Schnurr & Marra, 2007; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, 2015). As is standard in this field, my focus was practices, observing the details of how they communicate in the workplace (Stubbe et al., 2003). For the participants in both groups, the recordings took place in the second week of fieldwork, when I would ask two participants per day to carry a digital recorder. I also made sure that the participants carrying the digital voice recorders were working in different blocks on the orchards. The participants had complete control over what and when they recorded (in line with established procedures used by the Wellington Language in the Workplace team). The goal was to capture multiple interactions and a range of mundane, everyday talk.

For the Evanson Worksite, the audio-recordings were collected over a period of two weeks. Those participants engaged in pruning in the orchards were recorded in the first week, from Monday to Sunday, while the remaining participants who worked in the packhouse were recorded in the last week, from Monday to Friday. At Asher Sunshine worksite, I used the same pattern employed in the Evanson recordings. The recordings were carried out for the first two participants in one week, from Monday

to Saturday, and the last two participants were recorded in the last week, from Monday to Saturday. For these seasonal workers, work began at 7am and ended at 6pm, with both groups having three "smoko" (tea/coffee) breaks in between (cf. Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; also cited in Marra & Holmes, 2007). I was able to capture 3-4 hours of recording per day for each of the participants. This resulted in a total 95 hours of workplace talk for the Evanson Worksite and 100 hours for the Asher Sunshine Worksite. A summary of the data collection is provided in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Summary of Data Collection Mechanisms

Participants	Semi-structured Interviews	Hours of Workplace Observations	Hours of Workplace Recordings
Atina'e	2	13	20
Emani	2	12	20
Iose	2	14	25
Olataga	2	12	15
Ulafala	2	10	15
Filipo	2	16	25
Gasolo	2	16	25
Lemi	2	16	25
Moe	2	16	25
TOTAL HOURS	**18 hours**	**125 hours**	**195 hours**

N.B: Workplace observations and audio-recordings included multiple participants.

4.6 DATA PROCESSING

After collecting the workplace recordings for worksite 1, I started processing the data. As a workplace discourse analyst, it was important to me that I had authentic recordings to complement what was communicated in the interviews. Drawing from experts in the field and their influence (see LWP, see also Stubbe & Ingle, 1999), the decisions I made were based on what others before me had done in the field (see also Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, 2015; Marra, 2008; Marra, Schnurr & Holmes, 2006; Vine et al., 2008). With this understanding in place, I was then able to process and analyse the data in a way that worked best for my goals. Although the task was a lengthy process, I made sure that I did not miss any important interactions among the participants and their fellow workmates. For the five participants from the Evanson

Worksite, the workplace recordings were processed individually, for a period of four weeks per participant. During this process, I was able to make notes of the participants' interaction patterns and details of how they communicate (see also Stubbe et al., 2003). Once this task was complete, it was discussed with my supervisors for clarity. The process was ongoing for about four months and resulted in 10+ hours of processed recording for each participant. I used the same strategy when processing data for the participants from the Asher Sunshine Worksite. After workplace observations and recordings at this worksite, I spent three months processing 100 hours of recordings for the four participants. The process was a lot smoother as I was better equipped, especially having worked with Evanson over four months earlier, and I had learnt a lot from processing the data.

4.6.1 Transcribing and Translation

In analysing the recorded data, excerpts that demonstrated recurring themes in the data were selected, which were then transcribed and translated into English (refer to the developed template in Table 4.5). Based on an appendix in Marra (2003), I developed a rubric for processing, that is, a way to capture the activity that took place and the ability to connect my ideas to the literature.

Table 4.5: Template for Data Processing

Date	Participant	Orchard	Time	Activity	Transcribe extracts	Connection to field
12/9/17	Iose	Hibiscus	**2.06.33**	*30 minutes smoko* -Junior members of team set up lunch *Ke kigaiga fua e kau aumai gei mea se, se aua le koe aumaia ia mea, oa lava mea ua maua ii e fai ai a le kakou lagisi, a lailoa lava oe* -Junior member of team acknowledges	*Important interaction here to transcribe *Useful extract here *2.15 – 2.20*	*Routine stuff here: -setting up lunch -serving senior members *Relevance of cultural practices at the orchards

				(*folafola*) lunch, and then another one is asked to say a grace. –Team Leader and senior members thank me, as is customary in the Samoan culture -During *smoko*, the men discuss the weather that is delaying their work -Senior members complaining about the junior partners slowing the pruning task etc		*(c.f Macpherson & Macpherson, 1990; Kenix, 2015)* *Transactional talk -complaining and whinging -lots of hierarchy here *(Vine 2004, 2009; Holmes & Schnurr, 2005)*

The selected extracts were then subjected to an interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis (as discussed in Chapter 2), making use of my full contextual knowledge to interpret the interactions. I noted throughout this process that there were long stretches of silence when the participants were not interacting. As will be seen in Chapter 5, the prevalence of silence here is significant in making sense of the two groups' conceptualisation of communicative competence. I transcribed selected excerpts of audio file from interviews and audio recordings, word for word, followed by translations. This was to ensure that each pattern of interaction was closely monitored and that I was able to capture any voice reaction and expression from both the interviewee and researcher. Being fluent in the language of the community offers opportunities in terms of research methods that are not open to other researchers in cross language research (Temple & Young, 2004). The researcher can use the experience of translating to consider points in the text where she has had to stop and think about meaning. For the semi-structured interviews, each audio file ranged from 50 minutes to 80 minutes long. I was able to transcribe all the recorded interviews,

word for word, as I did not want to miss out on any details, be they trivial or vital. Reflecting on the Fatugātiti model: an individual's thoughts expressed and contribution rendered to any discourse, via the four key elements of Fatugātiti, regardless of how significant or parochial they may be, will be embraced for the purpose of the study.

4.6.2 Reflexivity in the Research Process

The ability to reflect on the research process, and to challenge one's own perceptions and influence on the study is central to good research. Nevertheless, it is up to the researcher how best to exploit the reflexive potential of the research based on their research aims (Marshall, Fraser & Baker, 2010, p. 24). My engagement with the ethnographic approach and reflexivity contributed to making this process rewarding for me on both a researcher and personal level. The analytical process I undertook in this research was shaped by my upbringing and experience of being born and raised in Samoa, and as a researcher presently located in New Zealand (cf. Bourdieu, 1993). This said, my background will also have led to specific approaches in how I went about interpreting the data.

Reflexivity has been discussed widely for many years and a number of authors have presented reflexive views into their research, suggesting that they should be included into all steps of the research process (Koch & Harrington, 1998; Marshall et al., 2010; Hand, 2003; Whiting, 2008). Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis and Dillon (2003, p. 67) identify three components of reflexivity:

I. demonstrating an awareness of how biases may emerge;
II. thoughtfulness about, and attempts to minimise the impact of, the researcher on the data collected;
III. attempts to address bias through systematic and comprehensive analysis, and reflectiveness on the research methods, the decisions made, and the consequent limitations of the study.

Reflexivity has thus become a central feature in the conceptualisation of good research. As stated by Marshall et al. (2010, p. 24) 'to avoid reflexive analysis altogether is likely to compromise the research which should ensure the researcher's final account is authentic, trustworthy and of good quality'. The ability to achieve an emphatic neutrality in how the research is carried out, where we strive to avoid obvious bias and be as neutral as possible in the collection and interpretation of data can never be fully achieved (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013). This is because the researcher influences all research and there is no completely 'neutral' or 'objective' knowledge (Ritchie et al., 2013). Valentine (1997) also points out the importance of considering the people you want to interview and reflecting on how your own identities will shape the interactions that you have with others (see also England, 1994; Longhurst, 2003).

With reference to gender and social status, it should be noted that being a woman in a Samoan male domain influenced how I went about data collection. Relationships between males and females, brothers and sisters are an important feature of Samoan etiquette and are expected to be respected irrespective of bloodline (Sauni, 2011; Tupuola, 2000). The principle of relationships, *feagaiga*, connotes an agreement, treaty or contract (Milner, 1966) between two parties who "interact in a defined, reciprocal manner and who represent opposed concepts which regulate their interaction" (Schoeffel, 1978, p. 69). Latai (2000) explicates feagaiga as the sacred covenant of respect between a brother and a sister, which gives special honour to the sister whereby the brother is compelled to serve and protect his sister. This macro level, widely-recognised norm can be seen instantiated in my interactions with the workers. As is visible in the data set and field notes, there was genuine concern from the participants in my spending money to buy lunch (Chapter 7, Example 7.1) and whether the workplace audio recordings were adequate for my research (Chapter 8). I argue that this is an overt display of the seasonal workers' recognition of the covenant between male and female.

It is important that I recognise the impact that my gender, and these societally important 'rules' have on the data. To this end, I acknowledge that there is always

going to be an influence of my presence on the data. Perhaps I would have gathered a somewhat different data if I was male, and perhaps the fa'aaloalo or respect afforded to me would have been less perceptible (see discussion in Chapter 7). In the first instance it seems that I am a sister, a feagaiga to these men. The cultural parameters framed me in a certain way, particularly because we were outside of Samoa and I am not related to the informants. I recognise that the research practices involved establishing the vā fealoai (see also Kruse-Vaai, 2011; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009). Creswell & Miller (2000) assert that researchers report on personal beliefs, values and biases all of which shape their inquiry and interpretation. In the same way, I recognise that every researcher has their own attributes, their characteristics and their own relationships that influence the data. As I note above, no research can be neutral, because every researcher brings their bias and identities to their research. Notably though, having awareness of the potential biases and making these known is important. Having come from the village, just as the men came from their villages, was a central feature of my relationships and interactions with these men. Additionally as noted earlier, having taken a 'go between' to my first meeting with the seasonal workers and the fact that I understood the dynamism of hierarchies in the Samoan context (as will be discussed in Chapter 6), is also pertinent. Above all else, I aimed to behave in a manner that was appropriate for gender and status as a researcher for my context. In response, the seasonal workers in this study supported me as a *tuafafine* (sister), and as an academic. This was clear in their commitment to a good outcome for my research, and their belief that this was also to benefit them as seasonal workers and the community as a participant country. This speaks not just to cultural practices of reciprocity discussed later in the chapter, but I hope, also to the positive relationships I developed in the field.

The process I embarked on was made easier because of my situatedness as an 'insider' in the context of Samoa. Meeting industry and team representatives in Samoa and in New Zealand through my networks afforded me access that would not otherwise have been possible. Moreover, for these seasonal workers, my presence at the worksites with them was appreciated, and my relationship with the seasonal workers in both

groups helped me collect the data; being involved meant I also had a better understanding about how I could interpret the data.

4.6.3 Explicit Acknowledgement

When carrying out the Phase 2 fieldwork, I took lunches out to the worksites; though it was not expected, it was culturally appropriate to do so. The lunches I took for the seasonal workers in the four weeks I spent at each worksite included slices of bread, biscuits, cheese, spinach, lettuce, ham, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and roast chicken. On my first day, I noticed that the established group would eat only noodles during their break, while the novice group brought all their leftovers from their dinner the previous night. As a Samoan on site and observing the workers daily tasks, I felt the need to bring them food as the work is laborious and strenuous and this was my way of contributing to their welfare as in turn they were helping me.

A pleasant surprise for me as a Samoan away from home was that despite being out in the orchards and in New Zealand, the seasonal workers still carried out cultural etiquette. As is normal in Samoan protocols and practice, when a family or someone brings food to your home, it is customary that the food be announced and acknowledged so that family members are informed of its contents. For both groups, each time I took lunch for the workers, one of the young men (untitled) would quickly acknowledge the food, while another one said a grace before lunch was served. This was the everyday practice. I was not expecting any of these cultural practices to be carried out at the orchards, especially given the bad weather at each worksite: at the Evanson Worksite, it was very cold, and at the Asher Sunshine Worksite, lunch took place under the scorching sun. Nevertheless, for each of the two groups, their cultural practices came with them from the villages (see discussion in Chapters 5 and 6).

4.7 HUMAN AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

My research design sits within the ethical framework of Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics Committee, which places emphasis on a formal approval process. In line with the Fatugātiti approach, I thought carefully about the different

sides of the research, the methods employed to gain approval from participants and the way to convey the information about the study being carried out (cf. Crow, Wiles, Heath & Charles, 2006). Human research involves significant risks, and regardless of best intentions and care in planning and practice, it is possible for things to go awry (Mandal, Acharya & Parija, 2011). The most salient ethical values include generosity, trust within the researcher/participant relationship, autonomy pertaining to informed, voluntary, competent decision-making and the privacy of personal information (cf. Veatch, 1987; see also Mandal et al., 2011). Balancing all these ideas, ethical approval was granted on the 27 October 2016 (Ethics Approval 23411) and a copy of this confirmation is provided in the Appendix Q. I prioritised safeguarding participants' privacy and confidentiality not only during the data collection phase, but also throughout this thesis. To be ethically appropriate, there were English and Samoan versions of every document and I was also present to respond to questions. This was to ensure that aspects with any potential difficulties and confusion could be addressed because I was available to talk through and translate for the participants. Moreover, it was important for me that participants understood their right to withdraw from the study with no disadvantage to them. Most of all, during the fieldwork, I appreciated my participants and valued their involvement, thus helping to establish trust, as emphasised by DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006).

4.7.1 Reciprocity

One important requirement in carrying out ethical research in line with best practices in the field (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, 2015; see also Holmes & Marra, 2011; Marra, 2013) is to give something back to the community for their time and effort (Lee Hang, 2015). Vaioleti (2006) also refers to the universal Pacific notions of generosity with time, labour and property and the place of leisure, dress, food and dancing as relevant, inseparable dynamics of church and culture, and the indigenisation of Christianity. Acts of generosity are understood as a gesture of gratitude (Huffer & So'o, 2005). Reciprocity is part of the research process (Lee Hang, 2015).

Reciprocity similarly plays a very important role in the Samoan culture. On my first day in Savaii, when we visited one of the seasonal workers, I was given $20 to buy

lunch by the seasonal worker's parents, who happen to be church ministers at the village. The next day when I met with the seasonal worker (who is also one of my participants), the family had already prepared food as they knew we were coming. I was overwhelmed, and at the same time humbled by this gesture. I had $50 in my bag, and when it was time to leave, I gave it to the mother. She insisted that I take it back as I am studying, but it was culturally appropriate to give something back to the family who had gone out of their way to prepare lunch. These are people whom I have never met before, yet, they welcomed me into their homes, and treated me as if I were their own. Every other family I went to for the two groups, either provided me with *koko* Samoa (Samoan cocoa), very sweet coffee or tang drinks. After spending a month with the novice group in Phase 2, the senior members of the crew visited me at my Airbnb and presented me with dinner that the workers had prepared, as a token of appreciation for all lunches I had brought for them. For the established group, the teams presented me with $400. Despite my attempts at giving it back to them, they wanted me to think of it as a Christmas present and were grateful and felt honoured that I had chosen their group as part of my study. Moreover, the gesture was tangible in that the reciprocity was also an acknowledgement of being part of the work that can benefit other seasonal workers. Underlying this exchange is an acknowledgement and recognition of the importance of this research and my role as a researcher. There is thus an additional (yet welcome) pressure to make this research a success and see it through to a useful 'destination' that will clearly benefit the development of the RSE scheme.

Although some interpretations would see the acceptance of money from participants as seemingly unethical, what is very clear is that reciprocity means behaving in a way that is acceptable in my relationship with the participants. Being reciprocated aligns with Linda Smith's (1999) Kaupapa Māori framework, which examines the importance of hosting and being hosted. This is not typical in all cultures around the world, but there is always some kind of reciprocity, the idea of hosting when appropriate, as well as accepting being hosted as a way of being culturally sensitive to the group you are working with (see also Linda Smith, 1999). Moreover, each participant was presented

with a koha after each Phase, as acknowledgment for their involvement and contribution, so the gift giving from both sides ensured the equilibrium.

4.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter offers a comprehensive explanation and justification of the methods used to investigate the research questions that guide this research. It discusses the approaches employed by the study, the reasons for choosing these methods and how they align with my Fatugātiti model. The Fatugātiti overarching research framework is emphasised in the chapter to authenticate the practicality of this traditional approach in research carried out in traditional settings, such as Samoan village communities. Detailed accounts have been given of the selection of research sites and participants and of data collection procedures. The chapter also touches on the significance of reflexivity in the research process, as well as justifying the ethical consideration process in creating trustworthiness. Emphasis has been placed on aspects of the fa'asāmoa, to depict precisely how influential these cultural values are in my role as a Samoan researcher and how they have influenced the data I have gathered. As will be seen in Chapters 5 and 6, keeping these traditions and being distinctive as a group to establish better working outcomes is reflected in how the two groups of Samoan seasonal workers operate and behave in the workplace. In the course of tāfesilafa'i with participants as co-researchers, different stories were gathered to create a rich body of data. The next chapter explores the research findings and how they correspond to the research questions.

5 SOLIDARITY IN THE TEAMS

O le to'ese a nu'u potopoto
Voyaging as a village

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The proverb *O le to'ese a nu'u potopoto* epitomizes the experiences of the two groups of seasonal workers who are the focus of the research, notably their identity as Samoans and their sense of obligation and accountability. As discussed earlier, the novice group at the time of the fieldwork had recently joined the RSE scheme while the established group had been involved for a number of years. Although the groups differed in terms of service and were assigned different responsibilities at their worksites, their working experiences are remarkably similar; they travel as a village and the village they bring with them influences how they operate (as will be demonstrated in the analysis below). The data sees this village influence manifest in many ways. Most overtly, the participants enact a collective responsibility and exhibit a communal sense of ownership, adhering to the rules and regulations of the scheme reporting that this is to avoid depriving potential workers from their village of the opportunity in the future.

This chapter outlines on the findings from the novice and established group of seasonal workers, teasing out what is specific to the groups and those factors that are shared. I begin with a brief description of the two groups and their respective worksites (Section 5.2). An understanding of this setting offers awareness of the kind of work each group undertakes on an everyday basis. I then provide a description of the ways in which the two groups fulfil the functions of getting the work done and how they operate as respective teams (Sections 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6). In line with the collective focus noted above and the community-orientation which is apparent in the Fatugātiti model, the analysis focuses on solidarity which emerged as a highly salient feature of the interactions in both groups.

5.2 NOVICE AND ESTABLISHED GROUPS

Having adopted an ethnographic approach (Chapter 3), I focussed on two groups of seasonal workers to provide me with data for micro level discourse analysis (following similar studies such as Holmes and Stubbe 2015; Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011). This approach aimed to shed light on the communication skills of the RSE workers by understanding their everyday practice (rather than reports or observations alone). As discussed in Chapters 1 and 4, for the purpose of this study, the novice group refers to those people who joined the RSE scheme in 2016, while the established group has been engaging with seasonal work since its commencement in 2007. These seasonal workers come from rural villages in Samoa that are remote; equally they have been assigned to provincial parts of New Zealand, where the companies are family-owned businesses. The New Zealand context thus interestingly reflects some aspects of the village life that the teams are used to. Analysing the work of the two groups provides an understanding of their particular worksites and their sojourner migration patterns in the New Zealand context.

5.2.1 Evanson Worksite (Novice Group)

In 2016, Evanson recruited the novice group of seasonal workers, making the group the first Samoan seasonal workers to be employed by the company. As explained in Chapter 4, Evanson is located in the Bay of Plenty, a largely provincial centre isolated from the larger urban centres of New Zealand. It is a family owned business that started operations in the mid-1970s and retains a 'family' culture and values. What started as a small family business has, however, become a million-dollar enterprise with four packhouses, 1,650 seasonal staff and 180-200 permanent employees (Taylor, interview data, 2017). At the time of my interview with the HR representative, the company had packed just over 12 million trays of kiwifruit for the year and in 2016 packed 15 million trays of kiwifruit. Other than kiwifruit, the company also packs other specialist fruits, namely avocados and feijoas. The company has around 20 hectares of land, with 4 export packhouses and 34 cold stores, all of which are within the vicinity (Evanson, 2016 Report). The company's first year with the RSE was in 2008, having initially recruited people from Vanuatu. With the rapid expansion of

gold kiwifruit (G3[19] variety), there was also a need to increase the number of workers. The RSE Employers Conference held in Samoa in 2015 facilitated relations between the New Zealand government representatives and Evanson (who were guests at a local hotel) and the hotelier, who showed interest in employing Samoan agricultural workers (Tuua[20], interview data, 22 March 2017).

At Evanson, the seasonal workers from the novice group are either stationed in the packhouse or situated in the orchards for winter pruning (refer to Table 5.1). Packhouse workers work business hours in packhouses and warehouses and specialise in a number of roles, including grader, labeller, packer, quality controller, stacker, strapper and tray prepper. Packhouse workers need to be reasonably fit as they lift heavy boxes and stand on their feet all day. The allocated tasks of the two stackers from the group, Olataga and Ulafala, include stacking packed boxes of produce in a way that ensures they are not damaged. Although the skills and knowledge required for a stacker are not demanding, the workers need to be reliable and punctual, accurate with an eye for detail, and able to follow instructions. The other focus participants, Atina'e, Emani and Iose, carry out kiwifruit winter pruning at allocated orchards. When done well, their task produces good quality fruiting wood, which is well-spaced to harness sunlight across the canopy (Underwood, 2017). The men are teamed up in pairs by their team leader and are responsible for tying canes down to wire along the leader branch, removing surplus canes, and also for getting rid of dead and declining wood[21]. For these seasonal workers, winter pruning is weather dependent; that is, they must wait for the frost to clear in the morning before beginning. As will be seen, the workers are motivated to work despite the cold weather, as they are the main income earners for their families back at home in their Samoan village.

[19] See also https://www.apata.co.nz/orchard-buyers-guide for a discussion of the two predominant varieties of kiwifruit.
[20] Pseudonym – Local Contact for the Novice Group.
[21] See also https://www.edible.co.nz/kiwifruitpruning.php

Table 5.1: Participant Summary Sheet for the Novice Group

Participant	Gender	Age	Company	Education	Experience as RSE worker	Travel experience before RSE	Job description
Atina'e	Male	39	Evanson	Secondary	1 year	Yes	Pruning
Emani	Male	30	Evanson	Tertiary	1 year	No	Pruning
Iose	Male	38	Evanson	Primary	1 year	No	Pruning
Olataga	Male	44	Evanson	Secondary	1 year	No	Stacker
Ulafala	Male	24	Evanson	Tertiary	none	No	Stacker

As discussed in Chapter 1, the scheme has made a large contribution to improved conditions for the workers' families in Samoa. For this novice group, what has been particularly successful is that individuals have gained the confidence to become leaders in their villages and work teams (Taylor, interview data, 2017). They have moved up to key positions as team leaders and in supervisory roles within the company, a replication of the village structure.

5.2.2 Asher Sunshine Worksite (Established Group)

The established group of seasonal workers is employed at Asher Sunshine which is in its 11th season as an RSE employer. Asher Sunshine is a stable hub for orchard workers in the Hawkes Bay (Jacobs[22], interview data, 2017) and is at the forefront of providing better opportunities for Samoan seasonal workers.

> The ultimate goal is to get the men to set up into a business, because the RSE scheme is not going to be available to a person forever and ever – it is very physical, they are away from their families for 6 months. So, it's nice to have a business back home, so it's nice that they are self-sufficient, and this is really what we are aiming for, to have them self-sufficient, help them set up businesses. And to be away from home during the festive seasons is a huge sacrifice. They have missed all those Christmases with loved ones, so it is a

[22] Pseudonym

huge sacrifice; it really is a huge sacrifice for them (Jacobs, interview data, 2017).

The prescribed tasks for the established group include thinning and picking as indicated in Table 5.2. Fruit thinning serves several purposes. Too much fruit per tree can result in small fruit size and poor quality, breakage of tree limbs, exhaustion of tree reserves, and reduced cold hardiness (Dennis, 2000). To satisfy market requirements and to reach a level of profitable fruit production, apple growers must produce fruit of maximum quality, while retaining the highest possible yields [23] (Zibordi, Domingos & Corelli, 2009). At Asher Sunshine, like the novice group, the men are teamed up at work. This is so a new person will be "mentored by someone that has been here for many seasons, an experienced worker just so that they know the ropes at work" (Jacobs, interview data, 2017).

Table 5.2: Participant Summary Sheet for the Established Group

Participant	Gender	Age	Company	Education	Experience as RSE worker	Travel experience before RSE	Job description
Filipo	Male	27	Asher Sunshine	Tertiary	1 year	No	Picking/ Thinning
Gasolo	Male	40	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	7 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
Lemi	Male	32	Asher Sunshine	Tertiary	4 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
Moe	Male	38	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	5 years	No	Picking/ Thinning

For this group, being away from home during the festive season (December/January) and the sacrifices they make to be in New Zealand make them distinct. Whilst away, they earn good money and when they return home, the village development trust allows them to "develop their plantations in an orderly, commercial way so that their families they leave behind each year are taken care of" (Anderson, interview data, 15

[23] Successful fruit production is achieved with high fruit numbers per tree at fruit set, followed by thinning to reduce that number to the optimum level determined for each tree and cultivar. Thinning is therefore one of the most important orchard management techniques used to improve crop yield and quality in apples (Zibordi et al., 2009, p. 138; Link, 2000; Byers, 2003).

March 2017). When the workers return home, they pride themselves on these small projects and continue to lead the developments that benefit their families and the community (see Chapter 1).

In the following sections, I present the novice and established groups of seasonal workers and the ways in which they successfully enact their work, focussing on their interactions. While there are similarities between their work and other blue-collar work contexts such as factories and building sites (Baxter & Wallace, 2009; Clyne, 1994; Goldstein, 1997; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Sunaoshi, 2005; Holmes & Woodhams, 2013), there are also ways of making meaning that offer new insights into workplace discourse. As discussed in Chapter 2, analysts have focussed on different areas in workplace research, including directives, management style and meeting structure, and a focus on people-oriented practices such as small talk and humour. These practices, both task and people focussed, are at one level common to all workplaces, i.e., the function, if not the manifestation. In my data, the use of silence, complaining and whinging, humour, and the role of music are particular elements that emerge as significant, arguably reflecting activities in the village environment. As will be seen throughout, the two groups fulfil the overt task of getting the work done and of being a community while balancing these actions with the norms and values of what they do at home. What seems to be important is 'working as a group' and 'motivating as a group'. Relying on the approaches to data processing that I discussed in Chapter 4, I provide discussions of the collective practices.

5.3 DIMENSIONS OF SILENCE

The phenomenon of silence is instrumental in the workplace, but it has been treated in a number of different ways (Pinder & Harlos, 2001; Morrison & Milliken, 2000). Studies relating to a 'culture of silence' in organisational structures are often concerned with (lack of) efficiency and productivity (Dyne, Ang & Botero, 2003; Premeaux & Bedeian, 2003; Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2008). There has also been a focus on the absence of speech as a gradated response rather than an absolute concept (e.g., Nakane 2007; Krashen 1982; Saville-Troike 1985; Krupa-Kwiatkowski 1998). Silence is

regularly referred to as somewhat 'negative' in organisations. This is because of the perception that people (are required to) keep their knowledge and suggestions to themselves. Dyne et al. (2003) explain silence in terms of an employee's motivation to suppress or express ideas, information and thoughts about work-related developments. The unwillingness to voice an opinion or withhold information that might be useful to the organisation, whether intentionally or unintentionally, has accordingly been the emphasis of many studies (Dyne et al., 2003; Morrison & Milliken, 2000; Pinder & Harlos, 2001; Nikolaou, Vakola & Bourantas, 2011). While most organisations in these studies put emphasis on equity, equality and the importance of employee input for improving workplace practices, research suggests that many employees are cautious and continue to remain quiet because speaking up might lead to retribution (Premeaux & Bedeian, 2003; Dyne et al., 2003).

Although silence seems to be equated with lack of productivity, it is a communicative preference that employees may well choose to embrace (see also parallels with critical applied linguistic studies in language learning, e.g., Canagarajah, 2004). There has been a rise of interest in the use of communicative silence (Tannen & Saville-Troike, 1985; Jaworski, 1997b). As Jaworski (1993) states, silence cannot be limited to only one branch of linguistics. It cuts across different levels of linguistic usage and is relevant to the social, political, and emotional aspects governing the lives of individuals and whole communities (Saville-Troike, 1985). Silence was the focus of speech studies and linguistics in the 1970s and like the organisation studies discussed above, it was closely connected with negativity, inactiveness, ineffectiveness and death (Ephratt, 2008). It was viewed as absence of speech, and absence of meaning and intention (see Bruneau, 1973; Dauenhauer, 1980; Saville-Troike, 1994; Poyatos, 2002; Zerubavel, 2006). Saville-Troike (1994) claims that this notion of absence was because scholars, particularly Western linguists, whose focus was lexicography and grammar, carried out these projects. Studies since then note that silence stretches beyond the non-communicative absence of speech, portraying it as a multifaceted linguistic form requiring in-depth descriptive and explanatory treatment, acknowledging various pragmatic and sociolinguistic functions (Jaworski & Sachdev, 1998). Related research appears in the areas of ethnography of communication (Basso, 1970; Braithwaite,

1990; Saville-Troike, 1985), politeness theory (Sifianou, 1997), relevance theory (Jaworski, 1993), discourse analysis (Bilmes, 1994; Watts, 1997; Coupland & Coupland, 1997; Brown, & Coupland, 2005) and narrative analysis (Hall & White, 2005). As argued in these studies, the function of silence cannot be collapsed to a "plethora of popular proverbs about speech and silence" (Jaworski & Sachdev, 1998, p. 273). Silence has emerged from its traditional conceptualisation to now being understood as a beneficial communicative resource for which interpretation requires the sophistication of fine-grained, interdisciplinary analysis (Jaworski & Sachev, 1998). It is perhaps best represented by the suggestion to see silence as a metaphor of communication (Jaworski 1997a). Saville-Troike (1985, p. 4) notes that "adequate description and interpretation of the process of communication requires that we understand the structure, meaning and functions of silence as well as of sound".

Silence can be more positively viewed as producing valuable thoughts and ideas, improving relationships and building new knowledge. The role of silence, and being comfortable with silence is a particularly interesting and culturally sensitive area (Stubbe & Ingle, 1999). Although silence is a universal phenomenon, it is still not broadly understood across the field. Yet silence plays a noticeable role in the communication of the workers in my data set. It is worth reflecting on the role of silence in the Samoan context.

5.3.1 Silence in the Samoan Context

Silence in the fa'asāmoa encompasses a collective understanding between the participant and the audience. The behaviours affiliated with silence in the Samoan context communicate the importance of the occasion. As Tuāfuti (2016, pp. 86-87) observes:

> It is sometimes more powerful than the spoken word. For example, ifoga (a ceremony of public apology for forgiveness and reconciliation) is done with silence. Silence is a symbolic and fundamental structure of communication and many Samoans especially the elders, comprehend the whole framework

> that constitutes its meaning. Many Sāmoan elders describe the culture of silence as a mechanism with spiritual and sacred power.

Silence is understood as developing from empathy and awareness as opposed to a person's use of verbal communication. In the classroom context, silence is attributed to *fa'aaloalo* (respect), or being respectful to one's elders (Lee Hang, 2011). Silence is overtly recognised as a form of communication and therefore a cultural practice (Lee Hang & Bell, 2015). In Samoan classrooms, the multiple functions of silence include shyness, embarrassment for not knowing the answer, feeling ridiculed or being told off, mockery, fear of making mistakes, each of which is somewhat problematically considered negative to children's learning despite being culturally appropriate (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2010; Lee Hang, 2011; Tuāfuti, 2016). Clark (2001) also states that behaviour where students expect their teacher to talk to them and they listen respectfully correlates with cultural factors such as respect for authority and not speaking unless specifically questioned, a practice that is well represented in my data.

With this awareness and understanding of silence in the fa'asāmoa, it can be argued that the use of silence by the two groups of seasonal workers does not have negative connotations emically (such as lack of engagement, not being a team player etc.). As will be seen in the examples that follow, the lengthy stretches of no talk (cf. Stubbe, 2001; Stubbe & Ingle, 1999) among the seasonal workers might better be understood as indicating that they are comfortable with silence. This tolerance of silence matches Murata's (2011) comparative work between Japan and New Zealand, where just seconds of silence in the Japanese data was considered uncomfortable and unpleasant to watch by New Zealanders, while the New Zealand data was understood as involving too much talking by Japanese raters. For the Japanese participants, this was a very different cultural understanding of silence; for the New Zealanders there was a responsibility to talk. For these groups of seasonal workers, operating in silence is not the absence of noise, nor it is withholding information (by preference); rather, they are actually in 'companionable' silence. Arguably, being silent is being cooperative especially if the hierarchical differences require one to be silent (discussed further in Chapter 6).

Like other blue-collar workplaces (e.g., factory work), not talking to each other most of the time whilst carrying out work is noticeable (see Stubbe and Ingle, 1999). In terms of transactional functions, silence appears to be central at Evanson Worksite (as indicated in the Examples 5.1 – 5.5 below); that is, the teams regularly remain silent while they conduct the job at hand. As observed in the following examples, there is potential for this to be both related to workplace activities and simultaneously an artefact of the cultural environment.

Example 5.1 – *Evanson Worksite*

	Orchard	**Length**	**Total time**	**Fieldnotes/Description**
1a	Oasis	6 minutes	5.10 – 11.55	No interactions from Emani, except for the sound of clippers and the untangling of branches.
1b		1 minute	11.56 – 12.40	Team leader is heard in the background telling the other workers to use spray to polish clippers…then stops to say hi to Emani, who is very much occupied with his work.
1c		55 minutes	12.41 – 1.08.10	Lengthy period of silence here - no interactions here from Emani except for the repeated sounds in the background of clippers, branches being removed and footsteps.

Example 5.2 – *Evanson Worksite*

	Orchard	**Length**	**Total time**	**Fieldnotes/Description**
2a	Hibiscus	20 minutes	0.00 – 20.50	Emani works quietly at his line. Samoan music blasting in the background and continuous sounds of clippers/cutters and footsteps as Emani moves from one block to another.
2b		1hr+40mins	20.51– 2.01.05	Samoan playlist playing in the background, Emani works quietly at his block and sings along to the music in the background. No interactions here other that the sound of clippers, and the rustling of branches as they are being removed.

Example 5.3 – *Evanson Worksite*

	Orchard	Length	Total time	Fieldnotes/Description
3a	Nerium	53 minutes	39.20 – 1.12.14	Work continues for Iose, there is silence….everyone is focussing on task. There is non-stop music in the background.
3b		44 minutes	1.50.2 – 2.34.19	There is complete silence as the workers are trying to finish off their block before they go home. Continuous Samoan playlist in the background, and the sound of footsteps as the men begin with their 'kick-ins' and 'clean-up'. Iose continues to work in silence at his block.

Example 5.4 – *Evanson Worksite*

	Packhouse	Length	Total time	Fieldnotes/Description
4a	Evanson	1hr+20mins	5.31 – 1.24.45	Work continues for everyone on this side of the packhouse. Ulafala carries on with work, despite not feeling well – no interactions from him or his workmates.
4b		27 minutes	1.30.11–1.57.20	Continuous sound of horns tooting, music, babbling and chatting in the background. Ulafala works in utter silence, labelling and stacking the boxes on the pallets.

Example 5.5 – *Evanson Worksite*

	Packhouse	Length	Total time	Fieldnotes/Description
5	Evanson	5 minutes	19.11 – 24.20	Sound of boxes being moved from the shed and placed on pallets. Olataga is heard telling another worker, *Boxes here are done*, then continues with work. Another worker tells Olataga, *Here take these boxes here!* Everyone else carries on with work, Olataga continues with his tasks and does so in silence.

Similar periods of silence are found throughout the data at Evanson Worksite and are representative of how this group works. It is clear from the examples that for long periods of time, the workers do not talk, instead concentrating on getting the work

done. The different segments of audio as indicated in the examples above demonstrate how the workers tolerate silence and appear very comfortable with it. While there are occasional interactions among the participants and workers, most are occurrences in which the participants are responding to questions directed at them during work, as noted in Example 5.1 where the team leader tells the workers to use spray to polish clippers, and then stops briefly to talk to Emani. The long stretches of silence observed in Examples 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 where people are fully focussed on their work tasks matches the discussion in Stubbe and Ingle (1999) about collecting natural interactional data in a factory. The authors talk about the fact that there are times where many workers do not say anything (Stubbe, 2001; Stubbe & Ingle, 1999). When there is talk, as indicated in Examples 5.1 – 5.5, it is task focussed and begins and ends abruptly. These examples encapsulate how this novice group works; that is, they concentrate on getting the tasks achieved. As will be discussed later in the chapter, these men also at times engage in humorous activities and music/singing. This is also noted by Stubbe and Ingle: there are separate times for being playful and engaging in lively interaction and times when everyone focusses on getting the work done.

The examples below are drawn from the many hours of audio recordings gathered at Asher Sunshine. Again, the participants regularly operate in silence. Like the data at Evanson, silence here is not that there is 'no talking' at all or 'no sound', (cf. Mete, 2016; see also Hui, 2014), but rather that the participants seem comfortable with silence when they are concentrating on their work (see Holmes, 2019).

Example 5.6 – *Asher Sunshine Worksite*

	Orchard	**Length**	**Total time**	**Fieldnotes/Description**
1	Asparagus	1hr+30mins	55.31 – 2.25.11	Lengthy period of silence here as Filipo and his partner are focussed on getting their lines done before work finishes. Both carry on with work silently and the recorder picks up brief stops for toilet breaks, then the men resume work.
2		49 minutes	41.01 – 1.30.31	Work resumes for everyone – complete silence here. Everyone is focussing on the task. No interactions from Filipo or his

				partner. The music in the background has stopped, continuous sound of ladders being moved from one block to another.

In Example 5.6, Filipo and his partner are occupied with their work and 1hr and 30 minutes of silence is recorded. This suggests that both men are happy to work in silence and not take part in background conversations with other members of the group. While there appears to be brief stops for bathroom visits, both Filipo and his partner are focussed on the task as they move from one block to another.

Example 5.7 – *Asher Sunshine Worksite*

	Orchard	**Length**	**Total time**	**Fieldnotes/Description**
3	Beatson	45 minutes	35.01 – 1.20.00	The workers are back at their lines, after their break. There is music in the background. Gasolo sings along every now and then; however, there are no interactions between Gasolo and his partner. Both are engaged with their task.
4		1hr+4mins	7.51 – 1.11.16	Lengthy period of silence here as Gasolo and partner are occupied with the task. Music continues in the background, but for the better part of the interaction, there is complete silence as the workers concentrate on their work.

Similarly, in Example 5.7, Gasolo who is identified (by others in my observations) as the comedian of the group (see Plester, 2016), takes his work very seriously, as does his partner. They share marked stretches of silence that take place while going about their work. While there is music in the background to which Gasolo sings along from time to time, there are no interactions between Gasolo and his partner.

Example 5.8 – *Asher Sunshine Worksite*

	Orchard	**Length**	**Total time**	**Fieldnotes/Description**
5	Maine	39 minutes	57.41 – 1.36.10	After Moe explains what the orchard manager wants, the workers head back to their lines to resume work. Moe continues with thinning in absolute silence.

6		30 minutes	1.25.41 – 2.05.06	There is music in the background, laughter from the workers as they go about their work. Moe is occupied with the task as he is determined to finish these lines before their smoko break.

In Example 5.8, Moe who is the team leader for this group gives a demonstration in Samoan of what the orchard manager wants (cf. Ginette in Stubbe & Ingle, 1999). These are regular exchanges given that Moe is the leader and is tasked with giving details to the team. Once the group head back to their blocks, however, everyone resumes work in silence.

The prevalence of silence in the examples above suggests that the workers from both the novice and established group of seasonal workers can tolerate long periods without verbal interactions. This is likely also a function of the kind of work they are doing. The work is not easy; the men deal with adverse weather conditions and are literally carrying a lot of weight on their shoulders when they are harvesting, both of which are physically demanding (Jacobs, interview data, 2017). Saville-Troike (1985) argues that we need to not only consider whether the setting (and the communication in it) is characterised as being silent, but also how silence functions for the participants in the setting. Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that the participants in Examples 5.1-5.8 and their partners can work this way when trying to get the task done, especially when the task is arduous and tough. The similarities between the novice and established groups could arguably relate to the particular horticulture tasks (like the contexts described in Lønsmann, 2014 and Stubbe and Ingle, 1999), and simultaneously the similarity in cultural orientation. For the teams, these contributing factors seem to result in a harmonious overlap of norms.

5.4 COMPLAINING AND WHINGING

Although it is well acknowledged that task and relational functions co-occur in talk, there are specific practices that these seasonal workers make use of in interaction. One frequent discourse strategy is complaining and the related notion of whinging. The act of complaining is a broad category and the strategy has multiple functions. At one level, complaining is a way of reminding a person that there are certain norms of behaviour which must not be transgressed (Laforest, 2002). As described by Kowalski (1996), not all complaints surface from dissatisfaction and unfavourable attitudes; voicing frustrations in the form of a complaint does not always mean that the person is irritated, rather that complaining aids achievement of some desired goal (see also Kowalski & Leary, 1990). For example, commonly recognised uses of complaint include the expression of frustration, or as a method for changing the opinions that others make of them (Alicke et al., 1992; Kowalski & Leary, 1990; Kowalski, 1996). In their summary of complaints as a speech act, Holmes and Riddiford (2010) highlight studies that concentrate on naturally occurring authentic complaints in a variety of settings. These include factories (Daly, Holmes, Newton & Stubbe 2004), hospitals (Major & Holmes, 2008), a university campus (Boxer, 1996), a caregiver service company (Reiter, 2005) and most recently healthcare institutions (Lazzaro-Salazar, 2017). These studies show that the expression and interpretation of complaints is complex (Holmes & Riddiford, 2010). As demonstrated by Kowalski (1996), a complaint can serve one or more functions, and the same complaint by different people may reflect different motivations.

In the field of workplace discourse, research involving the complaint has generally summarised it as a 'face-threating act' where the speaker's wishes do not correspond to those of the hearer (Brown & Levinson 1987 as cited in Kowalski, 1996; Holmes & Riddiford, 2010). Trosborg (1995) discusses complaints as belonging to the category of expressive functions, that is expressing the speaker's approval or disapproval of the behaviour mentioned in the judgment. In addition, complaints illustrate differences in "preferred pragmatic choices of strategy across different cultures as well as in preferred structures for expressing a complaint" (Holmes & Riddiford, 2010, p. 68). The research recognises that to take a surface level

understanding of the speech act is not enough. This layered functionality is evident in my own data set: complaining and whinging (as an indirect complaint) seem to have distinct functions in the interactions recorded.

In Example 5.9, as Olataga goes about his work, he complains to another Samoan (Non-Participant, NPO1[24]) about their reduced hours at work, a change which has affected their weekly earnings.

Example 5.9
Context: Evanson Packhouse

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Olataga	*o le a le mea lea+*	what's this box?
2		*kia'i le lapisi*	throw it in the bin
3	NPO1	*ioe*:	yes
4	Olataga	*kua oki a kakou ikula faigaluega+*	working hours are terrible
5		*akili ai ga oki kupe maua++*	it's impacting on the money we get
6	NPO1	*ga la+ oka se seu:*	that's right, it's sad

According to Boxer (1993), two categories differentiate complaints: direct complaints and whinges (indirect complaints). A 'whinge' is understood as a "long or repeated expression of discontent not necessarily intended to change or improve the unsatisfactory situation" (Clyne, 1994, p. 49). They offer emotional release, or an ability to off-load negative affect, rather than triggering action to level out the offence (Daly et al., 2004). Example 5.9 is a whinge as it is indirect complaint: In lines 4-5, Olataga is venting to NPO1 about the reduced hours at work and the effect on their pay. NPO1's response in line 6, *ga la oka se seu* mirrors Olataga's frustrations. Boxer's (1993) distinction is that the addressee is not answerable for the perceived offence and this is evident in the example above. Neither of them can do anything about the conditions and the whinging here is co-constructed. As discussed by Clyne (1994), whinges in the workplace serve the purpose of phatic communion, encouraging solidarity between interacting participants (Daly et al., 2004).

[24] The Non-Participants (NP), Seasonal Workers (SW) and all other individuals in the data set are men from the two groups and also employees at Evanson and Asher Sunshine who gave consent to be recorded (but are not part of my focus participants).

In Example 5.10, the workers are at Nerium orchard and have been told to use the 'fishbone'[25] method of pruning (whereby only two main branches are left on the main trunk of each kiwifruit tree).

Example 5.10
Context: Nerium Orchard, Evanson Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Atina'e	*kele le galuega lakou ia+*	a lot of work for us
2		*makuai le masagi a le mea la e faimai*	I still don't understand what
3		*ai le kamaloa*:	the man said
4	Iose	*ga la++ kele ai le kakou galuega*	that's right, extra work for us all
5	Atina'e	*e le faigofie+++*	this is not easy
6		*kigaiga koe kele ai galuega*	it is hard work

Like Example 5.9, the whinging from both Atina'e and Iose is co-constructed. Atina'e whinges about this particular fishbone method as it entails more work for them (lines 1-3). Iose concurs in line 4 *ga la kele ai le kakou galuega*. Again, both participants are venting irritations and presumably questioning the use of the 'fishbone' method as an extra task on top of their workload (lines 1 and 6). As reflected in Atina'e's response in line 5, *e le faigofie*, this method of pruning is difficult and likely to delay work for the men. While Atina'e has no expectation that Iose can solve what is considered 'hard work', there is an expectation of Iose to agree with what has been uttered to align with his colleague and team mate.

5.4.1 Tool for Motivation

While the literature centres on complaining and whinging as speech acts, evidence of whinging in my data set is better understood as motivating behaviour rather than dissatisfaction. In Example 5.11, Iose complains about his partner (IP) and proceeds to show the younger men how to clip the branches properly.

[25] A kiwifruit pruning method. The method has many advantages, resulting in a high efficiency in labour, an increase in the yield and trees being neatly arranged (Gonda, 2007).

Example 5.11
Context: Hibiscus Orchard, Evanson Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Iose	[demonstration]: *vaai mai ou maka ii*:	watch me
2	IP	[laughs]: *ia malo lava*:	well done
3	Iose	[loudly]: *kope le gaioi*++	hurry up
4		*kua kuai kele*+ *kulei mai:*	you are very slow, keep moving
5		*kipi le lala kuai*+ *pe a e iloa e kakau ga*	cut out the old branches if you
6		*ave ese*++	think they should be removed
7		[loudly]: *faaaoga iai lou mafaufau*:	use your brain
8	IP	[laughs]: *faafekai lea ou ke iloa paga*:	I know partner, thanks

In the example above, while there seems to be complaining in line 4 about the slow pace, in practice, I argue that they are motivating each other. Rather than feeling told off (IP laughs in line 8), they seem to be encouraged and driven and they do no react as if chided. IP's response (lines 2 and 8) suggests normalcy in how they react to these complaints. Moreover, IP's reply indicates that instantly IP knows he has to speed up his work. What, at face value, looks like a negative affective speech act does not seem to be functioning in this way (see Locher & Watts, 2005 on the dynamic meaning of 'impolite' utterances). Age is very important for this group as it is used a lot for hierarchy and authority (see discussion in Chapter 6) and is one of the guiding factors in the way the workers are teamed up (i.e., one senior and one junior team member work together). The team pairing is seen as an extra motivation tool (according to the participants), and this urging to hurry up and to keep moving forward does not seem to be marked (cf. Ahuja & Van Vugt, 2010; Vine, 2004), but instead a normal/appropriate part of the team communication.

5.4.2 Bonding Strategy

Arguably, in addition to motivating, others have claimed that complaining represents a form of bonding. Complaining is an easy strategy for people to establish relationships initially (Kowalski, 2002): complaining allows people to start conversations with others with whom initiating conversation might otherwise be difficult. Complaining allows people to vent, to get frustrations off their chests (Alicke et al., 1992). There is undeniably positivity in the negativity (Kowalski, 1996). Rather than taking the complaint at (negative) face value, it seems to be acting as a solidarity

marker. In Example 5.12 below, I contend that complaining is used as a way of bonding with others (and simultaneously boosts the workers to work even faster).

Example 5.12
Context: Nerium Orchard, Evanson Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Iose	[shouts]: *sole faakope+ vaai la oo aku*	hurry up guys, you're very slow, I
2		*iiga ae le koe uma+++*	am catching up
3		[loudly]: *kope le gaioi ga la kele ia*	keep moving forward and less
4		*kalagoa*:+	chatting
5	IP	[laughs]: *ua ika le koeaiga*:	the old man is angry
6	AP	[laughter]: *kau ko'a mai tamā++*	be patient dad
7	Iose	[loudly]: *makuai kuai kele oukou+++*	you guys are way too slow
8		*kope le gaioi*:	hurry up
9	IP/AP	[laughter]: *aua ke popole*:	don't you worry
10	Iose	[demonstration, loudly]: *mea ia ka'u*	this is how big boys do it, now keep
11		*o pulugi a kama matu, kope le gaioi*:	moving

Based on its regularity in the data (for the Evanson team in particular), complaining seems to be an important form of interactive communication. In lines 3-4, Iose says *Kope le gaioi ga la kele ia kalagoa* and gives a demonstration of how 'big boys prune', *mea ia ka'u o pulugi a kama matu* (lines 10-11). To Iose, pruning that is done easily and well is carried out by the 'big boys'. Here it has been modified *pulugi a kama matu*. As alluded to earlier, the glimpses of hierarchy discussed in the next chapter come through in the older men complaining about the younger men not keeping up and the younger men making teasing remarks while at the same time showing that they respect the older men's behaviour by following their guidance. The fact that Iose is a senior member appears to afford him the right to: (1) tell off the junior members of the team for slowing work down (line 7), and (2) consider his demonstration of 'pruning' a better choice. The teasing being reciprocated and the responses from Iose's partner (IP) *ua ika le koeaiga* (line 5) and Atina'e partner (AP) *kau ko'a mai tama* (line 6) as Iose is complaining suggest that complaining here functions as a bonding strategy (being cheeky is reciprocated). It helps in getting the task done in terms of motivating others to be responsible to the collective (cf. Holmes, Burns, Marra, Stubbe & Vine, 2003).

The next section looks at humour and its notable role in the workplace from a relational perspective. Although theoretically 'off record', humour has regularly been

found to be highly relevant to workplace discourse research and a strategy that has the potential to be seen as ethnicised or culturally influenced (Marra & Holmes, 2007). Given that it functions at multiple levels, humour as indicated in the examples serves different interpersonal functions (sometimes all at once).

5.5 HUMOUR

Research on humour in the workplace has been carried out in areas including organisational/business studies (Morreall, 1991) as well as linguistic areas including leadership and humour (Schnurr, 2008) and humour and gender (Mullany, 2007; Schnurr & Holmes, 2009; Vine, Kell, Marra & Holmes, 2009). Researchers have shown just how difficult it is to interpret humour, given that it is context bound and cannot easily be understood by non-group members (Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Schnurr, 2005).

Holmes (2000) defines humour as "utterances…which are identified by the analyst, on the basis of paralinguistic, prosodic, and discoursal clues, as intended by the speaker(s) to be amusing and perceived to be amusing by at least some participants" (p. 163). Holmes acknowledges that deciding whether an utterance is funny and comical depends not only on the analyst's point of view, but also that of the participants. Mullany (2004, p. 21) expands on this definition by classifying humorous utterances as either successful or unsuccessful according to addressees' reactions. Humour can be a result of either intentional or unintentional humorous behaviour from participants (Mullany, 2004; Murata, 2014). Schnurr (2005) emphasises the hearers' emotions, pointing out that humour is "…utterances which are intended and/or perceived as being funny, and which result in a change of emotions in the audience, which then triggers some kind of response" (p. 44). Others examine failed humour (Bell, 2015) and there is also some focus on subversive humour (Holmes & Marra, 2002; Marra, 2014).

Most researchers recognise that humour serves to amuse and entertain, and these functions contribute to positive workplace relations (e.g., Holmes & Stubbe, 2003;

Schnurr, 2005; Holmes, 2006). Humour is widely understood as constructing and maintaining good relations with fellow workers and enhancing employment relationships by boosting job satisfaction (Holmes, 2006; Schnurr & Chan, 2011). Sharing a joke in the workplace has been observed to help build friendship and bring people close together (e.g., Holmes & Marra, 2011; Coates, 2007; Lampert & Ervin-Tripp, 2006; Crawford, 2003; Norrick & Spitz 2008), arguably contributing to a collective understanding within the organisation.

In line with this solidarity function, in workplace discourse humour is often interpreted as a way to manage power relationships among team members by minimising power differences (Brown & Keegan, 1999; Holmes, 2000). When people at the managerial level carry out face threatening acts such as criticism and orders to staff, humour comes into play to avoid embarrassment (Murata, 2014). Humour may be used for maintaining good workplace relationships by those who are in positions of power and can lessen the power difference (Holmes, 2000; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). Holmes and Stubbe (2003) claim that it is used as an "effective way of 'doing power' less explicitly, a subtle device for getting things done in a socially and professionally acceptable manner" (p. 122). In this light, humour offers a strategy for playing down status differences and avoids hurting respondents' feelings which can be seen as a successful leadership tool (Schnurr, 2005).

5.5.1 Samoa and Humour

Aligning with the conceptualisation of humour as multifarious, Anesi (2018) observes that indigenous people's deliberate uses of humour in art, comedy shows, dance, and songs concurrently entertain and unsettle.

> In the island nations of Tonga and Sāmoa, society is marked by hierarchy and social order. Chiefs, customarily, had one or two clowns in their courts who often performed role-reversals and inversions of societal norms that offered alternative worldviews explored through the frame of play. 'Play' often disguised in laughter the seriousness of important messages that were nonetheless experienced and felt (Hereniko, 1994). Clowning and joking, as

> other aspects of humour, functions to upset the foundations of Polynesian society, straddling order/ disorder, assembling/disassembling in order to reveal underlying hidden significance and unspoken meanings (p. 725).

In the Samoan culture, cruel laughter and ridicule are understood as dominant forms of amusing entertainment (Hutchinson, 2006). Hereniko (1992) refers to Samoan comedy as an illustration of indigenous theatre in the Pacific, a practice that features connections between politics and theatre (see also Kruse-Va'ai, 2011). Similarly, Sinavaiana (1992) observes that Samoan humour is an example of a "community talking to itself about itself" (p. 201), which "enrich[es] the soils of culture and history" (p. 200). Samoan humour is seen as part of everyday life and laughing and sharing satirical jokes are common just as they are in my data set. People will often make fun of themselves, treating humour as an art of mockery and practical absurdity (cf. offence and impoliteness in Haugh, 2015). For this reason, it is of no surprise that the workers in the previous and following examples enjoy making fun of each other and sharing jokes while carrying out their work. What appears from the outside as crude, harsh and cutting humour does not necessarily have this meaning when viewed through a Samoan cultural lens.

Example 5.13
Context: Nerium Orchard, Evanson Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Atina'e	:*kope mai le gaioi*:	hurry up keep moving
2	AP	[laughs]: *kiga oka lima se*:	my hands hurt
3	Atina'e	[laughs]: *kiga ou lima*++	your hands hurt
4		= *ua la ga le sooga loke o ga mea:*	that's what you get from playing
5		[fits of laughter]	with yourself
6		+++*kope mai loa ga la uma*:+	hurry up, we're almost done
7		=*aka a ma uma aku ai a*:	having a laugh speeds things up

Example 5.13 is taken from an interaction between Atina'e and his junior partner (AP). As noted earlier, team pairing is central at Evanson worksite, where senior members are matched with junior members of the group or workers new to the scheme. As they go about their tasks, there is the ongoing presence of humorous exchanges. In this example, Atina'e is urging his partner to *keep moving forward* (line

1) which is met with a retort from his partner *kiga oka lima se,* his hands hurt (line 2). Atina'e's mocking response suggests that the humorous resistance is normal and also offers an understanding of the comical and teasing chats on a day-to-day basis among these workers. Although line 4 *Ua la ga le sooga loke o ga mea* is unrestrained and sarcastic as it entails a euphemistic reference to 'masturbation' *kiga oka lima* (my hands hurt, line 2) it is also an indication that the pruning has taken its toll. Atina'e's follow up in lines 3-4 could be seen as recognition of the reality of working, but mitigation of the realisations of the pair.

While the responses from Atina'e could be interpreted as aggressive and explicit, it does not appear to offend as suggested by the laughing response of his colleagues. It can be seen as a display of masculinity, which orients to well-recognised norms and stereotypes (Holmes & Woodhams, 2013). The paralinguistic features (i.e., the humorous tone, the fits of laughter) that are associated with the interactions above indicate that the humour is understood as teasing. For this novice group, this behaviour is very regular and could be seen as how they do team bonding. Amidst the ambiguous humour, they encourage each other to keep pushing forward with their task (lines 6-7).

Examples 5.14 and 5.15 are illustrations of humorous talk among members of the established group at Asher Sunshine Worksite and include more of this masculine style of humour.

Example 5.14
Context: Patterson Orchard, Asher Sunshine Worksite
The workers are back at their respective blocks after their first smoko break. There is chatting in the background and a lot of teasing from Lemi as they resume work.

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Lemi	[loudly]: *o lea o le a fai i le kaikai+ e*	I will ask the team leader to
2		*makuai fai le asiasiga++*	do inspections
3		*=ua ova le magogi leaga o kou guku sole*:	your breath stinks badly
4		[laughs hysterically]	guys
5	LP	[loudly]: *ae le o oe ga e kau faalekogu*	are you sure it's not you
6		*mai*:+ [laughter]:	with the bad breath
7	Lemi	*=fai le asiasiga pulumu ma le paste*:	we will have toothbrush and
8		[laughter in the background]	toothpaste inspections

In Example 5.14, Lemi mocks the men for having bad breath, implying that these men have poor dental hygiene, *ua ova le magogi leaga o kou guku* (line 3), and goes on to suggest that there should be toothpaste on site, *asiasiga pulumu ma le paste* (line 7), as a remedy for what he claims is a problem. His partner (LP) retaliates by teasing Lemi that he could be the problem, not them *ae le o oe ga e kau faalekogu mai* (lines 5-6). While the remarks here are employed to tease the receivers (Schnurr, 2009; Hay, 1994), what is telling here are the ways in which participants pick up and respond to each other's humorous contribution (lines 5-8), contributing to an understanding that they recognise this teasing as appropriate behaviour for the group (Boxer & Cortes-Conde, 1997). It is co-constructed in a way which suggests in-group status rather than true enactment of hierarchy. Whether there is an issue with dental hygiene is something we cannot quite know.

Example 5.15
Context: Asparagus Orchard, Asher Sunshine
As work continues, a senior member (SM) of the group tells Gasolo and a few others that his first stop this morning was to send money to his wife.

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	SM	=*kalosia*+ *ua maua e la'u keige le*	I hope my wife has received the
2		*kupe lea ga lafo le kaeao*+	money sent this morning
3	Gasolo	*koeaiga koaga kele e lafo kupe i le*	old man loves sending money to
4		*koalua*++	his wife
5		[laughter in the background]+	
6		[loudly]: *kalofae si uso*++	my poor brother
7		*kalofa poo ai le rasta la e ai keke puaa*	a rasta is probably eating pork
8		*i ga kupe e lafo aku i Samoa*+++	buns with the money you sent,
9		=*ao lea e ke pologa aku ii*:	and you are struggling with
10		[fits of laughter]	work here

Example 5.15 shows Gasolo making fun of one of the senior members of the group about the fact that he is always sending money home to his wife, humorously suggesting that his wife is probably seeing someone else (a rasta) while he is in New Zealand. One can infer from SM's remarks that: (1) He is the head of the family and is responsible for providing for his wife and family back home, (2) He must miss his wife for him to be sending money home often, *koeaiga koaga kele e lafo kupe* (line 3). What is also interesting is Gasolo's use of *rasta* (line 7), short for Rastafarian (see also Cashmore, 2013). While Gasolo and the men are perhaps not well versed with this

religious and social movement and what it represents, *rasta* from Gasolo seems to index someone who smokes marijuana, has dreadlocks and is unemployed (this is in stark contrast to the positive self-image of the hard-working seasonal workers). We might speculate that all of the men share some of these feelings. The mock insults, in other words, give voice to the experience of being away from loved ones.

As indicated in Chapter 2, the use of humour in the workplace can foster good working relationships and establish solidarity between members (Holmes & Marra, 2004). This is also evident in Example 5.16. Here, transactional and relational practices work simultaneously, doing humour, masculinity, in-group/outgroup (see also Baxter & Wallace, 2009) and cultural superiority all at once.

Example 5.16
Context: Nerium Orchard, Evanson Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Atina'e	[demonstration]: *ua amaka ga ola*	the tree is beginning to show
2		*lau ole mea sole-*:	leaves
3	Iose	[nods head]: *ga la+ vave kele:*	I know so fast
4		[calls out to partner]: *sole kope mai*	hurry up guys, keep pushing
5		*le gaioi*:	forward
6	IP	*aua le popole lea pipii aku a*	right behind you
7	Atina'e	[whinges]: *ouke faiaku ole feoai so'o*	that Indian couple have a habit
8		*ole ulugalii Igikia lea+*	of leaving the site,
9		[shakes head]: *ao le koma so'o e pule*	and have breaks when it suits
10		*a laua sole:*	them
11	Iose	[laughs]: *musu si kamaloa e ku'u loga*	the husband doesn't want his
12		*koalua++*:	wife to be anywhere near us,
13		[loudly]: *faapea si kamaloa, ole*	poor man is worried about us
14		*makuai leaga lava o kagaka ia:*	

In Example 5.16, Atina'e and Iose are discussing the Indian couple working in the next block, *Ou ke faiaku o le feoai so'o o le ulugalii Igikia lea* (lines 7-8). Iose teasingly comments that the husband is frightened to leave his wife anywhere near them, for fear that one of them may 'take advantage' of her, given the fact that she is the only woman on site. The example implies that the group: (1) is observant of things happening around them; (2) is better than the others because of the way they enact work; (3) has different values from the other group; (4) think that the Indian couple are rather relaxed; (5) and when it is smoko everyone should be on a break and not

when it suits them (Indian couple). It is interesting that the seasonal workers make fun of the negative stereotype that women are not safe with them (or men in general). While it is completely inappropriate for these men to go anywhere near the woman as it challenges their religious and cultural norms, by making fun of one another, they point out that while the woman is not in danger, Iose and Atina'e can predict the husband's stereotypical thoughts.

Humour is a way of reinforcing the values of the group; without these shared understandings, the utterances are not humorous. The examples above have illustrated that humour is multifunctional; it has positive and negative aspects (Holmes & Schnurr, 2005; Schnurr, 2008), and contributes to identity construction (Marra & Angouri, 2011; Vine et al., 2009; Holmes, 2007; Holmes & Marra 2002b). Additionally, the data has demonstrated that humour is seen as a means of highlighting cultural values as well as supporting productivity and team building.

5.5.2 Teasing for Bonding, Nipping and Biting

An interesting sub category of humour in workplace interactions which has been seen throughout these examples is teasing and its various functions. Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) in their influential work on teasing argue that the different functions of teasing vary from "bonding to nipping to biting" (p. 276). 'Biting' refers to teasing remarks directed at a participant in the conversation, primarily aimed at putting down the addressee; 'bonding' teasing emphasises mutual ground and strengthens solidarity, and; 'nipping' brings together elements of biting as well as bonding (Boxer & Cortes-Conde, 1997; Schnurr, 2008). Schnurr (2009) views teasing as an inherently ambiguous strategy that is sometimes employed to "insult or jocularly abuse the addressee" (p. 1127). However, teasing can also function as an expression of solidarity (Hay, 1995). Due to its complex nature, teasing expresses two differing messages: teasing may create a feeling of solidarity and a sense of belonging among speakers, as well as display and reinforce the speaker's power and control (Schnurr, 2009; Hay, 1995; Boxer & Cortes-Conde, 1997). Teasing is thereby a tool, a discursive strategy to accomplish workplace goals (Schnurr, 2009).

Examples 5.17 and 5.18 below are interactions in the packhouse between Ulafala and his fellow stackers (who are non-participants of the study and have been labelled NPU1, NPU2, NPU3) at the Evanson Worksite. Evanson employs a mixture of different nationalities, and while English is the lingua-franca, it is not necessarily the first language of anyone other than the owners and local employees in the packhouse. Most of the exchanges carried out in the packhouse are in English in contrast to many of the other interactions in the data set. As is seen in the next examples, bonding and biting are apt descriptions of the ways in which participants pick up and respond to each other's humorous contributions (see also Schnurr, 2009).

Example 5.17
Context: Evanson Packhouse

	Speaker	Original
1	NPU1	what's that around your arm
2	Ulafala	[laughs]: it's a recorder+
3		for her observation:
4	NPU1	[laughs]: you're popular bro+
5		lucky you: [laughs]
6	NPU2	[loudly]: very popular bro++
7		you are on MTV excuse me:
8		[laughter in the background]

Example 5.17 sees Ulafala being probed with questions from his workmate NPU1 about the voice recorder. Both NPU1 and NPU2 make fun of Ulafala using expressions such as *being popular* and *you are on MTV*, perhaps again indexing masculinity through the teasing (Holmes et al., 2011; see also Holmes, 2006; Holmes & Woodhams, 2013).

Example 5.18
Context: Evanson Packhouse

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Ulafala	so you did this last year	
2	NPU2	yes last year and the year before	
3	NPU3	[calls out]: *malo uso*:	Hi bro
4	Ulafala	[laughs] *malo*:	Hi
5	NPU2	[loudly]: bro, you know that	Transgendered
6		*fa'afafine*:+++:	person
7	NPU3	[laughs]: what about:	
8	NPU2	[laughter]: hey she+ he loves you:	

9	Ulafala	yes bro she talks about you all the time
10		[fits of laughter at the back]

In Example 5.18, Ulafala and NPU2 tease NPU3 about the *fa'afāfine* who is also an employee at the packhouse and a potential attraction. There is long history of the acceptance of fa'afāfine within Samoan society, which may or may not be shared across the other seasonal workers. This tease is either about attraction in general or the supposed unacceptability of this attraction from a 'feminine-presenting' man. While it may be uncomfortable for us as readers, and even to Ulafala in the situation, here I include it as evidence of a hypermasculine style of humour (see Woodhams & Holmes, 2013) which appears appropriate in context. It should be noted that this kind of 'biting' and teasing is normal, an indication that these men are close.

In the Example 5.19, there is recurring teasing as the workers move from one line in the orchard to another, representing the different functions of teasing discussed by Boxer (1996). Here, the participants use humour to boost morale and reinforce solidarity.

Example 5.19
Context: Nerium Orchard, Evanson Worksite

	Speaker	**Original**	**Translation**
1	IP	*fesili ma kali++ aisea ua kakou galulue*	why are we working in NZ?
2		*ai iigei*:	
3	Iose	*ea la ga kakou galulue iinei e maua ai gi*	the reason why we are in NZ is
4		*lumagai maguia o gai kakou aiga++*	to help our families back home
5		*=e iai seisi fesili* [laughs]	any other questions
6	IP	*+leai*	no
7	Iose	*o fesili gei e fai aku+ ga ole Aoga Aso*	these questions are for Sunday
8		*Sa++ sa kagaka makukua+*	school kids only
9		*=ua seki oe Emani+++*	ready Emani, was there a toilet
10		*sa iai se faleuila i kokogu ole va'a o Noa*	in Noah's Arc?
11	Emani	*kali aku le ioe pe leai+++*	do we answer yes or no
12		*=pe laku se kali umi*:	or do you want a long answer?
13	Iose	[exclamation]: *kalofa e ia oe++ ole*	I feel sorry for you, you are so
14		*makuai e valea lava*:	dumb
15	Emani	[laughs]: *o a'u*:	my turn
16		*=fa'auma mai le fuaiupu lenei+ i au lava*	complete this sentence using
17		*upu+++*	your own words
18		*+ona++*	and…
19	Iose	*ona e aia ai lea o tae*:	and then you ate shit
20		[fits of laughter]	

Example 5.19 is full of teasing humour and laughter from the team members. It is an elaborate stretch of jointly constructed humour (as described in Holmes & Marra, 2002). As the men go about pruning, they engage in a 'question and answer' activity instigated by Iose. There are religious references as they construct the humour, e.g., *Sa iai se faleuila ile va'a a Noa?* in which Iose asks Emani if there was a toilet on Noah's Ark (line 10). Iose makes fun of Emani by indicating that he lacks intelligence, a rather aggressive put down, *Kalofa e ia oe o le makuai e valea lava* (lines 13-14), then telling him to *eat shit* in a sentence completion question (line 19). These are exemplifications of teasing that represent character construction (Boxer, 2002). A 'play frame' is established (lines 1-5) and is essentially collaborative (Coates, 2007), involving a shared religious ideology that Emani should know (lines 7-10) and the juxtaposition of the very direct and aggressive shaming (lines 7, 8, 13, 14). Teasing is a regular feature of these men's activity and it occurs with those at different levels of hierarchy and in many places, and is part of the group's culture.

5.5.2 Fantasy Scenarios

In her analysis of humour, Hay (1995) presents a taxonomy for functions of humour and strategies used to achieve them. Although she bemoaned adding yet another classification to the literature, Hay claims that many of the taxonomies that existed prior to her work were specially designed for certain contexts and did not provide satisfactory coverage for her data (p. 64). One of the categories she introduced in her taxonomy was fantasy humour, which had not appeared in previous taxonomies, reflecting several factors; (1) she was dealing with young New Zealanders, a group with whom little previous work had been conducted, (2) different nationalities have their own sense and brand of humour; and, (3) this was the first taxonomy which had been created, corresponding to close scrutiny of recordings of natural, spoken conversation between friends (Hay, 1995). Since then the taxonomy has been used widely (e.g., Holmes, Stubbe & Marra, 2003; Holmes, 2000; Schnurr 2009, 2010).

Hay (1995) proposes fantasy scenarios as the construction of humorous imaginary scenarios or events, typically a combined activity in which the participants jointly construct a possible or impossible series of events (p. 68). The important point is that

all examples of fantasy contain the creation of make-believe circumstances, involving a lot of humour (see also Holmes & Marra, 2002, who build on this work). In trying to refine the understanding of the use of fantasy scenario, as seen in the examples below, it should be noted that the men use culturally significant topics, aligning with other aspects of their collective patterns, regularly bringing village life into the workplace.

Example 5.20 again from Asher Sunshine, demonstrates the use of fantasy humour. The humour surrounds a hypothetical rugby match between New Zealand and Samoa. Gasolo, a senior member of this group initiates these fantasies and all the workers add their part as they continue with their physical tasks.

Example 5.20
Context: Sekarga Orchard, Asher Sunshine

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Gasolo	…*sikalamu muamua o le taaloga*++	First scrum of the game
2		=*pe a ma le 10mita le laiga e sikoa ai*	10metres from Manu
3		*le Manu Samoa*:	Samoa's score line
4	Workers	[laughter and loud cheers]: *go*	come on boys
5		*Manu*++ *faamalosi boys*:	
6	Gasolo	*5 mita mai le laiga i fafo*	5 metres from the touch line
7	Workers	[loud cheers]: *faamalosi Manu*++	come on Manu
8		*-go Tasesa*:	
9	Gasolo	*Tasesa sauni e velo le polo i totonu*+	Tasesa throws the ball in,
10		*tulei ma le malosi le Manu Samoa*++	solid scrum from the Manu
11		*tulei ma le malosi*++	Samoa
12		*osofai pea le Manu Samoa*+	Samoa in control of the ball
13		[loudly]: *solomuli le olopeleki*+ *tulei*	and gaining ground, pushing
14		*atu pea iina ae solomuli le olopeleki*++	the All Blacks backwards
15		*//Ma tatagi le faaili a le laufali leai*	referee blows the whistle,
16		*faasala le Manu Samoa*\:	penalty against Manu
17	Workers	/ahhh+ booooooo\\	
18		[laughter in the background]	
19	Gasolo	*ua faasala le Manu Samoa*++	Manu Samoa number eight
20		=*ua faaaoga lima o le alii numera 8*+	has been penalised for using
21		*le alii o Malakai*	his hands during the scrum
22	Workers	ahhhh+ boooooooo	
23		[laughter and loud cheers]	

Rugby is the main sport in Samoa and it is played everywhere on the island, producing some of the world's best rugby players. Example 5.20 is a snippet of a fully embodied

rugby game created through language showing just how important rugby is to these workers, even as they are out in the orchards. As the workers move up and down the ladders, they engage in these humorous activities miming moving the ball down the field and taking their place in the team. The commentaries provided by Gasolo (lines 1-3 and 9-16) as he broadcasts this fantasy live coverage are entertaining and comical. The usage of words like, *sikalamu* (scrum, line 1), *10 mita mai le laiga e sikoa* (10 metres from the score line, line 2), *5 mita mai le laiga i fafo* (5 metres from the touch line, line 6) are a few examples to indicate that these workers are familiar with technical terms involving the rules of the game. Likewise, the workers' *ahhhhh's* and constant *boos* and complaints in lines 17 and 22 as their team is penalised makes it even more rousing and realistic, thus setting the tone and backdrop for this rugby scenario. The most fascinating aspect is that these men are all willing to participate in the construction of the fantasy scenario as a collective activity. There are loud cheers and applause as they contribute to this rugby match. This understanding of the use of laughter matches Hay's (1995) category of fantasy, which involves the construction of imaginary circumstances or happenings. Here it seems to be a bonding activity as a team, a team of men (with the indexical connection between rugby and gender), and a team of Samoan men in particular.

Example 5.21 is a fantasy about the traditional 'Ava Ceremony' in the Samoan culture (see discussion in Chapter 4). It is an important practice in which a ceremonial beverage is shared to mark significant occasions in Samoan society. It always includes speeches and oratory and the formal drinking of 'ava, with special attention paid to drinking order based on superiority. The 'Ava Ceremony takes place during the most important occasions including the bestowal of a chiefly title (*saofa'i*), formal events, the welcoming and farewells of guests and visitors or significant gatherings and meetings (fono) (Meleisea, 1987). This fanstasy ceremony is amusing as it begins with Lemi who has taken on the role of the *tufa'ava* ('ava distributor). A tufa'ava is often likened to that of a master of ceremonies. He is responsible for indicating who is to receive the 'ava by calling out the individual's name and must be fully conversant with the correct names and titles of those present as well as ceremonial etiquette (Meleisea, 1987).

Example 5.21
Context: Ava Ceremony, Asher Sunshine Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Lemi	[loudly]: *o le agakogu lega o le*	this is the ava of the reception
2		*fesilafaiga++ i le afio mai o le*	to our visitors here today
3		*aumalaga++*	it is ready to be distributed
4		*gei o le a fa'asoa+ kula'i se kauku=*	now, ava server stand
5		*kauke le ava a lau afioga Simi*:	this is Simi's ava
6	LP	[claps] *fa'afekai lava ua ka igu++*:	thank you for the drink
7		*//thank you++ manuia*\	thanks, be prosperous
8		/ [laugh loudly]\\	
9	Lemi	[loudly]: *soifua+++*	be happy and prosperous
10		*//lau ava legei lau afioga+ o le sui o*	this ava is for our Japanese
11		*le mālō mai Iapagi*\:	guest
12		/[loud fits of laughter]\\	
13	LP	[loudly]: *Japanese gibberish+*:	thank you very much
14		[fits of laughter]	
15	Lemi	[loudly]: *soifua*:	be happy and prosperous

Lines 1-4 are examples of oratory language (Von Hoerschelmann, 1995; Duranti, 1994; Meleisea, 1987; Holmes, 1969) that a tufa'ava uses in introductory remarks. Lemi mimics this, with the other workers around him following suit and contributing to the fantasy. In line 5, Lemi deliberately uses the Samoan translation of Jimmy, *Simi*, when calling out his 'ava. Constructing the ceremony as greeting a delegation from New Zealand, he is assuming that Simi will have understood a bit of Samoan. *Fa'afekai lava ua ka igu,* (thank you for the drink) in lines 6-7 indicates that LP is familiar with these rituals and knows the appropriate response. I argue that this fantasy scenario has a subversive quality in that 'Simi' knowing the response exemplifies another meaning: the men could be using this strategy to indirectly share frustrations that they did not receive any proper welcome upon arrival in New Zealand. These comical remarks are their way of saying that they should have had a welcome ceremony. The use of humour here may therefore function in both subversive and bonding ways. Lemi is later heard calling out to the guys that laughter is the best medicine and is soothing for the soul adding weight to this interpretation. In lines 13-14, LP is impersonating a Japanese guest and the babble and gabble that follows is intriguing. These seasonal workers are responsive to these linguistic features and make fun of how a Japanese person would likely respond when receiving a drink. This seems to

function as setting up the intercultural nature of such a ceremony and that if it was their responsibility they would have done it for their guests.

Hay (1995) argues that different nationalities have different styles of humour and the evidence in these extracts suggest Samoans are no exception. The Samoan culture has both very old and modern components to it (Sinavaiana, 1992; Anesi, 2018). Interestingly in Example 5.22, the workers take humour further, by co-constructing a funeral scenario, drawing fits of laughter from their fellow workmates.

Example 5.22
Context: Samoan Funeral, Asher Sunshine Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Gasolo	*fa'afekai mo le makou avagoa*+++	thank you
2		=*pau le kakalo alofagia e le Atua le*	our prayers are with you all
3		*aiga fa'avauvau oga ole valaau paia a le*	during these difficult times
4		*Atua i le tinā ole aiga*:	as you mourn your loss
5	GP	[laughter]:*fa'afetai afifio mai*+ *soifua*:	thank you for coming
6	Gasolo	*sei va'ai i meaai sole o le maliu*++	check out the food
7		=//*e oki*+ *ga o sosisi ma kalo*\:	just sausages and taro
8		/[laughter]\\:	
9	SMG	//*sole ga la*++ *oka se oki*\:	I know, this is terrible
10		/fits of laughter\\	
11	Gasolo	//*oki ma le kagaka ga kalia*	terrible food, terrible chiefs
12		*kakou*++ *aiga fai mea leaga*\:	terrible family
13		/[loud bursts of laughter]\\:	
14		[loudly]: *sole kulei mai ga la ova*	ok enough laughter keep
15		*aka*++ *fa'amalosi:*	pushing forward

In Example 5.22, Gasolo starts this fantasy, a typical Samoan funeral, where the workers join in, each adding to the scenario from the rituals of the wake (i.e., making use of shared knowledge about these important cultural rituals). Everyone is acting out their part from the presentation of fine mats, to the distribution of food and these contributions receive loud bursts of laughter (lines 5, 8, 10 and 13). The scene begins with Gasolo relaying condolences *pau le kakalo alofagia e le Atua le aiga fa'avauvau* (lines 2-3) on behalf of the choir and thanking the family matai (Gasolo's partner, GP) for the opportunity *fa'afekai mo le makou avagoa* (line 1). Funerals are flooded with gifts for the family. In return, families return gifts to the visitors. Gifts include money and fine hand-woven mats, cases of tuna, corned beef and chicken, etc. Food plays an integral part in these ceremonies so when Gasolo stars to complain in lines 6-7 that

the food is awful *Sei vaai i meaai sole o le maliu*, SMG (another Senior Member of the group working at the same block with Gasolo) adds support to the scenario (line 9). This is amusing as their sense of humour mirrors a typical Samoans' reaction when food prepared for any occasion is not satisfying. Cultural identity is once again foregrounded, creating an us/them distinction between the teams and perhaps their hosts.

The underlying rationale for these fantasy scenarios is thought-provoking. Given that the workers are thinning fruit and the weather is extremely hot, the workers from the established group could very well be implying that: (1) they are tired and are wanting to rest; (2) the temperature is going to make them sick; (3) one of them is highly likely to collapse. This fantasy could be the men's polite way of suggesting to the manager and supervisors in close proximity that they are exhausted. Prior to this fantasy, one of the workers is heard telling his partner that a distant relative has passed on and that he was missing home. Gasolo, upon hearing this from a few lines away turned this whole conversation into a joke, and the fantasy scenario came up, with everyone mutually contributing to it. What started as a sombre mood for this non-participant, turned into peals of laughter (lines 10 and 13). Even as they carry out this fantasy, they are urging and encouraging each other to keep moving forward, *Sole kulei mai ga la ova aka, fa'amalosi* (lines 14-15), showing awareness of the needs and feelings of their colleagues.

For this group of seasonal workers, the use of fantasy scenario is encouraging yet curious, given that the scenarios reflect important elements in the Samoan culture. Are these signs of the workers missing their families in Samoa? This may be the case, because data was collected in December close to Christmas time, which is a time for all Samoan families to come together. The fact that they are away from Samoa is hard for these workers and so we might argue that, to appease that yearning for home, they use humour. These fantasy scenarios appear to be encouraging and motivating. Interestingly for these hierarchically oriented teams, humour may be prompted by anyone regardless of their position or power (Murata, 2014). For this group, there is no segregation of senior and junior members in these instances when group humour

comes into play (although hierarchy is an inherent feature of all other aspects of their interaction as demonstrated in the next chapter). Everyone is equal and can freely express views, adding on to what is being discussed (cf. Holmes & Marra, 2002; Hay 1995). Through humour, the men demonstrate the importance of the kind of talk that takes place during work, which is central to the analysis. As noted throughout the examples, there is evidences of fa'asoa and talanoaga through the use of humorous talk, contributing to the culture of the teams. Here, in humour, everyone is of equal status. This focus on solidarity, which emerges as a salient feature of interaction among the two groups, contributes to getting the task done.

Another aspect of the environment which seems salient to the group and Samoan identity is music (which has already featured in the background of many examples so far). The fact that there is constant music and singing as the men go about their work suggests that music is vital and is part of both teams' cultural grounding.

5.6 PREVALENCE OF MUSIC

Music plays an important role in the histories and cultures of all societies (e.g., Gregory, 1997). It is as universal as language but speaks louder than words (Yehuda, 2011). Engagement in musical activities while working has a long history (Haake, 2011) and was particularly popular as a focus of research in the first half of the 20th century from the perspective of western work songs. These have been argued to aide rhythmic synchronisation in physical work tasks and reduce boredom in wearisome jobs (Gregory, 1997; Korczynski, 2003; Haake, 2011). Music is acknowledged as a way to help improve job satisfaction and productivity (Spherion, 2006) and is seen as a cure for stress (Haake, 2011). Oldham, Cummings, Mischel, Schmidtke and Zhou (1995) also found that for those who prefer to work with music, its relaxing qualities have positive effects on performance, organisational satisfaction and ratings of fatigue.

Music has been promoted as positive and beneficial for organisations and especially advantageous for monotonous work where increases in output are often recorded (Fox, 1971; Uhrbrock, 1961; Wokoun, 1969). Early studies also argued for the

beneficial effects of listening to music on work productivity (Fox, 1971; Wokoun, 1969) and work performance (Oldham et al., 1995). The same findings are parallel to a study in a blinds factory (Korczynski, 2007), which examines music and meaning on the factory floor, and is supported by ethnographic data. Many workers independently created meaning systems through music, and social listening in the factory played a key role in shaping the way in which music was used to create meaning. In the workrooms in Korczynski's study, radios were switched on by workers within 15 minutes of the shift starting and were still playing 9 hours later at the end of the shift. For the majority of the workers in this factory, music played a key role in how they coped and survived the tiresome conditions. According to Korczynski, music was a key part of the 'stayin alive' culture of the shop floor, and it was crucial that the music should be "lively," "upbeat," "something to give you a spring in the step," and "something you can sing along to" (Korczynski, 2007, p. 262). Given that their work was rather dull and boring, participants saw music as uplifting and inspiring. This inspiration according to Korczynski (2007, pp. 262-263) occurs in a number of ways:

> through individualized listening in which an individual heard a song that communicated to him or her in some way, though significant musical instigators in the workrooms loudly singing along or dancing to attract the attention and smiles of colleagues, and through occasional spurts of collective singing along to choruses by four or five people, an event that invariably ended with shared laughter and smiles among both the people concerned and their colleagues around them.

Lesiuk (2005) similarly argues that music aids work performance, noting that the participants "state positive affect and quality-of-work were lowest with no music, while time-on-task was longest when music was removed" (p. 173). North, Hargreaves and Hargreaves (2004) emphasise that the role of music is largely dependent on the uses people make of it and specific location of the workplace in which they hear it. Music became heavily debated in the 1970s (Thorsén, 1989) and others felt that listening to music at work was a source of distraction (Adorno, 1976), where listening to music was considered to have a negative impact on task

performance of complex tasks in particular (Furnham & Strbac, 2002; Furnham, Trew & Sneade, 1999). Whilst music has been viewed as a distraction, making it difficult for people to concentrate on the work that is carried out (Lesiuk, 2005), studies continue to find just how much it contributes to improvement in creativity and work performance (Haake, 2006; Lesiuk, 2005; Oldham et al., 1995). In a study that was carried out among architecture students, music was regarded as helpful in speeding up work, increasing positive mood alongside improvements in task performance, and creating a break in between periods of work (Haake, 2011).

In the same way, the examples below present how the groups conceptualise music and the significant role it plays. Example 5.23 provides insights into the importance of music (lines 8-11) to these two groups of seasonal workers as they go about their work.

Example 5.23
Context: Hibiscus Orchard, Evanson Worksite

	Speaker	**Original**	**Translation**
1	Iose	*ka mai gi pese Samoa magaia*++	play some nice songs
2		=*kiga kaliga i ga pese* [loudly]	no one wants to listen to those
3		[an English rap is playing]	songs
4		*ki mai gi pese Samoa*+++ [loudly]:	play some Samoan songs
5		*fai gi pese e faaola kokoga:*	some uplifting songs
6	IP	[laughs]: *lea la alu aku*:	coming right up
7		[loud burst of laughter]	
8	Iose	*ua laki a si musika lea e fai ma kau maua*	thank goodness for the music,
9		*ai se fiafia e faigaluega se*+++	very encouraging for all of us,
10		=*semagu faapegei lea e fai faauu gei*	otherwise we would be
11		*galuega*	working with sullen faces

For the team at Evanson, this is what music means to the group; encouraging and motivating the men at work, *ua laki a si musika lea e fai ma kau maua ai se fiafia e faigaluega se* (lines 8-9). The nagging from Iose (lines 1-4) to 'change the music' or to 'play some Samoan songs' which in terms of frequency tells us how important music is. For these men, listening to Samoan music seems to be inspiring and as seen in line 5, *fai gi pese e fa'aola kokoga* uplifting. The Samoan songs pay homage to different aspects of the Samoan culture, i.e., being dedicated to being a seasonal worker and being able to provide for their families back home. Furthermore, listening to the Samoan songs contributes to their enjoyment of the physical work they do (lines 10-11).

In Example 5.24, as the novice group goes about their work, there is Samoan music in the background with workers singing along.

Example 5.24
Context: Nerium Orchard, Evanson Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Atina'e	…[laughs]: *ia lea la ou dj aku*:	I will be your dj for now
2		[sings along to Samoan songs]	
3	Iose	… [calls out to the guys]: *pese a ia e*	perfect song to play while
4		*kulei ai le pulugi*:	pruning
5		[*le taualaga a Solomona* playing in the	the guys sing along to this
6		background]	Samoan classic
7	Iose	*magaia si pese loku ga e sosoo mai*++	that next gospel song is nice
8		[starts singing along to gospel]	
9	Atina'e	[laughs]: *ae a*++ *kakou pese loku kasi*:	let's listen to some gospel
10		[workers singing and harmonising]	music for a change

It is interesting that there is a DJ on site (line 1), who chooses the right music that is considered motivating and 'perfect' for pruning (lines 3-4). The tendency of the group is to sing along to these Samoan classics, with Iose commenting on how the Samoan songs are the perfect repertoire for pruning. The harmonising as seen in line 10 replicates the team working together. Moreover, the snippets of music that are particularly important to the group at Evanson (i.e., the Samoan classic (line 5) and *pese loku* (line 7)) function to strengthen the community.

Equally, at Asher Sunshine, music plays a significant role in how the established group carries out their work. The fact that there is continuous music and singing at the worksite suggests that music is central and contributes to the culture of the team.

Example 5.25
Context: Pikes Orchard, Asher Sunshine Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Lemi	[starts singing a Samoan song]	
2		[workers harmonising]	
3		*malo* boys: [loud Samoan playlist in the	well done boys
4		background]:	
5		[sings]: *sole faiaku ole leaga o kou leo*:	you guys have got
6		[laughter in the background]:	terrible voices

7	SW 1	*sole ki mai gi pese Samoa*+++	play some Samoan songs
8	LP	*//la le pese e ki*\	what do you want?
9	SW 1	*/gi pese Samoa*\\	any Samoan songs
10		[Music in the background]	
11	Lemi	…[starts singing a Samoan song]	
12		[everyone joins in harmony]	
13		[sound of ladders]	
14		[starts singing a Samoan hymn]	
15	Workers	[singing in 4 parts]	
16	Lemi	…[Samoan playlist]	
17		[sings along to music]	great work guys, almost
18		*malo boys lea la uma*+++	done
19		=*kulei mai*	keep pushing forward

Example 5.25 is representative of many interactions that take place at Pikes orchard at Asher Sunshine. In my observations, if the workers were not making fun of each other, there was bound to be singing. Lemi often takes the lead by either singing Samoan slow jams (lines 1 and 2) or hymns (lines 14 and 15). While there is only chatting in the background from time to time as they carry out their work, there is a constant Samoan playlist (lines 16 and 17). If a non-Samoan song comes on, those responsible for the music are typically told off by Lemi or another worker (SW1). Often when Lemi starts singing a Samoan song, everyone joins and audio captures the workers harmonising (lines 2, 12 and 15). Samoans enjoy singing (Sinavaiana-Gabbard, 1999; Moyle, 1988) and singing in church is very common. It is where people are first introduced to this kind of group singing. It is usual that once someone starts singing a song, everyone joins in and starts harmonising. As noted earlier, these men claim and regularly state (e.g., lines 18-19) that music helps them move forward in their work. Listening and singing along to these Samoan songs is a way of bringing village values into the group and foregrounding the group as the priority.

Example 5.26 similarly has many kinds of singing, ranging from Samoan old-school music (line 8) to non-stop English and Samoan Christmas carols (lines 14-17).

Example 5.26
Context: Patterson Orchard, Asher Sunshine Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Moe	*sole+ se sui aku ia a ga mea+++*	change the music
2		*ua kiga a kaliga i ga pese*	I'm getting sore ears already
3	SW1	*sole se ki mai gi pese*	yes, change the music please
4		*kakou ke malamalama ai*	to songs we understand
5		[laughter in the background]	
6	Moe	*//sole sui mai gi pese Samoa*	change to Samoan songs
7	SW1	*/sole se ki mai gi pese Samoa*	play some Samoan songs
8	SW2	[loudly]: *ea la le pese lea*:	how about this one?
9	SW1	[laughs]: *pule a oe dj*:	up to you DJ
10	SW2	[mocks]: *a fia faalogo le kagaka i*	if you wish to listen to
11		*pese Samoa+* [teasing remarks]:	Samoan songs, bring your
12		*=sau ma aumai laga laau*:	own stereo the next time we
13		[loud burst of laughter]	come
14	Moe	*ga la ua magaia dj seki a*	yes Dj, those songs are
15		[Samoan carols continue]	perfect
16		[non-stop English and Samoan	
17		Christmas carols]	
18	Workers	[sing along to Christmas carols]	
19	Moe	*malo lava boys+*	well done boys
20		*=malo le galulue male faamalosi+*	this is great guys
21		*kulei mai* boys+	keep pushing forward
22		*=kulei le mea i luma*:	we're almost there!

As discussed earlier, music is recognised for enhancing productivity and the fact that there is singing reflects just how much it contributes to team culture on both sites. We see exchanges from Moe and SW1, telling SW2 (who is the team's DJ) to play Samoan songs instead (lines 1, 3, 6 and 7). What is perhaps entertaining is SW2's sneer in response to such a request (lines 10-12). I was nearby as these exchanges took place and found them hilarious, as did the men, evident in their non-verbal responses (lines 10 and 11) and the loud burst of laughter (line 13).

As alluded to earlier, the ability to harmonise the songs and especially the hymns provides the novice and established groups of seasonal workers with a sense of spirituality and religiosity. Harmonising and working together (and the importance on the collective this indexes) are values that are central to Samoan cultural and norms. Remarkably, most of the Samoan songs they either listen to or sing along with are Samoan songs and hymns. There is a recognisable aura of nostalgia and homesickness at both worksites and as seen in Examples 5.23, 5.24 and 5.26, these men miss their

families. Music seems to be imperative at Evanson and Asher Sunshine worksites, with the men launching into singing whenever the music stops in the background. In fact, as mentioned above, if they are not teasing and indulging in any humorous task, they are singing. It was also observed that the senior members of both groups harnessed the strength of music to encourage and urge the young men to keep on. As a participant mentioned: *a aka a ma kovā i le pese kei a le uma ole aso* (having a laugh and singing a song/tune quickly bring the end of the day).

5.7 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GROUPS

With a focus on solidarity which has emerged as a salient feature of interaction, this chapter has presented insights into the novice and established groups of seasonal workers, by exploring how they manage and enact the work, thereby fulfilling the function of getting the task done. Although different in terms of experience in the RSE scheme, the novice and established groups are remarkably similar to each other and share commonalities with other blue-collar workplaces. While there are shared practices with other blue-collar work environments, the groups have distinctive "Samoan" characteristics in their enactment of work, which seem to relate both to the type of work and the cultural influence. These distinctive characteristics include the use of silence, reflecting other understanding; the use of complaints, not as a face threat but as a motivator; the use of humour for bonding; and the prevalence of music. Together, these features operate as way of bringing the village to work and keeping the village together. The concept of voyaging as a village seems highly salient. This influence of culture in the enactment of work leads in to Chapter 6 which explores inherent hierarchies and how they are negotiated in the workplace context.

6 INHERENT HIERARCHIES IN THE WORKPLACE

A malu i fale, e malu fo'i i fafo
What is sheltered at home, should also be sheltered outside

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Recognition of the transactional and relational dichotomy has emerged as a useful (albeit artificial) separation for analysing how people carry out work and accomplish workplace goals. When accounting for the way people get things done at work, the role of hierarchies and the manifestation of power through directives and leadership are important considerations. The linguistic enactment of directives allows people in power to manage the balance between getting things done and maintaining a good relationship with their subordinates (Saito & Cook, 2017). Even when performing organisationally sanctioned activities, the relational aspects of talk are relevant.

Work performance is a central concern among the Samoan seasonal workers. As noted in Chapter 5, although distinct in their own ways, the enactment of work by the two groups reflects cultural norms and values which have a continual influence on the work they do. The cultural significance of behaviours suggest that the implementation of work to achieve workplace goals keeps these norms in the foreground. The opening proverb for this chapter, *A malu i fale, e malu foi i fafo* concisely summarises the value of keeping traditions and is chosen to reflect the influence of village hierarchy on the hierarchy within the teams. In this context, it can be explained as that which is valued in one's home (malu i fale), should also be valued when outside of the home (malu i fafo). For the novice and established groups, the integration of cultural traditions into their daily practices is replicated in the way they enact their work, as we saw in the previous chapter in terms of solidarity, and in this chapter in terms of hierarchies. When one respects one another's space (including status), it is seen as leading to mutually respectful relations, dignity, respect and loyalty, essential aspects of Samoan life. These significant and respected aspects of Samoan life/culture continue in the New Zealand worksites.

This chapter provides a discussion of preferred ways of getting things done at work, acknowledging the presence of a cultural lens. Section 6.2 explores inherent hierarchies and how these play out in the workplace. Section 6.3 considers the dimensions of power and its distribution within the teams, and finally, the manifestation of "directives" as a key strategy for getting things done in workplace contexts is explored in Section 6.4.

As we have already seen, the village is a constant presence for the men, functioning as a prism through which the data set is viewed. Integrating cultural traditions into their daily practices is seen in the ways that the established and novice groups enact their work. The following section looks at hierarchies that that are brought from the village environment, and how they are enacted differently.

6.2 INHERENT HIERARCHIES

From a management perspective, hierarchy in an organisation is intended to benefit the company and the employees, providing a clear career path for each employee in the organisation and encouraging productivity (Gilbert, 2012; Root, 2018 [26]). Hierarchy is seen as helping to establish efficient communication paths between employees, departments and divisions of the company in this organisational perspective (Northam, 2009). A discursive understanding of hierarchy, however, is that it is not fixed, but rather dynamically negotiated (e.g., Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). This is evident in the examples provided in which we see a balance between the hierarchies of the workplace and the hierarchies from the village.

6.2.1 Holistic Approach to Hierarchy

A holistic approach to hierarchy that is relevant to the field is found in the literature on leadership. In workplace discourse, directives, leadership and management are typically features associated with transactional objectives, which "focus on the task to

[26] See also https://smallbusiness.chron.com/hierarchy-authority-important-organization-11899.html

be achieved, the problem to be solved, or the purpose of the meeting" (Dwyer, 1993, p. 572). In contrast, relationally oriented behaviours concentrate on fostering relationships, 'creating team' (Fletcher, 1999), and developing a productive working atmosphere (Holmes et al., 2003). In analysing three examples of naturally occurring workplace talk, Holmes, Schnurr, Chan and Chiles (2003), demonstrate how leaders from different workplaces employ diverse strategies to get things done at work. The strategies employed by the leaders include humour, hedging and the recounting of an anecdote, which they argue operate as face-saving, mitigating devices in the contexts analysed (Holmes et al., 2003) used in order to mitigate the effect of status to achieve transactional goals. The analysis warrants the authors' claim that 'doing leadership' is a discursive achievement, coupled with a person's communication skills which are central elements in the construction of leadership (cf. Hackman & Johnson, 2000).

Schnurr, Marra and Holmes (2007) explore the ways in which leaders in different cultural workplaces in New Zealand enact successful interactions as leaders and at the same time incorporate the politeness norms of their respective workplaces. The study focusses on the language of leaders from a Pākehā and a Māori workplace, where leaders draw on a range of discursive strategies in their everyday interactions (Marra, Schnurr & Holmes, 2006; Schnurr et al., 2007). The investigations highlight the importance of language to leadership and the trend to look at leadership as reflecting cultural norms.

The pairing up of workers as seen in both groups in my data set is rare in the field of workplace discourse, and fascinating in the way the men build hierarchy within dyads. As noted in Chapter 5, team pairing is seen as crucial among the novice and established groups of seasonal workers in their enactment of work as it is a culturally salient way of enacting hierarchy that reflects village hierarchies. For the team leaders, this is the expectation based on assumptions about age and hierarchy, where an experienced worker is paired with an inexperienced one (new recruit). In an interview with the representative from Asher Sunshine Worksite, Jacobs (2017) succinctly sums up the benefits of team pairing at the orchards:

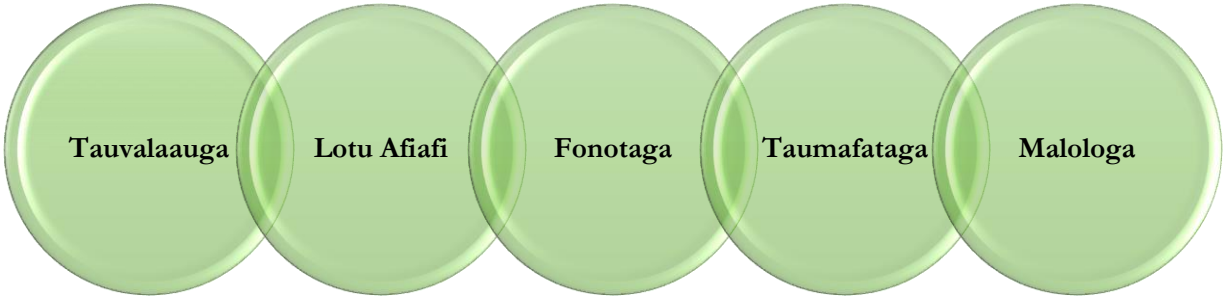
> […] we find with the men we have a good system, a new person will be mentored by someone that has been here for many seasons, an experienced worker, just so that they know the ropes at work, they know the accommodation rules and that, and we tend to go over rules and things with the liaison officer present. We have an induction the second day after they arrive, but it's nice to have that someone to translate for them, that way you know that the message is getting through (Jacobs, interview data, 2017).

Within the group, the men set up these leadership activities and rather than being one leader to all, the team leader acts as a facilitator of information from the orchard managers and supervisors. This said, rather than one person being responsible for the whole group, there is a one-to-one person who is responsible.

As will be seen, the hierarchy enacted by the teams reflects a cultural understanding of authority. The following section looks at the hierarchical relationships among members of the established and novice groups of seasonal workers at their worksites. Existing research in New Zealand workplaces regularly argues that hierarchies are typically mitigated and downplayed in interaction (e.g., Holmes et al., 2011; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). It is notable that the hierarchy that is brought from the village environment is enacted differently at these two worksites to those in the literature. Authority is more apparent than in existing research. For example, at Asher Sunshine, the team leader for the established group is somewhat strict and does not allow anyone to smoke at the orchards whilst carrying out their work: power is overtly and explicitly demonstrated.

Figure 6.1, shows the fixed schedule the established group follows outside of the orchards and demonstrates the influence of authority on their practices even outside working hours.

Figure 6.1: Daily Routine for the Established Group



Tauvalaauga	everyone assembles in the meeting room by 6pm for their roll call.
Lotu Afiafi	one of the workers (duty roster) leads the group in their evening prayer (hymn and prayer).
Fonotaga	the team leader discusses relevant topics: their budget, insurance, health, accommodation, safety gear, and personal issues (problems at home to discuss with team leaders and senior members of the team).
Taumafataga	after their meeting, dinner is served – buffet style – the *kuka* (cook) team are responsible for setting up dinner and cleaning up afterwards.
Malologa	after dinner, it is 'free time' where they either relax or catch up with other members of the group or rest.

Figure 6.1 shows the influence of the authority of the senior team members who dictate this schedule. These are rules and regulations to which workers must adhere. As is standard after hours for this group, they assemble in the meeting room in the evening for their roll call, followed by lotu afiafi (evening prayer). Dinner follows and there is a team responsible for setting up dinner for the rest of the group (a feature of the hierarchical organisation of the team). Although everyone gets to relax after dinner, this happens only after the collective team activities are completed.

Like the established group at Asher Sunshine, the team at Evanson follows a similar schedule, where the junior members of the group are responsible for preparing their evening meals, while the senior members of the team take turns in leading the evening prayer, followed by a group meeting led by the team leader. The demonstration of the village (and the status roles within it) surfaces as being important here. As described in Chapter 1, the RSE scheme involves the whole community and this is evident in the regular glimpses of the whole of community approach that comes through in the workplaces (further discussed in Chapter 7).

At both Evanson and Asher Sunshine Worksites, there is evidence of the salience of hierarchy. As is noted in the examples below, a culturally relevant factor for status is age (Holmes, 2008) and its impact on hierarchy can be seen in the practices of each team. Gilbert (2012) argues that hierarchy is a key influence on how people act at work. A distinct but well recognised Samoan perception of hierarchy can be identified in various aspects of interpersonal interactions in the data set. In the examples below, interactions among group members are influenced by the hierarchical relationship of senior-junior village member, which is played out as superior-subordinate workers. Moreover, as will be seen in the examples, I argue that the data set aligns with the key elements of the Fatugātiti model discussed in Chapter 3. The interactions that take place at the worksites demonstrate the significance of soālaupule, fa'asoa, talanoaga and fa'afaletui and how the men use these interchangeably in their daily interactions. What is interesting about these elements is the dynamism of hierarchy, thus, the interactions are interpreted because of this understanding of hierarchy and how it plays out in the workplace among these men.

In the first example, the men are back at the orchard after lunch. It has been raining for an hour and the men are soaking wet. The team leader decides to send everyone to their accommodation, (which is opposite Maize Orchard) for lunch and for the men to change into dry clothes. This represents a very explicit comment by the men on the role of cultural values. In Example 6.1, the established group are back at the orchards after lunch. I had taken lunch to the team and it was devoured quickly without the normal protocols. As the workers head back to their blocks, a senior

member (SM) of the group is infuriated and reprimands the workers, especially the young men for not acknowledging the food.

Example 6.1
Context: Maize Orchard, Asher Sunshine Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	SM	*kaukakala guku ae valea++*	too much talk, but you're all
2		*+po'o fea a le mea e o ai+ aua gei kuua*	dumb, wherever you go, never
3		*ai le agaguu ma mea e kakau ga fai+++*	forget your identity and your
4		*e sau a le kagaka ma aumai le mea i loga*	cultural values
5		*lokoifale+++*	this is a reflection of your
6		*makuai kou guku valea kele++*	upbringing, you are all dumb
7		*=fa'aaoga le faiai o le kamaikiki:*	and stupid, use your brains kids
8	Moe	*sa'o lelei a+++ aua le aumai folo*	that's right, you were too busy
9		*molemole le fa'aaloalo a si keige+ ae le*	eating and forgot to use your
10		*fa'aaoga le mafaufau+*	common sense

While SM is angry and calls the men *dumb* in line 1, it is interesting to note that despite being in a foreign country, the cultural practice (e.g., of acknowledging food) is expected to be observed even at the orchards, *po'o fea a le mea e o ai, aua gei kuua ai le agaguu ma mea e kakau ga fai* (lines 2-3). This misstep is seen as a serious transgression. Moe, who is the team leader of the group echoes SM's disappointments but does so in a way that is perhaps calming for the young members of the group. This is clear in line 10, *mafaufau* (common sense) as opposed to SM's usage of *faiai* (line 7), which means brain. The use of *faiai* here in this context is almost insulting. As a word choice, it indexes antagonism and bitterness. Moe's use of directives are comparatively mitigating as seen in the use of hedging phrases (*fa'aaoga le mafaufau* in line 10; cf. Gilbert, 2012; see also Bramsen, Escobar-Molano, Patel & Alonso, 2011), one assumes in an attempt to soften the reprimand.

What is also visible in this example is how the workers 'do age' (cf. Ukosakul, 2005) as a central part of hierarchy and authority in Samoa (see also Duranti, 1994; Keating & Duranti, 2006; Cahn, 2008). In line 7, SM calls the young men 'kids', a lexical choice which lends itself to several interpretations: (1) it is the responsibility of the young men to carry out such a practice (acknowledgement of food), not of a titled man or matai; (2) being labelled *kamaikiki* suggests that they are still undeveloped and require a lot of teaching; and (3) it could arguably also imply that seasonal work is not for

irresponsible community members like these young men. Both SM and Moe ratify this scolding, with one being harsh and the other alleviating the severity but maintaining the content. Their reactions align with their matai positions within the village and their status as senior members of the team. The hierarchical relationship of leader/seniors and juniors/young members dominates the group interaction throughout the data.

The next section explores various dimensions of power and its distribution.

6.3 DIMENSIONS OF POWER

The enactment of power is a regular feature for analysis in sociolinguistic research (see Friedrich, 1972; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Brown & Gilman, 1989; Fasold, 1990). This was originally proposed as a core concept by Brown and Gilman (1960), in relation to the linguistic choices that are made (Tannen, 1986; Tannen & Kakava, 1992; Xiaopei, 2011) and more recently in terms of discourse function. Power typically reflects the social distance between people, whereas the counterpart, solidarity, notes the connections, levels of familiarity and understanding between people (Fasold, 1990). Power is generally a relevant consideration for analyses involving asymmetrical relationships where one speaker is subordinate to another, while solidarity is typically prioritised in investigations of symmetrical relationships distinguished by social equality and similarity (Al Abdely, 2016). Power is, however, understood as relative, and includes both the ability to control others and the ability to achieve one's goals. It is demonstrated in the extent to which one person or group can execute their plans and assessments at the expense of others (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). In the workplace, power can be expressed in a number of ways; the way in which power plays out in the workplace requires careful attention to context.

Example 6.2 provides excerpts of naturally occurring conversations in which the speakers negotiate power. At Apatus Orchard, the Team Driver (TD) has just arrived with the group's lunch. As he reverses, he hits a fence post for which he gets a scolding from Moe, who is the team leader of the group.

Example 6.2
Context: Apatus Orchard, Asher Sunshine Worksite

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Moe	[loudly]: *sole+ ka le smoko++*	smoko time guys
2		*=omai loa sole*:	come on boys
3	TD	[Smoko break – TD smashes van	
4		into a post while getting lunch,	
5		laughter in the background]	
6	Moe	*kele le mea e liliu ai ae le vaai faalelei*	use your eyes when
7		*maka+++*	reversing
8		*=fa'aaoga le mafaufau*	
9		[laughter in the background as TD	and use your brain
10		is getting told off by Moe]	
11	Lemi	[teasing remarks]: *malosi le fia Paul*	that's what you get for
12		*Walker koe Michael Schumacher ma le*	wanting to be Paul Walker
13		*avega o le van*:	and Michael Schumacher
14	SW 1	*ga la, vaai aku e le koe kago se kaavale*	he won't be driving the
15		[laughter in the background]	van again

The example shows the ambiguity of power and solidarity in giving advice. The team leader Moe tells the team driver (TD) off, for being a reckless driver after he hits a post, *Kele mea e liliu ai, ae le vaai faalelei maka* (lines 6-7). While this chiding is humorous, (signalled in prosodic choices by Moe and the laughter from others), it also challenges TD's status in the group; he is a senior member of the group but is treated like a young child when Moe cautions him to use his brain, *fa'aaoga le mafaufau* (line 8). Moe's reaction is simultaneously an expression of irritation, because he is the team leader and accountable for this group (cf. Tannen & Kakava, 1992). His responsibility as the team leader temporarily gives him more status than TD and the rest of the team. The teasing remarks of Lemi and SW1 in lines 11-13 and 14 seem to be an attempt to make the driver feel better by mitigating the impact of the scolding through humour (humour as mitigator is discussed in Chapter 5), by making comparisons to Paul Walker (one of the stars of the Fast and Furious franchise, which is set within the context of illegal street racing), and Michael Schumacher (who is a leading Formula One driver). In workplace discourse, the use of teasing remarks is often interpreted as a way of managing power relationships among team members typically by minimising power differences because of humour's off-record status (Brown & Keegan, 1999; Holmes, 2000).

6.3.1 Influence of Power

In Samoan society, power and authority rests with those who hold chiefly titles. As first introduced in Chapter 1, leadership in Samoa operates on the matai system where the titleholders exercise authority over members and the land of individual ʻāiga (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2000). The fono or the village council usually manages the land, the resources and the political power, and entrusts ultimate political authority in the village chief (McCarthy, Shaban & Stone, 2011). This authority, as discussed by Stewarr-Withers & O'Brien (2006), filters to the matai (the head of the extended family) and thereafter to the ʻāiga. In general, while each village unit oversees its own affairs and determines the roles and status of each village member, villages are governed collectively by an overarching council of chiefs, whose influence is normally conformed to in matters of more than local importance (McCarthy et al., 2011). The collective ethos of traditional Samoan culture recognises the notion of the individual, in so much as each individual supports the group, contributes to the group, works together with the group, respects the group and its norms and acknowledges their own and other's status and roles with the Samoan collective (McDade, 2001; McDade, Stallings & Worthman, 2000). This also aligns with the individualism and collectivism cultural syndrome, well-rehearsed in discussions of East vs West, where each member of the group is encouraged to do what is considered best for their group as a whole rather than themselves (see also Triandis, 1998, 2001, 2018). Appropriate recognition of the status and role of each member of the community is crucial to Samoan culture (McCarthy et al., 2011). Strict protocols often shape what members of the community may say, the way in which they say it, the language they use and the situations in which they can speak.

With these protocols and values in place for my groups, the data illustrates the seasonal workers implementing these structures. At Asher Sunshine Worksite in Example 6.3, the team leaders are strict, and some of the rules they have in place for the workers to obey are rather intrusive. In the example below, it is smoko time and the group have just finished their lunch and are relaxing, making the most of the remaining time they have left in their break.

Example 6.3

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Filipo	*omai kakou kaooko ii le paolo*	guys come this way it's shady
2	Gasolo	*ga la++ sole omai ii ua la++*	yeah, come over the sun is scorching
3	GP	*=kuku mai le kakou kapa'a++*	light up a cigarette
4		*ua ka fia ula*	I'm dying for a smoke
5	Filipo	*se kope le ula ae faasolo mai*	hurry, one puff then pass it around
6	Gasolo	*=ae maua mai la e taitai a++*	and if the team leader catches us
7		*pusa mamoe a iai pe a maua mai*	we will be fined with a box of
8		*kakou* [laughter]	mutton for sure

In Example 6.3, Filipo and Gasolo are smoking (frowned upon by the seniors) as the team leader is nowhere in sight. In the exchange, the workers are mindful of the rules in place for all to adhere to and the penalties they face if caught disobeying the rules, which come in the form of having to pay a fine of a *box of mutton* (line 7) for the whole group's weekly meals. From an etic perspective, there are parallels with a parent-child relationship. The matai relationship is evident here where the team leader exercises power and has influence as a chief over members of the group (see also Macpherson & Macpherson, 2000).

In the same vein, the following examples illustrate the 'childlike' treatment of non-matai members. Examples 6.4 and 6.5 are taken from interviews carried out at Asher Sunshine. The distinct nature of how hierarchy is treated here at the worksites is reflected in Filipo and Gasolo's comments below.

Example 6.4
Participant: Filipo, Asher Sunshine

Original	Translation
Ua pei kakou gi kamai kamaiki ma le ulaula gagā se	We're like little kids and now we're hiding our smokes

In Example 6.4, Filipo complains about the fact that they hide their cigarettes from view in case the team leader catches them. This comment from Filipo gives us an emic understanding of the interaction among the established group and the likely consequences of being caught (as evident in Example 6.3). So, while the participants

recognise the child like positioning (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), it is also accepted as part of the cultural norms and not challenged by the juniors in practice.

By contrast, in Example 6.5, Gasolo, who is a senior member of the group, claims that the fines that are in place (aimed to prioritise the group) are what keeps them together.

Example 6.5
Participant: Gasolo, Asher Sunshine (in interview)

Original	Translation
ga malo le makou lodge i le kauvaga health and safety kausaga lea.	our lodge won the health and safety competition last year.
e moi a la e faigaka ia makou ia e fiafia i le kapaa, ae kele le aoga,	but the rules in place are great, we get to save lots of money
e sefe ai foi le kupe ia koe mama ai le makou apikaga	and our accommodation is clean and spotless all the time

Gasolo insists that the no smoking ban at their accommodation and at the orchards has benefits in that the men have been able to save money and their accommodation is always tidy and clean. This is helpful for understanding the enactment of collectivism at the worksites. The fact that the men are working together and cooperating in following these directives is some indication that this enactment of hierarchy and group prioritisation is accepted, even if problematic at times.

Correspondingly, in Example 6.6, at Evanson Worksite, Iose and Atina'e who are senior members of the group, talk about one of the workers who has been sent home because of excessive alcohol consumption. In the excerpt, Iose supports Gasolo's emphasis (not included in the example) on the importance of prioritising the group.

Example 6.6
Participant: Iose, Evanson Worksite (in interview)

Original	Translation
o le mea a lea e maua i le mimika	this was bound to happen, he is a show-off
ua make ai a, mo mea o kamaiki mimika	he asked for it, this kid is a real show off
ua maumau avagoa se	what a waste of opportunity

While this particular worker's predicament lies in the fact that he was caught drinking, both Gasolo and Iose's concerns are collective in that the rules and regulations in

place for these groups of seasonal workers are understood as being for the whole group's benefit. They are in New Zealand as a group, and as discussed in Chapter 5, the misdemeanours of one person affect the whole group. As stated by the men in Example 6.3, *and if the team leader catches us we will be fined with a box of mutton for sure*. This suggests the way each member is expected to behave in order to belong. Holmes and Marra (2017) explore the challenges one faces in developing a fitting identity as part of the shift from legitimate outsider to workplace insider. Constructing a professional identity (cf. the builder and the intern) in boundary crossing, and the idea of 'monitoring organisational boundaries' (Holmes, 2007; see also Kerekes, 2007; Tranekjær, 2015), matches the collective views from the participants; that is, behaving appropriately and in line with group norms indicates *who* belongs to the group and *who* does not.

The manifestation of directives as a discourse strategy tightly connected to hierarchy is explored in the next section. The way directives are negotiated, like the discussions of complaining and whinging in Chapter 5, is more evidence of cultural norms that are built into daily practices at work.

6.4 MANIFESTATION OF DIRECTIVES

At its most basic, a directive is an utterance aimed at getting someone to do something (Holmes et al., 2003; Searle, 1976; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Holmes, 1983; Vine, 2001, 2004, 2009). Indirect directives, or requests, are some of the many ways people get things done at work (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). As examined by Vine (in press), directives are a way that people can accomplish "transactional goals in different workplace settings" taking into account "contextual factors that may influence their choices in terms of language strategies used to express and respond to these types of talk" (p. 1). Previous research on directives (and the related strategy of requests) in the speech of adult native speakers of English typically explored features of social context to explain the differences in the way these speech acts are communicated (Vine, 2009). For example, social distance and power have regularly been found to be influential (see e.g., Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Pufahl-Bax, 1986; Jones, 1992; Brown, 2000).

'Directive' is an overarching label for control acts which include requests, orders and commands (see Evin-Tripp, Guo & Lampert, 1990). The broad definition of directives adopted by Vine (2001, 2004) is an attempt to get someone to do something, where simple questions for information and clarification are not included.

> […] in each case a manager is asking a member of their staff to complete an action. The actions requested fall within the work responsibilities of the addressee and include tasks such as setting up meetings and writing letters. There is an expectation of compliance and although there may sometimes be discussion and negotiation of what actually needs to be done, none of the directives are refused. An action must be required in each case and simple requests for information or clarification which an addressee can directly answer without research or checking are not included (Vine, 2009, p. 1396)

As pointed out by Vine (2009), there is an expectation of obedience and while there may sometimes be discussion and confrontation of what must be done, none of the directives in the data set which formed the basis of her discussion are rejected. As noted by Halbe (2011, p. 318), subordinates are generally more "tentative in the formulation of directives than superiors, though superiors also rarely use bald on-record imperatives but mitigate their requests". Ervin-Tripp (1976) states that this is the case for some workplaces, but not for hierarchical ones like the military or hospitals, where imperatives are employed downward and therefore considerations of politeness are used to a lesser extent (Vine, 2004; Halbe, 2011).

There are many contextual factors that are looked at in terms of the ways that directives are formed. Much of the research on workplace discourse investigates relationships between the speaker's choice of directive forms and social variables (Saito & Cook, 2017) including power relations and the addressee's work duties, (e.g., Mullany 2007, Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Koester 2010; Saito, 2009; Vine 2009). These are often regarded as influential factors in the speaker's choice of directive form. In the examples below, directives are examined in their discourse context and the influence of the surrounding talk on the way these directives are expressed is explored. It should be noted that while the data illustrates dynamic co-construction and

negotiation between these seasonal workers, the expression of the directives as indicated in Examples 6.6 and 6.7 is likely to be perceived as harsh and in the case of Example 6.7, punitive, compared to other data sets (e.g., Lønsmann's (2014) blue collar worker in a Danish production line; Stubbe & Ingle's (1999) factory data; LWP's white collar data).

Olataga is assigned to the packhouse as a stacker and is responsible for grading, packing and storing produce according to market requirements, as well as assembling packaging and crates. Here, he is snapping orders at another Samoan stacker, scolding him for how slowly he is working, for using incorrect packaging and for squandering time whilst at the packhouse.

Example 6.6
Participant Olataga giving directives to another Samoan stacker

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Olataga	*kaumafai ga aukilo ma kopekope le*	watch and observe, and hurry
2		*gaioi*	up
3		*maka mai le pusa gale ua sese++*	mark that box there, it is wrong
4		*kope+*	hurry up
5		*mea lea ua kuai ai galuega*	this is why work is awfully slow,
6		*ua ova le kou eva+*	you are wasting time
7		*kope le gaioi*:	hurry up

While Olataga is not the team leader for this group, it seems that his status as a matai and a senior member of this group affords him privilege to give bold directives to make sure goals are met. This instantiation aligns with findings from others investigating Samoan workplace contexts in New Zealand. For example, using recordings made in a New Zealand factory Brown (2000), found that the directives in this environment were authoritative in structure, direct and explicit.

In the next example, Iose, who is a senior member of the group almost 'growls' at his partner, who has moved to another block to prune.

Example 6.7
Participant Iose giving directives

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	Iose	[yells at partner] *sole* + *savali*	come back to clip
2		*mai ii e kilipi mea ia*++	these branches
3		*i o'u alu aku sasa lou ulu*	or else I'll come and hit you on
4		*ma vaai mai ou maka ii*	the head, watch me prune

Iose directs his work partner to leave the pruning until they reach the other side of the block but to carry on with the clipping and tying. Iose is very explicit in what he wants (*sole, savali mai ii e kilipi mea ia,* lines 1-2) and how he wants it done and even issues a cautionary remark if the partner should not comply (*i o'u alu aku sasa lou ulu,* line 3). One can argue that both Iose and Olataga (in Example 6.6) are choosing to exercise absolute power here based on their roles as senior members of the group and as respected matai in their village. As intriguing as it may look, to have these direct orders and threats in the workplace, it is culturally accepted, given that respect for elders is central to fa'asamoa. These behaviours are related to the cultural emphasis on respect for authority and not speaking unless specifically questioned (evidence of which can arguably be seen in the treatment of silence as discussed in Chapter 5). Moreover, because of the fact that these men are from villages (see discussion in Chapters 1 and 4), respect given to leaders and senior members of the group is seemingly automatic, and there is little evidence of it being questioned or challenged.

The intercultural interactions in the orchard put this behaviour into relief. The data analysed in Example 6.8 comes from two supervisors and Moe, who is the team leader of the group. Supervisor 1 (SP1) and Supervisor 2 (SP2) are both New Zealanders who are tasked with providing assistance in managing the day-to-day running of the orchards and supervising seasonal orchard workers. While the interactions are relatively informal, the supervisors issue all the directives to Moe in one-to-one interactions, who then relays the information to his team in Samoan (lines 19-22).

Example 6.8
Context: Pikes Orchard, Asher Sunshine
The workers have arrived at Pikes and are waiting for the New Zealand supervisors (SP1 and SP2) to brief them on task.

	Speaker	Original	Translation
1	SP1	we're waiting for you guys	
2	SP2	oh+ sorry guys	
3	Moe	do we start here++ can we start here	
4	SP2	yeah start here and double up+	
5		[demonstration]: yeah right here guys	
6		-and double up:	
7	SP1	yeah double up guys	
8	SP2	no+ you're leaving big doubles-	
9		ok big doubles at the ends+	
10		[demonstration]: so you leave those two++	
11		but+ everything else in the middle+	
12		singles out+ ok+++	
13		all the green fruit underneath needs to	
14		come off ok:	
15	Moe	what about the summer pruning	
16	SP2	do that please	
17	Moe	ok++ thank you+ [nods head]	leave the big fruits and
18		[demonstration]: *kuu fua lapopoa+ ma vaai*	watch me, understand?
19		*mai ii le mea lea e fai+++ malamalama*:	remove the green fruits
20		*=mea meamaka lea e aveese ga e piko kokogu*:+	and throw them in the
21		*=kauai mai le ogakokogu kama meamaka*:	middle

The directives given by SP2 are repeated, as indicated in lines 4-7, *yeah start here and double up, yeah right here guys and double up* and lines 8-9, *no you're leaving big doubles, ok big doubles at the ends*. These are quite direct forms, perhaps reflecting perceived language difficulties. Despite being within hearing range of all the directives that are conveyed, SP2 simplifies and repeats the information which he reiterates to Moe and his team. Holmes and Woodhams (2013) suggest that the form of directives reflects a worker's familiarity with the work and acclimatisation into a workplace. In their analyses of interactions among blue-collar construction workers in New Zealand, it was found that due to unfamiliarity with the work, more explicit and detailed directives are issued to newcomers. While the group above is established, some of the men are new and the repeated directives issued by SP2, made explicit again in Samoan by Moe, outline in detail what is expected of them to achieve the task. This similarity in form but difference in interpretation reminds us of the complexity of language and the importance of contextual and emic understanding to understand the message.

6.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the way the workers carry out their tasks through language. Culture emerges as the most relevant factor among both the novice and established groups of seasonal workers, and the negotiation of hierarchy by the men has provided insights into everyday practice and the inherent role of cultural norms. The similarities in the men's enactment of work reflect village hierarches that replicate cultural norms as well as organisational hierarchies. As alluded to in the beginning of the chapter, *a malu i fale, e malu foi i fafo* speaks to the influence of the Samoan culture in how the two groups operate. For these seasonal workers, what is valued in Samoa remains in place when they are away from Samoa. Regardless of the different layers of hierarchy that exist in the workplace, the men retain a collective understanding (and this is evident in how they encourage each other at work), which binds them as a group and village at their New Zealand worksites. The next chapter, focuses more explicitly on collectivism and the idea of coming together as a group to successfully achieve workplace goals.

7 DISCUSSION

O le gaogao a 'ato tetele
The emptiness of a big basket

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The goal of my research has been to explore the communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE scheme, with a particular focus on their transactional and relational skills as seen in naturally occurring workplace interaction. The analysis in these two areas is intended to gain a holistic understanding of their communication patterns. At the outset of the study, I regarded communicative competence as implying linguistic competence, knowledge, and semantics of English as a second language. However, as noted in previous chapters, communicative competence in the context of the novice and established groups in this study is more appropriately understood in terms of how they get the work done and navigate layers of interpersonal relationships, using Samoan and only occasionally using English. For both groups, the culture they bring with them has emerged as the most important factor in their communicative choices.

The proverb *O le gaogao a 'ato tetele* exemplifies the opulence of the Samoan culture and how it inspires and shapes the everyday lives of its people. It literally translates as 'the emptiness of a big basket', offering a rather opaque meaning in English. With Samoan culture, a big basket is understood as having greater capacity than a small one; if one comes to a distribution of food with a large basket, then you can carry more food than someone who has only a small basket. Figuratively it speaks to potential rather than absence. The proverb is used as a laudatory and complimentary remark when a large family or village has more influence than a small one. The proverb offers insights into guiding principles which must be recognised when investigating the seasonal workers. The contrast that was set up based on years of experience proved naive in the same way that language choice in an English dominant context was not as expected. As discussed in Chapter 5, while there were differences in the degrees to which the key

strategies were found in the data (silence, humour, singing), the similarities of the groups and the contrast with existing findings in the field are far more striking.

While the two groups in this study are from different villages, how they enact their work in their New Zealand worksites reflects the community they bring with them. The fact that they operate as a group is indication that the 'big basket' will reap greater benefits and contribute to the development of the group as a whole. One cannot do a job alone; rather the hard work is lessened when it is done as a group. This notion is made explicit by the participants as seen in this interview comment from participant Emani:

> *E magaia a si galuega, kupe lelei ae kigaiga, e lē aoga ai foi se kagaka fealoalofa'i. Ia ma le isi a mea, e lē kaikai ga mafai ga survive se isi pea sau na o ia, ia a'u a ia a omai as a team, kua kaua kele. E fesoasoani leisi i leisi, faamalosiau leisi i leisi pe a kau faavaivai.*
>
> Work is really good, good money but it is hard work, it is not for the lazy ones. But what is really important is that you will never survive if you come as an individual, for me personally, if you come in a group/team, it is really important. You have all the support from your other fellow workers, they encourage you, motivate you when you feel like giving up.

It is this motivation that seems to drive these men. This chapter draws together and discusses the findings presented in Chapters 5 and 6. The enactment of work by the novice and established groups as indicated in previous chapters reflects the cultural values and norms that influence the work they do. Although the manifestation of these values and their contextually dependent enactment might be slightly different, the values play a significant role in the way the men construct themselves.

My approach to the research was that above all else I wanted to weave a titi as a representation of my participants' voices and their success stories. This resulted in culturally salient adjustments to the methods (as seen in Chapter 3). In the first part of this chapter (Section 7.2), I consider the significance of the Fatugātiti research approach used to frame this study. Section 7.3 provides an overview of Samoan values

to support an understanding of the Samoan culture and its impact on the way work is carried out. A summary of the transactional and relational practices that are dominant in the successful communication among these seasonal workers is offered in Section 7.4. As alluded to in the proverb, working together as a group is understood in the Samoan culture as better than acting as an individual. For the novice and established group of seasonal workers, the fact that culture emerges as being very relevant in how they function as a village strengthens the titi that is created to embrace the community the groups bring with them.

7.2 A DISCUSSION OF THE FATUGĀTITI FRAMEWORK

As discussed in Chapter 3, a titi is used when participating in formal occasions and celebrations. Having come from a more colonial/missionary era, a titi is seen as a protection, a wrap/cover and concealment. The operationalisation of Fatugātiti through the analysis and the enactment of its elements exemplifies the analogy of weaving a titi and how it works. The Fatugātiti model provides a representation of my research approach grounded in the beliefs and values of the fa'asāmoa or Samoan way of doing things. It acknowledges the sensitivities and nuances of the research context, the participants' needs, the researcher's role and philosophical goals, as well as the aims and objectives of the study. As discussed in Chapter 3, the model incorporates the important elements of soālaupule (giving and taking of opinions with regards to authority), fa'asoa (an exchange of views and opinions of people), talanoaga (an informal discussion of anything or everything) and fa'afaletui (a gathering of people for a specific purpose). These elements acknowledge opportunities for the researcher and the participants as co-researchers to engage in the collaborative and collective disposition of the fa'asāmoa. As seen in Chapters 3 and 4, it was this communal understanding that validated and strengthened my role as a researcher and the reflections of the participants throughout the research. In Chapters 5 and 6, Fatugātiti offers access to the subtleties and the sensitivities of the participants. It warrants the interpretations I offer which draw on my own insider status, the time I spent in the field and in Samoa with the men, and the interactional evidence within the recordings.

7.2.1 Fatugātiti in Shaping the Methods

In operationalising the Fatugātiti model, it was important to recognise that the elements of the model overlaps to some degree. Equally, I needed to engage with distinctive procedures and draw on my understanding of protocols and community involvement to generate the rich data that underpins the study. For instance, as discussed in Chapter 3, in accessing workplaces I met with the government officials and local contacts at their respective offices. As the locations for these participants were official, the formal elements of fa'asoa and fa'afaletui came into play. This allowed for the interlacing and weaving of different knowledge and expertise regarding seasonal work from these representatives. For the two groups of seasonal workers, my first meeting with them was at their homes. Initially, I wanted them to feel comfortable in their own homes and not feel coerced into being part of the study if they were not happy to be involved. Here, fa'asoa and fa'afaletui were employed. The process of sharing and exchanging of views seemed appropriate, given that it was the first meeting. Once rapport was established between the researcher and participants, conversations were in the form of talanoaga, or informal dialogues where conventions were are a lot more relaxed. This meant I could feel confident as a researcher that my participants were being treated with the appropriate respect and that core cultural values and norms were being upheld.

7.2.2 Fatugātiti in Influencing the Data

At the orchards, there was a lot of fa'asoa and talanoaga. As the men went about their work, my presence on site allowed for informal talk (talanoaga) and exchange of ideas (fa'asoa). This was also present amongst the men in the form of humorous activities in which they engaged. This continued throughout the smoko breaks where a lot of the dialogue took place (arguably at socially sanctioned times for more elaborate instances of talk). As discussed earlier, the distinctive layers of hierarchy at the two worksites strongly influence the seasonal workers. As noted in Chapter 6, both groups followed similar schedules outside of the orchards which included an evening prayer, group meeting and then talanoaga. The group meetings, which are typically led by the team leader, see soālaupule and fa'afaletui in action. The exchange of pule or authority and the idea of everyone having the chance to give their perspective in decision making

(soālaupule), where the group comes together with a common purpose or aim (fa'afaletui) are applicable. Equally, at the worksites, soālaupule and fa'asoa are always at play, predominantly before the men proceed with their work. This is instantiated in the directives and instructions given by the team leaders (see discussion in Chapter 6) to the men on what is expected of them in the orchards. While no one holds power, as everyone is included in the discussion, the distribution of pule here values the importance of team members listening and hearing their own voices through language choices, teamwork and the fa'asāmoa. The elements of the Fatugātiti model are connected. As an outsider the ability to give voice to disagreement does not seem obvious. Emic understandings gained from interactions with the men and supported by my own insider status mean I can see how this has been operationalised, that there are subtle ways to signal disagreement. Language and culture are woven together in a pattern. This is an explanation for the similarities of the two groups in guiding and managing their relationships in the workplace.

The metaphor of the Fatugātiti has strongly shaped my methods, analysis, and overall interpretations. These norms similarly underpin practices in the workplace.

7.3 ENACTMENT OF CULTURAL NORMS

Samoa is a traditional Polynesian society and for the most part, the people have retained a fierce pride in their cultural heritage. As Chapters 3 and 4 have illustrated, fa'asāmoa continues to play a vital role in village and community life. As a post-colonial country, people place emphasis on national pride and a distinct national identity grounded in traditional beliefs and practices (Kenix, 2015). The conservative culture and richness in traditions and values arguably shape the day-to-day activities of the people (as I have argued throughout the analysis). Yet, cultural examinations of Samoa have also shown that the country is inherently assimilative, to the extent that Samoans have incorporated established beliefs and practices from other cultures, which are now regarded as indigenous (Macpherson, 1990); it has been claimed that people amalgamate historical traditions and contemporary norms into fa'asāmoa. The Samoan culture is described by Macpherson (1990) as the intersection of belief and

practice. This is noticeably observed in everyday Samoan life through ritualised meals, distinctive clothing, hierarchical titles, visible *tatau* (tattoos), and the clear division of roles and responsibilities based on title, age, and gender. As noted by Kenix (2015, p. 43):

> Respect for elders is central to fa'a Samoa - elders eat first and are served by the younger aiga (family). Students simply do not question their teachers; children do not question their parents; workers do not question their bosses; parishioners do not question their priests, and citizens do not question their matai.

With regard to the centrality of the family to Samoan social life, Fay and Vaiao Ala'ilima (1968) wrote:

> It is difficult for someone steeped in Western individualism to grasp the Samoan idea that the smallest political unit is a family group. The family is regarded not as a plurality of individual opinions, but as a single political organism. True, it may have internal parts: its old people providing experience, its young people acting as arms and legs, and its chief being the central brain for formulating decisions. The strength of such a body depends, however, not on individual rights but on how effectively these organs perform their different functions collectively. Any glory gained by the family is shared equally by all. The organic family concept means that decisions about community affairs are left to family chiefs with little resentment by other members. Chiefs are notably tolerant of the dress, social activities, and personal habits of their young men; but only so long as these do not affect the strength or public image of the group. When it comes to defending family reputation, position, and interests, traditional chiefs are expected to direct and their families to obey (Ala'ilima, 1968, as cited in Baker et al., 1986, p. 401).

These rich traditions were described some 50 years ago but are still relevant today. They are safeguarded, in part, by Samoa's isolation in the Pacific Islands (McDade et

al., 2000), which has strengthened the socio-political milieu of insularism (Taule'alo, Fong & Setefano, 2002) and continues to explain the slow pace of social and democratic change (Jones,1996; Kenix, 2015). Equally, in my data, these ideas (which resonate with interpretations offered previously in the thesis) reflect that the teams are isolated by staying in their village units despite being located in New Zealand. The rich cultural traditions that people integrate into daily practices influence that ways that the Samoan seasonal workers enact work. Because of the primacy of the family or village, described above, the groups in the present study feel responsible for the whole village, an ideology reflected in many examples (Chapter 6, Examples 6.3, 6.5 and 6.6). Abiding by the rules and regulations is enforced.

In the examples below, although the field notes are accurate descriptions of the naturally occurring talk, they are not as transparent to a non-Samoan audience as might be expected from a discourse researcher. The field notes show many everyday practices which I contend are heavily influenced by the culture, and which are normal based on my own experiences. An important step in processing was for me to make the familiar unfamiliar (as discussed in detail in Kidner, 2015). Sharing these cultural presuppositions was, however, an important aspect of the research especially because they allowed me to fully embrace cultural values when collaborating with the participants and enacting all levels of the model. In the field notes, I highlight particularly salient examples.

Example 7.1 – Evanson Worksite

	Field notes
1.30.00 – 2.00.00 *Smoko break*	Today, I brought tuna, ham and bread for lunch. As is normal in the Samoan culture, one of the young men acknowledges lunch. While the young men set up lunch, the team leader and senior members of the group thank me for bringing lunch. Iose is a bit concerned that I am using money to buy lunch when I should be spending it on my fieldwork. Afterwards, one of the young men is asked to say a grace and then the team leader and I are served first, followed by the senior members of the group. Later, the young men are also responsible for clearing up and packing all the used cutlery before heading back to work.

Example 7.2 – Asher Sunshine Worksite

	Field notes
25.30 – 55.30 *Smoko break*	Lunch break – it is my last day with this group, so today I brought roast chicken and bread for lunch. One of the young men firstly acknowledges lunch and as they set up lunch, the team leader thanks me for bringing lunch. Filipo is asked to say grace and then lunch is served. Later, the young men who are responsible for setting up lunch are asked to clear and pack everything.

Example 7.3 – Asher Sunshine Worksite

	Field notes
15.00 – 45.00 *Smoko break*	During the smoko break, one of the senior members spoke on behalf of the team leader and this part of the established group. The group presented me with monetary gift[27] of $200, thanking me for choosing them to be part of the project, for bringing lunches and for being at the orchards with them. I was overwhelmed by the gesture so when it was my turn to speak, I thanked the group, acknowledged their gift and pleaded for it to be returned. However, the request was ignored, and the team leader thanked me again and told me to think of the money as an early Christmas present.

These field notes include details of the cultural norms as they are enacted in practice. Without much explicit comment, I reference activities that are concrete examples of cultural norms: certain people takes responsibility for setting up and clearing up after the whole group (Example 7.1; *the young men set up lunch*, *the young men are also responsible for clearing up* and 7.2; *they set up lunch*, *the young men who are responsible for setting up lunch are tasked to clear and pack everything*). For both groups of seasonal workers, these are not random individuals; rather it is the young men that are allocated to these responsibilities because of norms related to age. There is routine for bringing food and acknowledging food as indicated in Example 7.1, *one of the young men acknowledges lunch* and again in Example 7.2, *one of the young men firstly acknowledges lunch*. Then there is the grace, which others might find unusual, given that they are out in the orchards (a useful comparison is the role of *karakia* in Māori organisations as described in Holmes and Marra (2011)). The order in which group members are served is predetermined. The team leader, the researcher and senior members of the group are

[27] This is delicate ethical ground but indicates the importance of the cultural norms of my participants. In my role as a researcher, accepting the gift is me appreciating and following protocols.

served first, and the young men clean up afterwards. In my observations, I notice these things as salient, but the impact of the norms was only fully recognised after stepping back and applying a cultural lens.

Culture is pertinent to these men; these everyday practices embody the cultural values they bring with them. Example 7.2 gives us insight into what is typical of Samoan's way of expressing appreciation and *fa'afetai* (thank you). I argue that this is something that is not understood more widely in other cultures. Even the expression hides the value underpinning it. For example, while in Example 7.1 Iose talks about his concerns about me spending money, at a deeper level there is no conflict because it is what is expected. As illustrated in Chapter 4, reciprocity is imperative in the Samoan culture (Huffer & So'o, 2005; Sauni, 2011). Thus, it was imperative that I provide a shared lunch; in the same way it was conventional for the workers at Asher Sunshine to give me monetary gifts as noted in Example 7.3. The Samoan way, as described by Mulitalo-Lauta (2000) portrays gift giving as a way of communicating feelings and ideas. As discussed in Chapter 4, while this is a rather complex system of reciprocity because it is in the form of money, it is a positive experience for both the researcher and the two groups of seasonal workers, because I understood their genuine appreciation at being selected to be part of the study (cf. Lee-Hang, 2011; cf. Sauni, 2011). Moreover, for these two groups, they were grateful for the lunch time breaking of bread and fellowship.

Having considered this behaviour through a cultural lens, the examples that have been analysed in previous chapters also illustrate that culture is salient as manifested in the prevalence of silence, the role of (religious) music, and the bonding humour (Chapter 5), as well as the hierarchical relationships among the groups which draw on age and matai status (Chapter 6). As specified in the field notes above, the data provides evidence of the central and constant connection of communication strategy and culture.

7.4 A REVIEW OF TRANSACTIONAL AND RELATIONAL PRACTICES

At a discourse level, recognising and focussing on enhanced communicative competence, this research follows Samoan seasonal workers from their villages to their New Zealand worksites, emphasising the use of task-based and people-focussed practices to ensure a holistic understanding of their communication patterns. Operating with a complex cultural lens to investigate the ways in which the two groups execute work at their worksites, there is an important extra layer which brings into focus certain distinct practices throughout the data set. My contribution to the field is to encourage greater attention to the impact of non-Western, non-English data, addressing the future trends for the field identified by Holmes and Marra (2014).

As discussed in Chapter 2, transactional and relational aspects of communication are closely aligned and are often described as laminated or intrinsically connected. The findings have identified how the seasonal workers execute work at their particular worksite drawing on both functions. The analytic features discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 share many similarities in terms of discourse focus with others in the field (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; Holmes & Marra, 2004; Stubbe & Ingle, 1999), particularly the salience of directives and humour in workplace talk (each of which exemplifies the task/people distinctions used so often in the field). What makes my data distinct is the macro cultural interpretations of the practices (cf. the concept of the culture order proposed in Holmes, 2017). It is interesting to note the similarities with the findings of the LWP team in regards to the influence of fa'asāmoa in the interactional data collected in a factory context (see in particular Stubbe & Ingle, 1999). While the groups have their own shared repertoire (when viewed through a Communities of Practice (CoP) lens), there are some overlaps, namely the physical setting for the men in terms of the proxemic location to each other, and the fact that their norms are influenced by the Samoan culture (see discussion of the team leader Ginette's practices in this regard in Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). These similarities add extra weight to the argument about the role of culture. The factory team, however, used English and operated within a wider organisational structure. The ability of the two seasonal

worker groups to isolate themselves as villages seems to have strengthened the impact of the cultural norms.

7.4.1 Task-based Practices Central for Successful Communication

A particularly important value that my data has identified repeatedly is the consistent collective orientation. Interpersonal relationships in the workplace have a significant influence on people (Carmeli, Brueller & Dutton, 2009; Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Ragins & Button, 2007; Kahn, 1990); they allow members to exchange information and ideas and make them feel valued and connected (Carmeli et al., 2009). As discussed in previous chapters, the relationships among the group members and the group prioritisation of the collective regularly appeared in analysis. This idea of collective orientation corresponds with Hofstede's (2001, p. 225) description of the Individualism-Collectivism dimension, which he explains as follows:

> Individualism stands for a society in which the ties between individuals are loose: Everyone is expected to look after her/his immediate family only. Collectivism stands for a society in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty.

Hofstede's work has been simultaneously praised enthusiastically and heavily critiqued (Soares, Farhangmehr & Shoham, 2007), largely due to the methodological difficulties. These criticisms notwithstanding, the description is a close match for what I have seen in my data (Hofstede does not report on Samoa, but we might expect it to rank high on the collectivism scale).

Other research has theorised collectivism as a cultural syndrome that is multi-layered and describes a pattern of shared attitudes, values, and beliefs (Hui, 1988; Hui & Triandis, 1986). Whilst individualism values individual freedom, competitiveness, and self-expression, and fosters a belief that people's individual achievements should be valued (McAtavey & Nikolovska, 2010), collectivism values cooperation and subordination of the individual to the goals of the team and fosters the belief that

people's achievements should be measured by their team contributions (McAtavey & Nikolovska, 2010; Hoppe, 2004; Triandis, 1990). Schwartz (1990) also point outs that in collectivist societies, the concepts of tradition, restrictive community, and interpersonal values (e.g., equality, forgiveness, helpfulness, lovingness, honesty, and belief in social justice) are central themes.

This collectivism seems to be at the heart of many of the patterns I have identified. Silence appears to be a standard approach; that is, absence of talk is tolerated, arguably defended as not being side-tracked. This practice aligns with the men in the factory described by Stubbe and Ingle (1999). For the novice and established groups, silence is not the absence of noise, nor it is withholding information by preference; rather it involves not engaging with other people whilst thinning and picking fruit. As noted by Murata (2011) and described in Chapter 5, silence is seen as unusual in the wider field and across cultures. The data from the two groups of seasonal workers offers another understanding of silence to add to the discussions as a behaviour related to cultural factors, whether as respect for authority or not speaking unless specifically questioned (Lee Hang, 2011; Tuāfuti, 2016). What is important here is not merely the presence of silence but the reflection on why the men are being silent. Understanding that when their seniors are complaining and telling them off, remaining silent is appropriate. The silence also adds support to the idea that telling off is understood in context as motivational and encouraging behaviour rather than criticism. Village life is being represented.

While (hegemonic or culturally-accepted) power may allow the use of reasonably explicit 'coercive' discourse strategies, workplace interactions provide evidence of mutual respect and concern for feelings or face needs of others, that is, of politeness (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015, p. 5), contextually and relatively understood (Locher & Watts, 2005). The use of strategies attending to politeness in workplace interactions are typically framed as lessening the blatant burden of one person's or one group's wishes on others (Goffman, 1967; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). As seen in Chapter 6, the hierarchies within the group appear to be understood by participants as 'supporting the group structure' so mitigating devices to address the

burden are often not needed. In the wider field, there is a lot written about hierarchy being downplayed and lessened (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; Marra, 2013; Holmes, 2005). However, in the Samoan context, what is happening at the orchards replicates cultural values in that status differences become plain and overt. How directives are framed and relayed to junior members of the group by their senior counterparts take the culturally expected form, especially when the senior members of the groups are holders of matai titles in their villages, where respect given to elders is unquestioned.

In terms of my analysis of the use of complaining, cultural values similarly dominate my interpretations. While the literature describes multiple levels of complaining, evidence of complaining and whinging is better recognised in these teams as motivating behaviour. For example, at Evanson Worksite participant Iose tells his partner off (Chapter 5, Example 5.11) for slowing things down, *Kope le gaioi, kua kuai kele, kulei mai* and he gives a demonstration of how 'big boys prune' (Chapter 5, Example 5.12), *mea ia ka'u o pulugi a kama matu*. The fact that there are teasing remarks from the young men as they go about their work is an indication that complaining and whinging cannot be taken at face value nor understood in the more static or dominant view of speech acts in the literature. The responses provide evidence that the complaints are employed as a bonding strategy, all of which help in getting the task done.

7.4.2 People-focussed Practices Successful Communicators Use

Holmes and Marra (2004) note that people at work use a variety of discourse strategies to construct and maintain good relations with their co-workers, including small talk and social talk (Holmes, 2000b), humour (Holmes, 2000c) and telling entertaining stories or anecdotes (Holmes & Marra, 2001). As seen in the exchanges among participants in Chapters 5 and 6, we can draw conclusions that although many of the humorous interactions may seem trivial and sporadic, they in fact help create and foster workplace relationships (as is evident in exchanges among the participants in Chapters 5 and 6). In acknowledging the importance of humour in understanding workplace culture, the manifestation of humour at each worksite again displays the relevance of a collaborative and collectivist orientation.

The construction of humorous imaginary scenarios or events identified by Hay (1995) and the layering and co-construction of these scenarios (Holmes & Marra, 2002) is a well-used strategy among the men in the present study, as discussed in Chapter 5 (Examples 5.20, 5.21, 5.22). These humorous imaginary scenarios act as encouragement and a way of boosting in-group cohesion while at the orchards. This group nature of the imaginary scenarios in my data supports Hay's (1995) discussion of fantasy as being a collaborative activity, in which the participants jointly construct a possible or impossible series of events. What is also intriguing is the fact that humour is used by the men as a way to do masculinity (see also Holmes, 2006; Holmes & Woodhams, 2013; c.f Holmes et al., 2011). For example, in Chapter 5, Example 5.20, the men at Asher Sunshine Worksite are constructing a group identity through the use of the fantasy of being in a Manu Samoa rugby game, which is dominantly a male game in Samoa. The content of the humour overlaps with the masculine association but the collaborative nature of the construction more widely is associated with femininity (Holmes, 2000). In this context, the fantasy scenarios seem to function as a nod to community and to the importance of the team.

The humour choices of the two groups accommodate cultural norms. As discussed in Chapter 5, for the novice and established groups of seasonal workers, it is a particular form of humour that is used. It is humour that allows collaboration, humour that is hypothetical and calls forth visions of home, which reflects cultural values. Conversely, while some humour (Chapter 5, Examples 5.13, 5.15 and 5.19) can appear to be contestive, aggressive and index stereotypical masculinity (at the surface level), it also fits within the cultural norm and simultaneously fulfils a bonding function. Through this culturally-infused humour, the men urge each other to keep pushing forward with the task. In line with the existing literature in the field, humour therefore operates as an effective tool for identifying aspects of workplace culture (see Holmes & Marra, 2002).

The prevalence of collectivist understandings within the Samoan culture also comes through in the way the two groups enact other relational practices. The men launch into singing whenever the music stops in the background, reflecting community

norms around shared engagement with music. This is common for the men, when at the orchards pruning, thinning or when fruit picking - if they are not teasing and indulging in any humorous task, they are singing as illustrated in Chapter 5. Music plays a big role in the two worksites. With the advantage of being present, I saw the constant attention to music and how they conceptualise music. They see it as helping them move forward; it is regarded as a comforting tool whereby singing along to Samoan songs brings them a fraction closer to home. The ability to harmonise in the songs and especially in the very frequent Samoan hymns provides the workers with a sense of community and emphasises the role of religiosity for the wider community.

7.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The emphasis on the group pays homage to the big ‘ato of the opening proverb that adds to the growth of the groups as a whole and the development of their community. With culture emerging as the most relevant factor for interpreting the data, so too is the focus on the group rather than the individual, complementing the Fatugātiti framework and the titi that is woven. This chapter has provided an exploration of the practices of the two groups of seasonal workers, embracing the role of Fatugātiti and acknowledging the points of contrast with the wider field of workplace discourse analysis. Although from different villages in rural settings, the way the men execute their work exemplifies the villages and communities that they bring with them. The groups recreate these communities in their New Zealand worksites. Workers are explicit about the social and financial consequences that will likely affect the whole village through their behaviour and this seems to function as reinforcement of collectivism. The value of ‘ato tetele supports the creation of patterns and the connectivity of the Samoan people. It represents the groups of seasonal workers, each group united as one; no matter their status and positions, they depend on each other to execute their work successfully. The focus on transactional and relational practices has offered a pathway to explore the impact of cultural values on everyday practice and to warrant the alignment about the role of these values in the enactment of these strategies. The concluding chapter consolidates the research findings and evaluates the contributions of the research project.

8 CONCLUSION

E itiiti a lega mea
It is only a little turmeric

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The analyses of authentic workplace interactions presented in this study have aimed to provide support for an understanding of how people (in this case Samoan seasonal workers) communicate and negotiate their working relationships with others. Building on core interests in the field of workplace discourse analysis, the analysis has focussed on both task-oriented and people-oriented strategies used by the men involved in the data collection. As explained in Chapter 2, although transactional talk is inherently valued because of its significance to workplace goals, relational work has been demonstrated to play a role by contributing to good workplace relations (Fletcher, 1999; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, 2015; Schnurr, 2008).

Special attention has been paid to the role of culture as an underlying influence on all the practices of the participants in the workplace context. As discussed in Chapter 2, orientation to the Samoan culture, most relevantly instantiations of shared societal norms at a micro level, provides insights into the distinct ways in which relationships and interactions are understood in the workplace interactions of the seasonal workers in this study. This study aims to contribute to the comprehensive, data-driven research studies which make up the field of workplace discourse whereby different types of institutional contexts and distinct features of workplace interaction are explored. The distinction between transactional and relational practices in different contexts has become a 'traditional' dichotomy for understanding workplace discourse, and this has framed my own research. To evaluate the communicative competence of a novice and established group of seasonal workers (my intention in the thesis) required an understanding of their transactional and relational skills, with the goal of gaining a holistic understanding of their communication patterns. The results have

revealed how the transactional and relational practices employed by the participants in both groups of seasonal workers are interconnected.

The proverb *E itiiti a lega mea* successfully encapsulates the culmination of this thesis. Taema and Tilafaiga were mythical twins joined by their umbilical cord. When they finally separated, they went looking for some lega (turmeric) to help mend their wounds. Having obtained turmeric, the twins journeyed to Aleipata (a village on the Eastern side of Upolu) and then continued to the island of Tutuila. The twins arrived in Poloa at nightfall (a village in Tutuila that is the closest to Samoa) and set out for a swim. When the village girls saw Taema and Tilafaiga, they asked the twins for some lega. The twins gave them only a small piece and the village girls complained that it was not big enough. However, Taema and Tilafaiga responded, *Na ona itiiti, a'o le itiiti a lega mea* - It is only a little turmeric, but it will be enough. To the disbelief of the village girls, when they used it, there was still a handful left.

The proverb speaks to potential contributions this small study hopes to make. This study has explored new workplaces, new discourse features and new cultural underpinnings for the field and contributions can be made because of the collaboration with the people involved, the context and the background of the study. As explained in Chapter 3, the Fatugātiti approach I draw on is the conceptualisation of working together, collaborating and understanding things from the (Samoan) participants' perspective. The proverb also symbolises that the participants' thoughts and contributions in weaving the titi, are valued, regardless of how significant or parochial they may be. In the context of this study, the titi is a celebration. The ultimate goal is a celebration of the voices and the journeys of the two groups of seasonal workers. In weaving this titi, every leaf or component is important.

In the following sections, I discuss how this thesis contributes to the field, offers new methodological tools and addresses societal needs. I end with some suggestions for future research.

8.2 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE IN WORKPLACE DISCOURSE

Throughout my analysis, I emphasise the importance (and signalling) of culture and its influence on how the men carry out work. As a researcher with insider status, I recognised the often hidden impact of implicit cultural values which needed to be made explicit for fuller interpretation. For these reasons, my research contribution to knowledge in the field of workplace discourse rests in the foregrounding of a cultural expertise that has provided me the lens for understanding the sensitivities of the groups and guided and shaped my interpretations of the data. The strong Samoan cultural traditions that people assimilate into day-to-day customs and practices is exhibited throughout. The relationships, the interaction types and the ways of operating from each village group are explained and explored in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The key features that this cultural lens has highlighted are how hierarchy is handled, the multifaceted layers of interactive solidarity, the leadership activities within the two groups, the facilitating of information from outsiders (i.e., other orchard workers) and the senior-junior dyadic pairing.

As indicated in the findings, village hierarchy impacts on the hierarchy in the workplace teams. This is evident in the pairing up of the men, where the older and experienced workers are paired up with the junior members and where village status (e.g., matai status) crosses over into workplace status. Similarly, the manifestation of solidarity in maintaining relationships reflects village life and the values inherent in the collectivist status and cultural norms. This is seen in the use of complaining and whinging, humour and music. The groups treat complaining and whinging as a motivator, as opposed to a face threatening act. Equally, humour is used for bonding and even if it is seemingly aggressive at times, it is understood by the men as motivating. As a distinct characteristic, music is understood as central to their work practices, reflecting societal and group culture. It is conceptualised by the men as helping them 'move forward' in getting the task done. For these groups, music is a way of bringing the values into the group.

Like other blue-collar contexts but not the white-collar workplaces that dominate the field, silence arises in the data as positively marked. This companionable silence reflects other understandings, based on core collectivist values, as well as the logistics of the environment. As discussed in Chapter 7, cultural priorities mean that the enactment of work contrasts with existing knowledge in the field, even if the functional and discourse focus might be similar.

8.3 METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION

As noted in Chapter 3, in addition to western research methods and celebrating the spirit of collaboration in research, (building on knowledge and sharing the benefits of that knowledge worldwide) my data collection techniques reflect indigenous values, perspectives and knowledge. As emphasised in Chapters 3 and 4, the connection of workplace discourse to ethnographic approaches is important throughout the thesis. My contribution comes from the extra emphasis on specific cultural ways of interacting (between participants and with participants). Following the seasonal workers to their homes and to their worksites recognises the geographical realities of mobility. In carrying out ethnographic observations, I was able to understand matters from the perspectives of my participants, by engaging with them in their daily activities out in the orchards and in the packhouse, as well as at their homes in Samoa. The underlying motives of ethnography are valuable resources. Being a partial insider at the beginning and working to make myself a team 'insider' shaped my understanding of communication practices and helped me make sense of the data collected.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the whole thesis works within a parallel structure of reflexivity, that is, the analytical process I undertook in this research led to specific ways of interpreting the data. This is an important issue for qualitative research and motivated the way I carried out this research. In support of this collaborative approach, it is worth noting that during my worksite visits, at the end of each day of audio-recording, the participants always said '*Kalosia ua kele sau data ua maua legei aso*' – I hope you got enough data for today. There is a real sense that they were collaborating with me and making sure all our needs were being met. In return, I was

careful to reciprocate in any way I could (most obviously through meals, but also in offering a form of connection to home). However, I am well aware that the utility of this research to RSE workers in general would be my ultimate reciprocation because they not only offered me kindness and respect, but knowledge that can hopefully be used for a greater good.

This collectivist perspective is replicated in the Fatugātiti model discussed in Chapter 3. The Fatugātiti model presents everyone as (relative) equals allowing and encouraging various opinions which are amalgamated and accommodating what people contribute. The model epitomises the appropriacy of leaves in weaving a 'titi' to signify the participants' voices as co-researchers. This said, having condensed the elements of the Fatugātiti model into one, as a researcher I understood that these things were layered, and they were all connected. Yet the ability to weave moments and experiences together to develop something insightful reflects the affordances of the Fatugātiti and the way the model interfaced with my capability to bring data together. In fleshing out the Fatugātiti framework, it became even more evident that the traditional western instruments used for carrying out the field work were not satisfactory on their own to encapsulate the dynamics of the Samoan traditional system. It was also identified that the use of existing ethnographic tools were limited for gathering authentic, rich descriptive data from this context. The call to use culturally appropriate research methods (emanating from Smith's (1999) powerful treatise) has influenced and motivated the research process. The fact that the participants from the two groups of seasonal workers range from matai (chiefs) to taulele'a (untitled men) makes this intertwining of a titi appropriate and fitting, allowing interactions and conversations to be navigated from formal to informal milieus. Titi is about revelling and celebrating the strengths and successes of the novice and established groups of seasonal workers. It is a conceptualisation of how things work, how to work together as a group, and how to gain strength. It is the fatu, or heart, that has steered the entirety of this study, therefore inspiring and shaping the research process and the interpretations.

8.4 SOCIETAL CONTRIBUTION

As discussed in Chapter 1, the RSE scheme has strengthened relationships between New Zealand and Samoa, where Samoa remains the third largest country which send workers to New Zealand. Samoa's successful candidates for the scheme are often selected from a group of unemployed or self-employed people in their early 20's. They range from those who did not perform satisfactorily at high school, to those that dropped out of secondary schools but have little command of the English language, and also individuals who completed the secondary school level and those who have had at least one year of tertiary education. My inspiration in carrying out a study with a focus on workplace communication was to consider the goals of the scheme and the actual communicative practices that are exemplified. Something so important is relatively poorly understood at a day to day level. As noted in Chapter 2, even though workplace communication has been explored in previous studies, language use in agricultural workplaces, particularly in the Pacific, is an area of workplace discourse that has not been addressed so far. The drive to undertake this project was to make a statement that this area of blue-collar work, in this case RSE, deserves investigation. Highlighting the value of this kind of workplace context is also a call for my community to be acknowledged.

To this end, the ability to talk about the importance of the RSE to village life and equally the village life to the scheme has been a very positive outcome of my research. The study contributes particularly to an understanding of seasonal work as a sector for vocational education (my professional interest which provided the initial motivation). By focussing on good practice in workplace communication among seasonal workers, the study aimed to provide further information about language use and communication by second language speakers of English for practitioners in the field of vocational education. Instead, close attention to actual practices allows me to offer a much more nuanced and societally useful understanding of what might be required as training for this environment. It also has the potential to provide policy direction for employers and governments in how to sustain such schemes by ensuring that the workers are able to communicate effectively with regard to their own needs

as well as the needs of the employers without assuming that it means English and New Zealand ways of operating.

In undertaking this project, it was always a priority to 'give back' to my community. Having followed the seasonal workers from their Samoan villages to their New Zealand worksites, the reciprocity through food and monetary gifts (see discussions in Chapters 4 and 7) is appreciation from both me and the men of being part of research that can support other seasonal workers. As discussed in Chapter 4, this exchange is an acknowledgement and recognition of the benefit of this research and my role as a researcher, therefore strengthening the titi that embraces my work. As noted in Chapter 1, the appreciative inquiry approach embedded within an understanding of cultural practices aims to make sense of the RSE scheme and those qualities that influence participants' successful communication. By looking at how the seasonal workers in this study successfully execute work, I can take that information and help others by engaging with governments and potential seasonal workers to help develop similar practices. The prospect of giving back to my community through the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labour (who now coordinates the RSE scheme) and the Agricultural sector, offers exciting opportunities for sharing the understandings I have acquired on my journey. For these groups of seasonal workers, the most important lesson is the recognition that the teams move and act as a group. They are motivated and driven to work as a team and are always aware that when a member 'plays up', it will have repercussions on the whole group, potentially in the form of a 'stand down' period whereby the community will be deprived of the opportunity to resume employment. Accordingly, the team (not the individual which might be the focus in other contexts) is the priority, working and successfully accomplishing workplace goals together. As reflected in my motivation and inspiration for doing this research, I can say that I have worked with these people, I am part of these people, and it is my job to help my community.

8.5 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Working from a cultural lens and taking into consideration the distinct context of blue-collar industries addresses two of the areas where there is sparse research to date. The study calls for the field of workplace discourse to move beyond white-collar, Anglo domains to look at more collectivist, culturally distinct ways of behaving (or at the very least greater recognition of the impact of culture on all our working lives). As seen in previous chapters, the influence of culture is currently underrepresented in the field and is often taken for granted and under-explained (but see Holmes, 2017). Moreover, it calls for a further broadening of the types of workplaces, work settings and worksites in which we collect and analyse data. The focus to date merely scrapes the surface of the work that people engage in globally. Agricultural work has an extremely long history and yet it has rarely been a focus. Similarly, while there has been a lot of focus on integrating and using English in new settings (i.e., boundary crossing) in recent years, I argue that there should be greater focus on multilingualism and maintaining your own language wherever possible. Even though it might be an English dominant environment, it does not have to be English that is the dominant language within the teams. It is time for us all to pay greater attention.

8.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

As a Samoan linguist, the ability to share and learn from the people involved in this study reignited and confirmed my commitment to collaboration and the recognition of the multiple layers of heritage that influence my actions as a researcher in a wider tradition. As explained in my analysis, for the established and novice groups of seasonal workers, it is not just being Samoan that is important. It is that they are Samoans from these villages and that their lives are deeply-rooted in the cultural norms surrounding families, churches and village life. It is all about community: how they build community and the importance of Samoan customs and norms to that community and how they take it with them wherever they go.

As discussed at the outset of the study, my own stereotypical understanding of the kinds of communicative competence that the men would need (based also on my identity as a lecturer in the trades) was that the workers were going to need and (to struggle) to speak English. In reality, these groups remain somewhat isolated from their New Zealand context and maintain the village identity despite their location. While English is the mode of interaction at the worksites, only certain members of the group, such as team leaders interact in English. For the rest, the village is still central and instead there are culturally distinctive practices, which guide their behaviour (cf. the impact of *tikanga* on Maori workplace as described in Holmes et al., 2011). The workers remain culturally appropriate in their practices, as evidenced in the hierarchies of the older men over the younger men; the prayers before food; the acknowledgment of food – all identifiable Samoan (village) values.

This thesis research is admittedly a start and is likened to a lega, small, but with the potential to go further. *Na ona itiiti, a'o le itiiti a lega mea* - It is only a small turmeric, but it will be enough. I acknowledge this thesis is a small lega but at the end, I hope it can make a bigger contribution to the areas identified. When all is said and done, we must ask, was it worth it? From my perspective, explaining my own cultural values and their impact on communication has shone light on non-Western ways of operating that are so easily overlooked in a field dominated by the Anglo white-collar corporate world. I am grateful to my Pacific colleagues for leading the way in culturally appropriate research frameworks and especially in the Fatugātiti, which offers new specific ideas related to the Samoan context, and which I have aimed to help develop further through practical application. Nevertheless, other researchers might ask if I could have gathered the same information had I used standard and conventional Western research frameworks and methods alone. My response to this would be that in actual fact, I would not have been able to access traditional knowledge and practices communicated by the villages and the groups involved. Nor would I have likely collected such rich information from my participants. I began by creating a titi. In the future, other researchers might add more leaves, or take one out and replace it with another which is appropriate to his or her current work. As Samoans, we

continue to *fatu* a *titi*, weave different patterns and add a leaf in to strengthen what is already there.

E a a'u le asō, ae a oe taeao

Today is mine and tomorrow shall be yours.

APPENDICES

Appendix A RSE Employment Fact Sheet – English

RECOGNISED SEASONAL EMPLOYER (RSE) POLICY

Employment Fact Sheet

Important information for workers in New Zealand under the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) policy

Welcome to New Zealand. Your RSE visa allows you to work for the Recognised Seasonal Employer that has offered you employment until it expires or is revoked. New Zealand has rules regarding your rights as an employee and what you can do. It is very important that you are aware of these.

Your rights when working in New Zealand

Below are your basic legal rights as a worker in New Zealand.

- You must have a written employment agreement that both you and your employer have agreed to. Your employer must provide you with a copy. Your employment agreement will tell you about your pay, deductions and other employment conditions.
- Your employment agreement will specify the terms and conditions of your entitlements which include such things as your working hours, holiday and sick leave allowances. Keep a copy for yourself.
- Your employer must provide a safe workplace for you with proper training, supervision and equipment.
- New Zealand has a minimum wage and you must be paid no less than that rate. The minimum wage rates are reviewed every year. Information on the current minimum wage is provided on the Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment website www.dol.govt.nz/er/pay.

What you must do

- You can only work for the employer in the job that is stated on your RSE work visa.
- You are expected to fulfil all the requirements in the contract you signed with your employer.
- You must complete work tasks the way your employer has trained you.
- Make sure you arrive on time and are reliable in your work and try your hardest. If you do not meet your legal obligations at work you could lose your job.
- Work steadily and look after yourself while you work. If you don't understand something, don't be shy about asking your supervisor. There is no shame in this and your employer will expect to be asked questions particularly while you are new in the job.
- You must leave New Zealand when your work has finished, or before your RSE visa expires or if your permit is revoked. If you stay in New Zealand illegally, you may be subject to removal and be banned from returning to New Zealand for a five year period.

What your employer must do

Your employer will pay for half of your airfare costs from your country of origin to New Zealand. If you are a citizen normally resident in Tuvalu or Kiribati, your employer will pay half of your airfare costs between Fiji and New Zealand.

Your RSE employer will arrange accommodation for you while you are in New Zealand, but it is your responsibility to pay for the accommodation.

Migrant workers must be employed on the same terms and conditions as New Zealand workers. You will be paid the same as a New Zealander doing the same job with the same level of experience.

You will find that more experienced workers usually receive more than new workers. You should also receive a higher rate once you have gained experience and achieved higher skill levels.

Under Immigration New Zealand requirements your employer must:

- pay you no less for doing the same job than they would pay a New Zealand citizen or resident with the same level of experience
- ensure that you are provided with an induction programme
- ensure you have suitable accommodation
- cater for your pastoral care needs, like services and community groups that help you with health issues, shopping, sport and attending church
- ensure you have transport to and from your worksite, provide assistance with personal banking
- provide personal protective equipment where required
- provide onsite facilities (such as toilets and clean water)
- and provide language translation (as appropriate).

When things go wrong

- If you have a disagreement with your employer including how much you are paid or about your working conditions, try and resolve the issue with your employer straight away or by following the procedure that is in your employment agreement.
- If you have a problem please talk to your employer or team leader about it. The problem cannot be dealt with if people do not know about it. If you are not happy with the response, contact your Labour Inspector, or Compliance Officer.
- If a problem can't be resolved, parties can go to mediation, either through the Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment's mediation services or through independent mediators. If this does not resolve the problem, employers or employees can go to the Employment Relations Authority for a determination.

- The RSE Labour Inspectors and Compliance Officers from the Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment will be able to help you resolve any problems you will have with your Employer.
- If you are dismissed from your employment, you will not be eligible to remain in New Zealand. If you get into trouble with New Zealand law, your employment may come to an end, and you may be requested to leave New Zealand.

Annual holidays, public holidays and sick leave

Annual holidays

- Temporary workers who work in New Zealand for less than one year are entitled to eight per cent annual holiday pay of their total before–tax wages. Some employers include holiday pay in your weekly pay and others will pay it to you at the end of your employment. If it is included in your weekly pay, you should be able to identify it separately in your pay slip. Holiday pay is wages and as such is taxable.
- For example: if you are usually paid $15.00 for every bin of apples you fill, and you fill 40 bins by the end of the week, you will be paid $600 for the week. If your employer includes your annual holiday pay in your weekly pay, you will be paid $648. The additional $48.00 (which is eight percent of $600) should be shown separately as annual holiday pay in your pay slip.

Public holidays

- You will also be paid for those public holidays that occur on a day that would normally have been worked by you had it not been a public holiday. New Zealand has 11 public holidays a year. These are: Christmas Day (25 December); Boxing Day (26 December); New Year's Day (1 January); 2 January; Waitangi Day (6 February); Good Friday (the date varies each year); Easter Monday (the date varies each year); ANZAC Day (25 April); Queen's Birthday (1st Monday in June); Labour Day (4th Monday in October); and Provincial Anniversary Day (the date depends on the province in which you work.)
- You are not required to work on New Zealand public holidays unless your employment agreement says that you are required to work. If you work on a public holiday, you will be paid at least time and a half for the time you actually work on a public holiday. It doesn't matter whether you are paid on a wage or piece rate basis. For example: if you are usually paid $15.00 per hour, on a public holiday you should be paid at least $22.50 per hour which is $15.00 x 1.5 or time and a half.
- If you work on a public holiday that falls on a day you would normally work, your employer must give you a day off at a later time. This is called an 'Alternative Day'. If you have not taken any alternative days at the end of your employment, your employer must pay these days out to you at the rate of pay for your last day of work.
- You and your employer may agree that you transfer your public holiday to another day as long as this is in writing and the day that to which you transfer your public holiday would have been a working day for you.
- If you do not work on a public holiday, but it is a day you would normally have worked, your employer must still pay you for the day as normal.

Sick leave and bereavement leave

- After six months employment you will be entitled to five days sick leave and three days bereavement leave. You can take sick leave if you are sick or injured and you can take bereavement leave if a close family member dies while you are working in New Zealand. You may be required to provide a medical certificate within three days of taking sick leave and the employer must pay for your expenses in getting this proof.
- Under RSE policy, you must hold, or be approved for, acceptable medical insurance for the length of your stay in New Zealand.

Trial periods

- You and your employer can agree to a trial period of up to 90 days. This agreement must be in your signed employment agreement before you start work. If you are dismissed before the trial period finishes you cannot take a personal grievance for unfair dismissal. You cannot be employed on a trial period more than once with the same employer.

Helpful information

- You should keep your own records of the days and hours that you worked. Check your records against the pay slip that you receive.
- You require an Inland Revenue number to work in New Zealand. Your employer may assist you in obtaining this, or you can contact the Inland Revenue on 0800 227 774 (free call in New Zealand).
- You or your employer cannot change the conditions of your employment agreement without mutual agreement between yourself and your employer.
- If you have any questions about your immigration status or the Recognised Seasonal Employer immigration policy, you can call Immigration New Zealand on 0508 55 88 55 or contact your local Labour Inspector, Compliance Officer or Relationship Manager.
- If you followed immigration and employment rules while you are in New Zealand you may be able to return to work for an RSE in the next season. There is no limit to the number of times you can come to New Zealand as a worker under the RSE policy if you are invited and prepared to do so.

Your contacts

If you have any questions or problems while working in New Zealand you can contact your local Labour Inspector, Compliance Officer or Relationship Manager. These officers will assist you and provide you with help or any information you require. You can contact any of these officers by calling 0800 20 90 20 (free call in New Zealand).

newzealand.govt.nz

Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment | Labour

Appendix B Transcription Conventions

The transcription conventions used throughout this thesis are based on the conventions used by the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project (Vine, Johnson, O'Brien & Robertson, 2002). The LWP notation is designed to be an efficient transcription method that preserves linguistic detail but remain readable, thereby taking a balanced approached to the issue of naturalised (promoting ease of reading) versus denaturalised (including accurate suprasegmental information) transcripts (Bucholtz, 2000, p. 1461; also cited in Woodhams, 2015).

All names used in examples are pseudonyms

:	indicate start/finish
[laughs]	paralinguistic features and relevant non-verbal features
…	omitted section
+	short pause of up to one second
++	one to two second pause
+++	two to three second pause
// \	simultaneous or overlapping utterance of first speaker
/ \\	simultaneous or overlapping utterance of second speaker
-	incomplete or cut off utterance
=	latched utterances

Appendix C Demographic Survey Summary

Seasonal Worker	Age	Gender	Company	Education	When joined RSE	Years as RSE employee	Travelled overseas before	Assigned Task
A	42	Male	Asher Sunshine	Primary	2016	7 months	Yes	Picking/ Thinning
B	44	Male	Asher Sunshine	Primary	2011	6 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
C	43	Male	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	2010	7 years	No	Picking/ Driver
D	43	Male	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	2016	6 months	Yes	Picking/ Thinning
Gasolo	40	Male	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	2009	8 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
E	23	Male	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	2016	7 months	No	Picking/ Thinning
F	22	Male	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	2014	3 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
G	22	Male	Asher Sunshine	Tertiary	2013	4 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
Filipo	27	Male	Asher Sunshine	Tertiary	2016	1 year	No	Picking/ Thinning
H	40	Male	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	2010	7 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
Lemi	32	Male	Asher Sunshine	Tertiary	2013	4 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
Moe	38	Male	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	2012	5 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
I	33	Male	Asher Sunshine	Secondary	2010	7 years	No	Picking/ Thinning
Iose	38	Male	Evanson	Primary	2016	7 months	No	Packing/ Pruning
J	36	Male	Evanson	Secondary	2016	7 months	Yes	Packing/ Pruning
K	42	Male	Evanson	Secondary	2016	7 months	No	Packing/ Pruning
L	28	Male	Evanson	Tertiary	2016	7 months	No	Forklift driver
M	23	Male	Evanson	Secondary	2016	7 months	No	Stacker
N	20	Male	Evanson	Tertiary	2016	7 months	No	Stacker
O	25	Male	Evanson	Tertiary	2017	1st year	Yes	-
Ulafala	24	Male	Evanson	Tertiary	2017	1st year	No	-
Emani	30	Male	Evanson	Tertiary	2016	7 months	No	Pruning
Atina'e	39	Male	Evanson	Secondary	2016	7 months	Yes	Pruning
P	20	Male	Evanson	Secondary	2016	7 months	No	Stacker
Olataga	44	Male	Evanson	Secondary	2016	7 months	No	Stacker

NB: Target participants are those with names.

Appendix D Information Sheet for Government Officials

INFORMATION SHEET FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (Phase 1)

Project Title
The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE scheme.

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?
My name is Honiara Salanoa and I am a Doctoral student in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?
This project focusses on the communication skills of seasonal workers from Samoa, under the RSE scheme. I am interested in how successful participants communicate at work, both doing their tasks and talking to other people. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee [provide approval number].

How can you help?
If you agree to take part, I will interview you at a time and place that is convenient to you. I will ask you questions about the RSE scheme, specifically on Samoa's role as the 3rd largest participating country under the scheme and how it has benefitted from it since its inception. The interview will take no more than an hour and it will be recorded for me to listen to it again and to support my understanding. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by the 30 June 2017. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?
This research is strictly confidential and data will be kept securely and will only be accessible to me and my supervisors. I will not name you in any reports, and I will not include any information that would identify you. Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed 3 years after the research ends.

What will the project produce?
The information from my research will be used in my PhD report. You will not be identified in my report. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations and academic reports. I will take care not to identify you in any presentation or report and I will not include any information that would identify you.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you do not want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study up until four weeks after your interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording (if it is recorded);
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- agree on another name for me to use rather than your real name.

If you have questions and problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions or problems, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact the following people.

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Human Ethics Committee information

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Appendix E Information Sheet for Local Contacts

INFORMATION SHEET FOR LOCAL CONTACTS (Phase 1)

Project Title
The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE Scheme.

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?
My name is Honiara Salanoa and I am a Doctoral student in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?
This project focusses on the communication skills of seasonal workers from Samoa, under the RSE scheme. I am interested in how successful participants communicate at work, both doing their tasks and talking to other people. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee [provide approval number].

How can you help?
If you agree to take part, I will interview you at a time and place that is convenient to you. I will ask you questions about the RSE scheme and your viewpoints on being the village representative for the group and how the community has profited from the scheme. The interview will take no more than an hour and it will be recorded for me to listen to it again and to support my understanding. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by the 30 June 2017. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?
This research is strictly confidential and data will be kept securely and will only be accessible to me and my supervisors. I will not name you in any reports, and I will not include any information that would identify you. Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed 3 years after the research ends.

What will the project produce?
The information from my research will be used in my PhD report. You will not be identified in my report. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations and academic reports. I will take care not to identify you in any presentation or report and I will not include any information that would identify you.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you do not want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study up until four weeks after your interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording (if it is recorded);
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- agree on another name for me to use rather than your real name.

If you have questions and problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions or problems, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact the following people.

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Appendix F Information Sheet for Seasonal Workers - English

INFORMATION SHEET FOR SEASONAL WORKERS

Project Title

The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE Scheme.

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?

My name is Honiara Salanoa and I am a Doctoral student in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project focusses on the communication skills of seasonal workers from Samoa, under the RSE scheme. I am interested in how successful participants communicate at work, both doing their tasks and talking to other people. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee [provide approval number].

How can you help?

If you agree to take part, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire during our first meeting in Samoa. An interview will be carried out in our next meeting at a time and place that is convenient to you. I will ask you questions about the RSE scheme, your views on what works in the workplace for Samoans and most importantly how to improve the situations for seasonal workers for whom English is a second language. The interview will take no more than an hour and it will be recorded for me to listen to it again and to support my understanding. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. When resuming part 2 of data collection in New Zealand, I will interview you again at your workplace. You will also be observed while working to examine you in a natural setting as much as possible and at the same time secure insights into how work is carried out in the workplace. You can withdraw from the study by the 30 June 2017. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is strictly confidential and data will be kept securely and will only be accessible to me and my supervisors. I will not name you in any reports, and I will not include any information that would identify you. Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed 3 years after the research ends.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my PhD report. You will not be identified in my report. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations and academic reports. I will take care not to identify you in any presentation or report and I will not include any information that would identify you.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you do not want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study up until four weeks after your interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording (if it is recorded);
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- agree on another name for me to use rather than your real name.

If you have questions and problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions or problems, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact the following people.

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Human Ethics Committee information

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Appendix G Information Sheet for Seasonal Workers - Samoan

PEPA O FA'AMATALAGA E UIGA I LE SAILI'ILIGA

Mataupu: O agavaa ma tomai saili o fesootaiga eseese ua faaaogaina ma faatinoina e tagata faigaluega faavaitaimi i totonu o falefaigaluega ua aloaia.

I le ava male faaaloalo e tatau ai, ou te faatalofa atu ai i lau susuga. E fiafia lava e faailoa atu ua filifilia nei oe e avea ma sui e auai i lenei saili'iliga. Ua valaauina oe mo sou finagalo faaalia, e ala lea ile avea ai o oe ma tagata faigaluega faavaitaimi i totonu o Niu Sila. Ae e le'i faia sau fa'aiuga i lenei talosaga, i le taliaina pe te'ena, e ao ona e malamalama i le tāua o lenei sailiiliga, a'o le ā fo'i sona aogā ia te oe ile avea ai ma tagata faigaluega faavaitaimi i totonu of falefaigalueaga aloaia. E fautuaina i le agaga maualalo lau susuga fa'amolemole, ina ia faitau mae'a lenei pepa, ma fesili mai pe afai o ia se vaega e ao ona toe fa'amanino ma fa'amalamalama atili mo lou silafia.

O a'u o Honiara Salanoa, o lo o a'oaoina nei ile Iunivesite o Vitolia i Ueligitone, Niu Sila i mataupu tau Faatinoga, Su'esu'ega ma Fesootaiga ile Gagana Faaperetania. O loo faia nei se saili'iliga ma faamaumaga i agavaa ma tomai saili o fesootaiga eseese o loo faaaogaina ma faatinoina e tagata faigaluega faavaitaimi i totonu o falefaigaluega ua aloaia i Niu Sila. E iai le taofi o nei agavaa eseese, e mafai ona fesoasoani i nafataulima ma matafaio faatino o tagata faigaluega faavaitaimi. Mo lou silafia, o lenei saili'iliga fa'alea'oa'oga ua mae'a ona pasia ma faatagaina ele komiti faafoe e iloiloina suesuega ile soifuaaga o tagata lautele ale Iunivesite o Vitolia.

O lou auai i lenei saili'iliga, o lou talia lea o le pu'eina o le fa'atalatalanoaga e uiga i lenei saili'iliga. O le a fa'atalatalanoaina sou finagalo ma lou silafia ile faatinoina o galuega i totonu o falefaigaluega o loo e galue ai nei, ae le gata i lea o auala ina ia faigofie ai fesootaiga ma le faatinoina o matafaioi eseese ile va o tagata faigaluega faavaitaimi, e ala lea ile faaagoaina ole Gagana Faaperetania. E lē faamalosia lou auai i lenei saili'iliga, e ia te oe le aiā tatau e tali ai fesili o le fa'atalatalanoaga, pe leai fo'i. Afai e iai se fesili, po'o ni fesili e fete'ena'i ma lou finagalo, o lau faitalia fo'i e mafai ai ona ē faama'amulu mai i lenei

sailiiliga, e aunoa ma se lape e afaina ai lau susuga. E fa'aaloalo tele i lau fa'aiuga, e lē aiā fo'i Mo'osami i liu o va'a.

O lenei fa'atalatalanoaga o le ā fa'amaumauina, ma o le ā ē fa'afofoga fo'i i fesili uma ma tali sa pu'eina ma fa'amaumauina. O le avanoa fo'i lea e toe teuteu ai, pe aveese, pe toe faamanino nisi o mataupu e te finagalo iai. E fiafia lava e lagolago i so'o se fa'aiuga e te finagalo malie iai. Ua fa'amoemoe, o lenei saili'iliga e amata atu ia Mati seia o'o ia Tesema, ma e mafai lava ona e tuua lenei sailiiliga, ae e le'i oo i le aso 30 Iuni 2017, e aunoa ma se lape e afaina ai oe. E fiafia lava e lagolago i so'o se fa'aiuga e te finagalo malie iai. O fa'amaumauga uma o lenei saili'iliga o le a teuina e aunoa ma le silafia e nisi tagata, sei vagana ai lē o lo o faatautaia ma susuga i faiaoga o lo'o mataitūina le sailiga.

E valuvalusia ai a'a o le fau i se tofā tatala, ma tatalo atu mo sau fesoasoani, ma sou finagalo fiafia e auai i lenei saili'iliga. Susuga e, e gogosina lēsoā lau fa'aiuga, e talia ma le agaga fiafia sou finagalo. Afai ua tō mai lau pule ma ē taliaina la'u fa'atalauula atu, faamolemole fa'atumu le pepa o lau maliega o lo'o fa'apipi'iina atu.

E tagaloatusi oe i se aso e fa'amalamalama atili ai lenei saili'iliga, ae ē le'i faia le fa'atalatalanoaga. O lo'o mulimuli ane le tuatusi, ma telefoni e maua ai a'u mo nisi feso'otaiga.

Ma lo'u fa'aaloalo tele lava!

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Associate Professor Meredith

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Phone: +64 4 463 5636
meredith.marra@vuw.ac.nz

Appendix H Information Sheet for Employers

INFORMATION SHEET FOR EMPLOYERS (Phase 2)

Project Title
The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE Scheme.

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?
My name is Honiara Salanoa and I am a Doctoral student in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?
This project focusses on the communication skills of seasonal workers from Samoa, under the RSE scheme. I am interested in how successful participants communicate at work, both doing their tasks and talking to other people. I am also interested in your views on how to improve the situations for seasonal workers for whom English is a second language. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee [provide approval number].

How can you help?
If you agree to take part I will interview you at your respective orchard at a time that is convenient to you. I will ask you questions about the RSE scheme from the perspective of an employer, your observations on how successful these seasonal workers have been in terms of the agricultural work they do, and how the scheme has contributed to their growth as individuals and also when interacting with others in the workplace. The interview will take no more than an hour and it will be recorded for me to listen to it again and to support my understanding. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by the 31st December 2017. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?
This research is strictly confidential and data will be kept securely and will only be accessible to me and my supervisors. I will not name you in any reports, and I will not include any information that would identify you. Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed 3 years after the research ends.

What will the project produce?
The information from my research will be used in my PhD report. You will not be identified in my report. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations and academic reports. I will take care not to identify you in any presentation or report and I will not include any information that would identify you.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you do not want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study up until four weeks after your interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording (if it is recorded);
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- agree on another name for me to use rather than your real name.

If you have questions and problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions or problems, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact the following people.

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Appendix I Information Sheet for Non-Participants

INFORMATION SHEET FOR NON-PARTICIPANTS (Phase 2)

Project Title
The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE Scheme.

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?
My name is Honiara Salanoa and I am a Doctoral student in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?
This project focusses on the communication skills of seasonal workers from Samoa, under the RSE scheme. I am interested in how successful participants communicate at work, both doing their tasks and talking to other people. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee [provide approval number].

How can you help?
There will be recordings of natural practices to find out what is going on in practice from the workers' perspectives and observations of what is actually happening in the workplace. If you agree to take part, you will be recorded and observed while working. These interactions are expected to shed light on the communication skills of successful RSE workers by understanding what is going on in practice and seeing what they are actually doing. You can withdraw from the study by the 31 December 2017. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?
This research is strictly confidential and data will be kept securely and will only be accessible to me and my supervisors. I will not name you in any reports, and I will not include any information that would identify you. Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed 3 years after the research ends.

What will the project produce?
The information from my research will be used in my PhD report. You will not be identified in my report. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations and academic reports. I will take care not to identify you in any presentation or report and I will not include any information that would identify you.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you do not want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- agree on another name for me to use rather than your real name.

If you have questions and problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions or problems, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact the following people.

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Appendix J **Participant Consent Form - English**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM
(This consent form will be held for 5 years)

Project Title: The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE scheme.

Researcher: Honiara Salanoa
School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies
Victoria University of Wellington

Name (participant):
_____

I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.

I agree to take part in an audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

- My participation in this project is entirely voluntary. I understand that I may withdraw my participation from this study or any data I have provided by 30 June 2017 and that all the information gathered from me will be destroyed.
- The information I have provided will be destroyed 3 years after the researcher's doctoral thesis is finished.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential and will only be made available to the researcher and her supervisors. I understand that the results will be used for a PhD report and a summary of the results may be used in academic reports or presented at conferences.
- My name will not be used in reports, nor will any information that would identify me.

- I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview: Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like a summary of my interview: Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below: Yes ☐ No ☐

Signed:_____ Date:_____

Contact details:_____ Email:_____

Appendix K **Participant Consent Form - Samoan**

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

TA'UTINOGA O LE MALIEGA A LE UA FILIFILI E AUAI I LENEI SAILI'ILIGA

Manulautī O agavaa ma tomai saili o fesootaiga eseese ua faaaogaina ma faatinoina e tagata faigaluega faavaitaimi i totonu o falefaigaluega ua aloaia.

Tautai: Honiara Salanoa
Saofaiga o Faatinoga, Su'esu'ega ma Fesootaiga ile Gagana Faaperetania
Iunivesite o Vitoria, Ueligitone

Suafa (sui auai):
_____

Ua ma'ea ona ou faitau ile pepa o fa'amatalaga e uiga ile saili'iliga o lo'o fai nei, ma ua fa'amalieina foi fesili na ou fia malamalama ai. Ua ou malie oute auai i lenei saili'iliga e ala lea i le tuuina atu o tali i fesili ma fa'amatalaga o le suesuega ua tuuina mai ia te a'u.

Ua ou mautinoa:

- O le a lē faaaogaina lo'u igoa i se ripoti tusitusia poo nisi lava fa'amatalaga e uiga i lenei suesuega.
- O fa'amatalaga uma o le a ou tuuina atu o le a malu puipuia, ma e na o lē o loo fa'atautaia lenei suesuega faatasi ai ma faiaoga o lo'o mataitūina lenei saili'iliga e fa'aaogaina.
- O fa'amatalaga uma ole ā tuuina atu e mafai ona fa'alēaogaina i totonu o le 3 tausaga pe a ma'ea le suesuega.
- O faamatalaga ma fa'amaumauga o lenei faatalatalanoaga ole ā fa'aogaina e lē o lo'o fa'atautaia lenei suesuega, aemaise faiaoga o lo'o mataitūina le sailiga i ni tusitusiga poo ni lomiga aua le fa'amalamalamaina auiliili o lenei suesuega.
- E mafai ona ou fa'amavae ma lenei poloketi ma fa'alēaogaina so'u sao ile saili'iliga i lo'u lava faitalia ile maea ai ole 4 vaiaso o le fa'atalatalanoaga.

○ Tuuina mai se kopi o lenei fa'atalatalanoaga:	Ioe ☐	Leai ☐
○ Tu'uina mai se aotelega o lenei fa'atalatalanoaga:	Ioe ☐	Leai ☐
○ Tu'uina mai se kope o le ripoti tusitusia o lenei su'esu'ega i la'u imeli o lo'o taua i lalo:	Ioe ☐	Leai ☐

Saini:_____ Aso:_____

Tuātusi:_____ Imeli:_____

Appendix L **Non-Participant Consent Form**

NON-PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (Phase 2)

(This consent form will be held for 5 years)

Project Title: The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the RSE scheme.

Researcher: Honiara Salanoa
School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies
Victoria University of Wellington

Name (participant):

_____

I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.

I agree to be recorded and observed while working.

I understand that:

- My participation in this project is entirely voluntary. I understand that I may withdraw my participation from this study or any data I have provided by 31 December 2017 and that all the information gathered from me will be destroyed.
- The information I have provided will be destroyed 3 years after the researcher's doctoral thesis is finished.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential and will only be made available to the researcher and her supervisors. I understand that the results will be used for a PhD report and a summary of the results may be used in academic reports or presented at conferences.
- My name will not be used in reports, nor will any information that would identify me.

○ I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview:	Yes ☐	No ☐
○ I would like a summary of my interview:	Yes ☐	No ☐
○ I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below:	Yes ☐	No ☐

Signed:_____ Date:_____

Contact details:_____ Email:_____

Appendix M **Demographic Information - English**

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SURVEY

***Instructions*:**

- The survey questionnaire will be given out in the first meeting and is expected to be completed in no more than 10 minutes.
- The aim of the survey is to find out background information about the seasonal workers.
- Responses provided will be strictly confidential and will remain known only to the researcher.
- Your responses will be used only for the purpose of this study.

Please answer the following questions by either ticking the appropriate box or writing on the spaces provided.

1. Name:

   _____

2. Age:

   _____

3. Gender:

   _____

4. Please identify the orchard you are assigned to.

   _____

5. Please indicate level of education.

   Primary ☐ Secondary ☐ Tertiary ☐

6. Have you been employed before?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

7. When did you join the scheme?

_____

8. How long have you been an RSE employee?

_____

9. Have you been to any overseas countries prior to becoming an RSE employee?

Yes ☐ No ☐

10. What is your allocated task?

_____

Thank you!

Appendix N **Demographic Information - Samoan**

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

PEPA O FA'AMAUMAUGA

***Faatonuga*:**

- O lenei pepa fesili ole a tauaao atu ile feiloaiga muamua ina ia faatumuina mai.
- O le auga male faamoemoe ole pepa fesili ia mafai ona maua mai ai ni faamaumauga ile avea ai o oe ma tagata faigaluega fa'avaitaimi.
- O fa'amaumauga uma o lenei saili'iliga o le a teuina e aunoa ma le silafia e nisi tagata, sei vagana ai lē o lo o faatautaia ma susuga i faiaoga o lo'o mataitūina le sailiga.

Faatumu avanoa po'o pusa e tali ai i fesili o lo'o tuuina atu i lalo.

1. Igoa:

   _____

2. Tausaga:

   _____

3. Ituaiga:

   _____

4. O le ā le fa'atoaga o loo e galue ai?

   _____

5. Aoaoga.

   Tulagalua ☐ Kolisi Maualuga ☐ Iunivesite ☐

6. Sa e faigaluega muamua?

   Ioe ☐ Leai ☐

7. O anafea na e galue ai i fa'atoaga i lalo o le polokalame ale RSE?

   _____

8. O le a le umi talu na e galue i lalo o le polokalame a le RSE?

_____

9. Sa e malaga muamua i se isi atunuu ao lei avea oe ma tagata faigaluega a le RSE?

   Ioe ☐ Leai ☐

10. O le ā lou tulaga i matafaioi faatino i totonu ole galuega?

_____

Fa'afetai tele lava!

Appendix O Interview Guide

Part 1:

The first part of the study will be conducted in Samoa. Semi-structured interviews will be organised at a time and place that is convenient for the participants and each interview will take no longer than an hour. Questions will be asked as appropriate and as they arise in interaction with the participants. Over the length and process, I expect to ask questions that establish rapport and about:

- Past Experiences
- Expectations
- Reflections on Practice
- Reflections on Future Requirements

Government Officials

1. How has Samoa benefitted from the RSE scheme as participating country?
2. Have there been any particular positive highlights or problems/concerns that have been directed at your office with regards to the seasonal workers?
3. Given that Samoa is the 3rd biggest participating country under the scheme, is Samoa looking at increasing the number for its RSE annual workers?
4. What precautions or measures has the government put in place so that its seasonal workers adhere to regulations and policies stipulated by the respective employer?
5. Are there any basic communications skills training in place for our seasonal workers before they take up employment in New Zealand?

Local Contacts

1. When did the group join the scheme?
2. How is the selection process carried out in the village?
3. Established Group - How has the group managed to take part and continue to be involved in RSE?
   Novice Group – What drove you to enlist the group under the scheme?
4. How has the community benefitted from the scheme? Are there any disadvantages?
5. What problems, if any, has the group encountered during employment?

Seasonal Workers

1. What made you interested in RSE?
2. What is it like working in a country that is foreign to you?
3. Have you had any problems communicating with other non-Samoan seasonal workers?
4. How has the scheme helped or been problematic to your family?
5. How has the scheme contributed to your own development as a Samoan seasonal worker?

Part 2:

The second part of data collection will be carried out in New Zealand, in Hawkes Bay and Bay of Plenty. The participants will have returned to their allocated Orchards to resume employment. Interviews will be conducted and there will also be recordings and observations to examine each seasonal worker in a natural setting and secure insights in how work is carried out in the workplace.

Employers

1. How long have you been an employer for the RSE scheme?
2. Why the interest in this particular group?
3. How successful have these seasonal workers been in terms of the agricultural work they do?
4. Could you describe one of your most challenging experiences as an employer and explain how you dealt with it?
5. Given that these workers are second language speakers of English, what is it like interacting with them?
6. How has the scheme contributed to their growth, as an individual and most importantly, how they interact with other co-workers?
7. The scheme has arguably emerged as a successful program benefitting participating countries, how has this workplace supported its seasonal workers?

Seasonal Workers

1. Can you tell me about a typical day at work?
2. Could you describe some activities in the workplace and outside of the workplace you have participated in?
3. What kinds of tasks or activities do you find tough and ones that you find enjoyable?
4. As a second language speaker of English, what are some expressions you have learned?
5. What are some examples of casual greetings you have picked up in the workplace?
6. Can you describe one of your most interesting experiences at work?
7. How often do you get together with your other fellow Samoan workers?
8. Can you explain the benefits and disadvantages of coming as a group?

Workplace Observations

The workplace observations will be carried out during the second part of data collection. There will be a maximum of three observations per participant, where each observation will include multiple participants. The workplace observations will focus on how the workers interact with others in the workplace and at the same time produce a rich corpus of data to support the micro level discourse analysis.

Workplace Recordings

For the participants, there will be approximately 20-25 hours each of recording within 4 weeks. As is standard in workplace discourse research, I will make use of recordings of naturally-occurring interactions. Volunteers will carry digital recorders and have complete control over what and when they record (in line with traditional procedures used by the Wellington Language in the Workplace Team). My goal is to capture a range of mundane, everyday talk.

Appendix P Completed Template for Data Processing

Date	Participant	Orchard	Time	Activity	Transcribe extracts	Connection to field
8/12/17 Day 1	Moe	**Pikes**	**0.53.20** 0.00-14.20	* First day of recording for this second group of seasonal workers – recorder is set up for Moe, we chat for a while. He tells me that they will be moving to a new orchard in the next 30 minutes * The OM is on site, I met him earlier and he took me for a tour of the orchard, I notice how comfortable these workers are around the OM, who would stop every now and then to chat with the guys * Moe is the team leader for this group, so when recording commences for him, he is either giving instructions or demonstration how the task should be carried out, *Kope aku kakou mea ia, faasaga aku i o, amo mai le apefa'i. Vaai lala gale?, keu faalelei ifo ma fai faalelei aku kokogu o laau.*	-good example here of positive influence on others -giving directives, transcribe this interaction between Moe and group	*Positive work relations *-see Holmes & Stubbe, 2005; Schnurr, 2005)* *Directives *-Vine, 2009; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003*
			14.21–24.06	*There is music in the background, Samoan playlist; there's teasing as they carry out their tasks – Moe tells his team to keep going and keep moving forward, *Kulei mai, soso mai kokogu male la, pipii ama aku male kuai*	-useful excerpt here, music in the background and workers engaging in humorous activities	*Relational work *-Prevalence of music (cf. Lesiuk, 2005; Haake, 2006 -Humour (Schnurr & Holmes, 2009)*
			24.07-30.00	* Work is done at this orchard; the workers start packing and are told to put their ladders in the trailer. OM – *Guys just put them in there. When you're ready, I'll take the first lot*	-interactions in English with Orchard Manager	
			30.01–41.25	* One of the guys asks Moe about the DVC, *Sole o ola le mea ga?..pei alii ua ka vaai le lima o Arnold sole* – they all laugh and tease Moe and Lemi about being the 'special ones' * Having moved to another orchard later, the men are	-interactions in Samoan -evidence of teasing	* Humour *- Having a laugh at work (Holmes & Marra, 2002) - Schnurr, 2005; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, 2015*

				told to wait for the supervisors for instructions		
			41.26–45.43	* Supervisor 1 – *So we're working on these rows here….. OM said to double up* Moe – *Ok* Supervisor 1 – *You want me to open that gate?* Moe – *Yes* Supervisor 1 – *Yeah, it'll be easier* Moe – *How many sections for this block? Two sections?* Supervisor 1 – *Yes* *Moe – *Sau le kagaka e vaku laga apefai lea ii, ga ole 7 a laiga ia ii, ka'i koa lua* * Supervisor 1 – *Toilets in the middle there* Moe – *Ok, thank you* *Moe – *Apefai umi a kago ai. Aua le amakaga sei omai le vaega lea e koe faamakala mai isi mea e fai* * Supervisor 1 – *We have to wait for supervisor 2 to come, perhaps have a rest…… oh here she comes*	-interactions in English, good examples to transcribe of 'getting things done' as a leader	*Transactional talk *- see Holmes & Woodhams, 2013* *- Vine, 2009* *-Holmes & Schnurr, 2005* *Supervisor providing apprentice for workers *-see Holmes & Woodhams, 2013*
			45.44–53.20	* Supervisor 1 - *We're waiting for you* Supervisor 2 – *Oh sorry guys* Moe – *Do we start here? Can we start here* Supervisor 2 – *Yeah start here and double up, yeah right here guys and double up* Supervisor 1 – *Yeah double up guys* Supervisor 2 – *No you're leaving big doubles, ok big doubles at the ends, so you leave those two (and shows the workers), but everything else in the middle, singles out ok? All the green fruit underneath needs to come off ok?* Moe – *What about the summer pruning?* Supervisor 2 – *Do that please* Moe – *Ok thank you* *Moe – *Kuu le fua lapopoa, ma kilokilo mai ii le mea lea e fai (and again goes to show the guys) alu male mea ole pulugi!* * Moe – *Ua malamalama?* You understand? *Mea meamaka lea i kokogu ii a?*	-interactions in English, supervisors giving demonstrations here of what is expected of the workers -demonstration in Samoan, useful except to transcribe	*More examples of transactional work *-interactions between workers and supervisors, team leader who are responsible for orchard activities* *Directives *-getting things done as a leader (Vine 2004, 2009)*

				Vaai, kaikasi uma a….vaai le pulusi pauu mai foi isi mea ia luga leaga ai isi laau ia – mea meamaka gae piko lalo e le pa'i ai le la, sau i fafo, Kauai mai le ogakokogu * After this brief demonstration, the guys begin work here – everyone is paired up (senior-junior pairing) * Samoan playlist in the background, sound of ladders, rustling of trees as they carry out their task		* Senior-junior pairing *-culturally salient way of enacting hierarchy that reflects village hierarchy*

Appendix Q Notice of Ethics Approval

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Phone 0-4-463 5480
Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz

MEMORANDUM

TO	Honiara Salanoa
COPY TO	Dr Meredith Marra
FROM	AProf Susan Corbett, Convener, Human Ethics Committee
DATE	27 October 2016
PAGES	1
SUBJECT	**Ethics Approval: 23411** The communicative competence of Samoan seasonal workers under the Recognised Seasonal Employment (RSE) scheme.

Thank you for your application for ethical approval, which has now been considered by the Standing Committee of the Human Ethics Committee.

Your application has been approved from the above date and this approval continues until 31 July 2019. If your data collection is not completed by this date you should apply to the Human Ethics Committee for an extension to this approval.

Best wishes with the research.

Kind regards

Susan Corbett

Convener, Victoria University Human Ethics Committee

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